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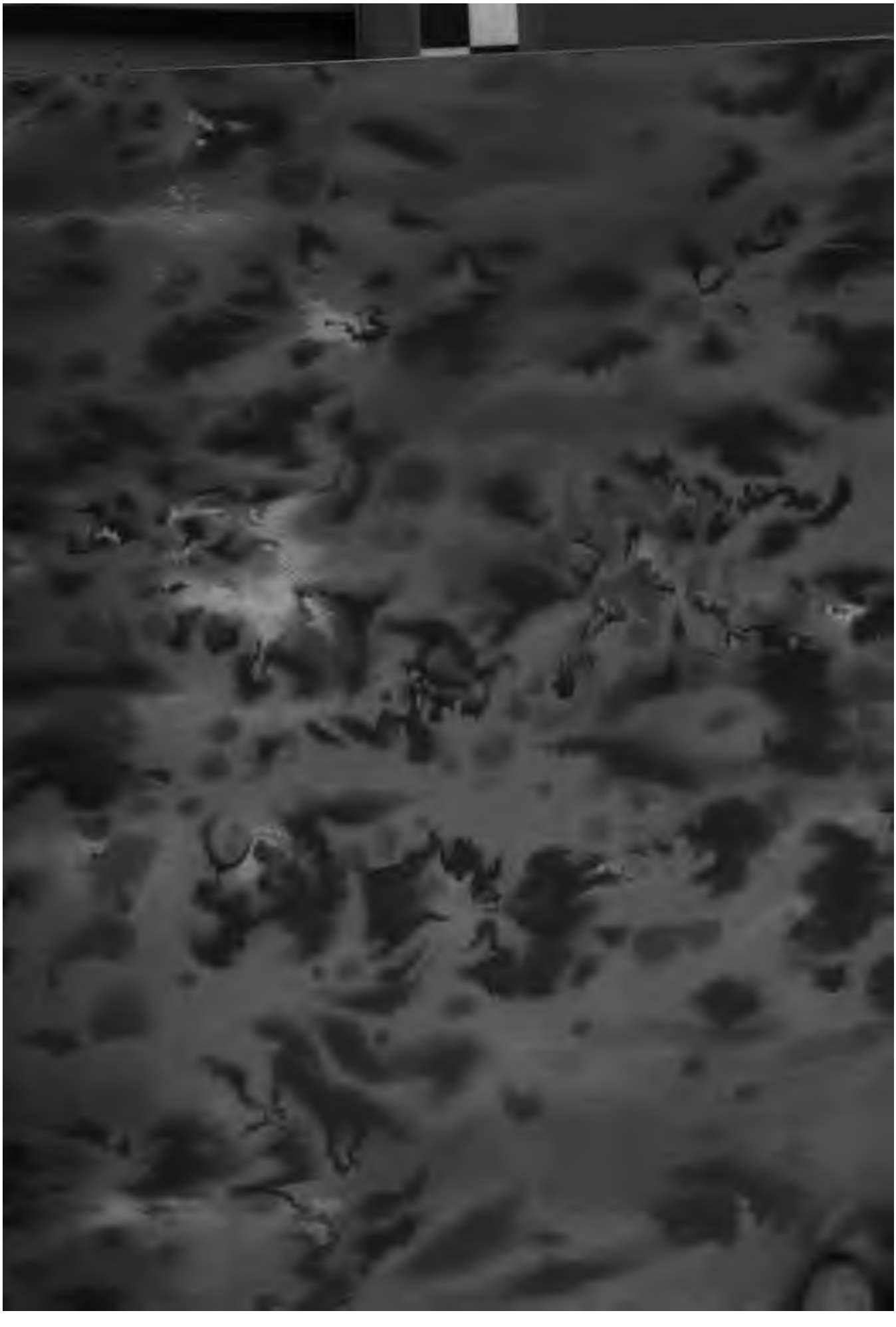

THE NEW CAPITOL OF MISSOURI

Erected at a cost of $3,500,000. Occupied by state officers in 1918 and by general assembly in 1919. Located on the site which Bayard Taylor pronounced the finest possessed by any state in the Union for a capitol. Built under the supervision of the capitol commissioners, E. W. Stephens, Thomas Lacoff, A. A. Speer and J. C. A. Hiller.

# CENTENNIAL HISTORY

OF

# MISSOURI

(THE CENTER STATE)

*One Hundred Years in the Union*

*1820-1921*

By WALTER B. STEVENS

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME II

ST. LOUIS—CHICAGO
THE S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING COMPANY
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# Imperial Missouri

On the Fair Grounds at Columbia, August 10, 1897, Champ Clark delivered an address on the state and the people. He stamped permanent coinage on "Imperial Missouri." He made what, in the opinion of those who heard him, was his greatest speech. Among other things he said:

"What is the sense of going to California to see the mammoth redwoods when by going to Stoddard county, in Southeast Missouri, you can see a gigantic oak that measures twenty-five feet in diameter and pierces the clouds with its lofty crown?

"Why travel thousands of miles to gaze upon the 'deep blue sea' which Byron loved to apostrophize, when down in Crawford county, only a short day's journey, you can see the Blue Spring, which discounts the sky cerulean hue and whose depth no plummet has ever fathomed?

"Why sigh for the distant beauties of the Alps when the beauties of the Ozarks are almost in sight, and yet unfamiliar to your eyes?

"Why wander abroad like Don Quixote in quest of adventures when you can behold the largest nurseries in the world and the largest dynamite mill on earth by going down to Pike county?

"Why rave about the horses of Arabia when Audrain county produces the finest saddlers in all creation and sells equines in Kentucky—a performance which twenty years ago would have been considered as preposterous as sending coals to New Castle?

"Why hanker after a view of the Hudson when the Meramec and the Osage are just as picturesque and almost in the range of vision from your own windows?

"Why go a thousand miles to see the far-famed wheat fields of North Dakota when you have never seen the largest orchard on the face of the earth, which is in Howell county?

"Why spend time and money in visiting the battlefields of Chickamauga, Vicksburg or the Wilderness before you have seen the fields of action at Wilson's Creek and Lexington, where the Blue and the Gray contended with each other for the mastery and enriched the land with their blood?

"Why go into raptures over the royal mummies of Egypt, when, by stepping into the museum in Columbia, you can behold the most perfect mastodon's head now in existence—a curiosity worth a king's ransom, which every scientific society on earth yearns to possess?

"Why roll as a sweet morsel under your tongue the phrase, 'There were giants in those days,' when by going to Scotland county you can gaze upon a Missouri woman nearly nine feet in altitude and still a-growing?

"In the short and beautiful One Hundred and Thirty-third Psalm, King David embalmed Aaron's beard in immortal verse—as every preacher and every Free and Accepted Mason knows; but if the sweet singer of Israel had lived down in Pike county, he would have written a poem as long as Paradise Lost or Don Juan about the beards of two of her citizens living in one township—one of whom has a beard nine feet two inches long, and the other seven and one-half feet long.

"Why risk your life in searching for gold in Alaska, when you can grow tobacco in Lincoln county and get $1.25 a pound for it?

"There is a little Klondyke in every quarter-section in Missouri if you will only dig for it.

"Why send your children to Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Ann Arbor, Johns Hopkins or Virginia, when, at your very doors, is the University of Missouri, where a boy or girl can be thoroughly educated and at the same time form thousands of acquaintances and friends who shall be serviceable to them as long as they shall tabernacle in the flesh?

"Why go five hundred miles to get lost in the Mammoth Cave, when you can perform that unpleasant caper in the great Hannibal Cave—the scene of the remarkable exploits of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn?"

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ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN 1858
Ninth Street and Washington Avenue

MISSOURI MEDICAL COLLEGE AND CHRISTIAN BROTHERS COLLEGE
Eighth and Gratiot streets, St. Louis, 1860

# Centennial History of Missouri

## CHAPTER XXXI

## EDUCATION IN MISSOURI

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One school or more shall be established in each township, as soon as practicable and necessary, where the poor shall be taught gratis.—*From the first constitution of the State of Missouri, adopted 1820.*

Three years before statehood, the Potosi Academy for higher education was incorporated. It was to be conducted by seven trustees elected annually. The charter provided that "Every free white male inhabitant, of twenty-one years and upward, who shall have subscribed and paid five dollars toward said academy, and have resided in the county one year preceding such election, is entitled to vote."

**Religion, Morality and Knowledge.**

In a room on Market street, near Second, George Tompkins opened the first English school. He was a young Virginian, coming to St. Louis in 1808. His journey exhausted his resources. The school was planned to make the living while Mr. Tompkins studied law. In time Mr. Tompkins became Chief Justice Tompkins of the supreme court of Missouri. While he was teaching school he organized a debating society which held open meetings and afforded a great deal of entertainment to visitors. The members and active participants included Bates, Barton, Lowry, Farrar, O'Fallon and most of the young Americans who were establishing themselves in the professions.

"The most trifling settlement will contrive to have a schoolmaster who can teach reading, writing and some arithmetic," a traveler in the Louisiana Pur-

chase wrote from St. Louis in 1811. The next year the Missouri territory came into political existence with this declaration adopted by the territorial body which met in St. Louis:

"Religion and morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be encouraged and provided from the public lands of the United States in the said territory in such manner as Congress may deem expedient."

**Riddick's Ride.**

Thomas Fiveash Riddick was an enthusiast. When Third street was the limit of settlement he told people St. Louis would some day have a million of population. Thereat, the habitants smiled. Riddick's enthusiasm prompted him to works. Coming from Virginia, a young man just past his majority, he was made clerk of the lands claims commission in 1806. His duties revealed to him lots and strips and blocks of ground, in various shapes, which nobody owned. Instead of capitalizing his information, forming a syndicate and acquiring these pieces of real estate, Riddick was true to his inheritance. That was a high sense of public duty. The Riddicks of Nansemond county for generations, through the colonial period, through the Revolutionary years, through Virginia's early statehood, had been patriots who made laws or fought in war as the conditions demanded. Pro bono publico might have been the family motto. Thomas Fiveash Riddick was true to the strain. He started the agitation to have all of this unclaimed land in the suburbs of St. Louis "reserved for the support of schools." The situation called for more than mere suggestion. Speculators already had their plans to buy these scattered lands at public sale. That generation was too busy taking care of itself to give serious consideration to the next. Quietly Riddick got together the data, mounted his horse and, in winter, rode away to Washington. Before Edward Hempstead, the delegate for Missouri in Congress, Riddick laid the proposition. Hempstead was Connecticut born and educated. He took up Riddick's idea and coupled it with a general bill to confirm titles to portions of the common fields and commons in accordance with rights established by residence or cultivation before 1803. And he added a section that the lands "not rightfully owned by any private individual, or held as commons" shall be "reserved for the support of schools." Riddick remained in Washington until assured that this legislation would pass. Then he mounted his horse and rode back to St. Louis. All of this he did of his own motion and at his own expense.

In his inaugural message to the board of aldermen, the first mayor of St. Louis, William Carr Lane, advocated public education. "I will hazard the broad assertion," he said, "that a free school is more needed here than in any town of the same magnitude in the Union." In 1838, the people of St. Louis were said to have "better facilities for educating their children, agreeably to their own taste, than the people of any other city in the United States." That year public schools had been established and had become immediately popular. Kemper College opened on the 15th of October under the direction of Rev. P. R. Minard. It was given supervision by seventeen trustees, and had the support of the Episcopal church. St. Louis University had increased its faculty

and was offering advantages in higher education not equaled in any other city of the Mississippi Valley. The Convent of the Sacred Heart was affording unusual opportunities for young women.

**Bishop Dubourg's College.**

"Bishop Dubourg's college" was the name commonly bestowed upon the first institution for higher education established in St. Louis. The first building occupied was where the log church stood on the block Laclede reserved for religious and burial purposes. When the college opened in 1820, the newspapers announced this faculty:

Rev. Francis Niel, Curate of the Cathedral, President.
Rev. Leo Deys, Professor of Languages.
Rev. Andreas Ferrari, Professor of Ancient Languages.
Rev. Aristide Anduze, Professor of Mathematics.
Rev. Michael G. Saulnier, Professor of Languages.
Mr. Samuel Smith, Professor of Languages.
Mr. Patrick Sullivan, Professor of Ancient Languages.
Mr. Francis C. Guyot, Professor of Writing and Drawing.
Mr. John Martin, Prefect of the Studies.

Two years earlier than this, Rev. Francis Niel with two other priests had conducted "an academy for young gentlemen" in the house of Mrs. Alvarez.

In the desire of the Monroe administration to start an Indian school, St. Louis University had its inception. John C. Calhoun was President Monroe's secretary of war. Indian affairs came under his supervision. The President and the secretary had hopes of beneficial results from education of Indian boys. The secretary opened correspondence with Bishop Dubourg at St. Louis. The result was the coming of Father Van Quickenborne and his party to establish the school at Florissant.

The little band of Jesuits who established St. Louis University walked to St. Louis. Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, as superior, headed the party. He and his assistant, Rev. Peter J. Timmerman, rode part of the way in the one-horse wagon which conveyed the light baggage. F. J. Van Assche, who half a century later became known widely in St. Louis as "Good Father Van Assche;" P. J. De Smet, the "Father De Smet" of international fame as an Indian missionary; J. A. Elet, F. L. Verreydt, P. J. Verhaegen, J. B. Smedts and J. De Maillet were young men. They trudged across the Alleghanies to Wheeling. Leaving "the floating monastery" as they called their flat boat, at Shawneetown, they walked across the prairies of Illinois 140 miles, spreading their blankets at night in house or barn as the opportunity offered.

Charles Van Quickenborne, Peter J. Verhaegen, John Elet and Peter J. De Smet, the faculty, raised $4,000 and started St. Louis University on the Connor lot. The first building was forty by fifty feet fronting on Green street. It was opened for students in November, 1829. Within four months the university had fifteen boarders and 115 day students. Two years later the building was enlarged with a wing. Two years after that a second wing was added.

In 1829 the St. Louis University was founded. Father De Smet, who had been ordained two years before, was made a member of the faculty. He

went out to the Flatheads with the annual fur trade caravan in 1840. "In a fortnight," he reported, "all knew their prayers." He called them his "dear Flatheads." Father De Smet was not a large man, physically, but he was very strong. He could bend a five-franc piece, a silver coin about the size of the dollar, between his fingers. A copy of Father De Smet's map of the Columbia river and Puget sound region is among the historical treasures of St. Louis University. Father De Smet made the original. He carried it with a letter of introduction from Bryan Mullanphy to President Polk. The international controversy with England over the northwestern boundary had aroused the whole United States. The cry was "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight." The map was important evidence.

In 1836 the closing of the college of St. Achenil in France gave St. Louis University the opportunity to purchase chemical and philosophical apparatus of great value. A fourth building of the group housed this acquisition which was the finest west of the Alleghanies. The institution took at once and has always maintained high scientific rank. A museum of natural history was installed. In 1840, St. Xavier's, "the college church," as the community knew it, was begun. Building after building was added until the two blocks of ground became crowded. In 1854, carrying out the plan formed by President John B. Druyts, the university erected at Ninth street and Washington avenue an imposing structure with towers one of which was the observatory. This building afforded better room for the museum, the philosophical apparatus and provided an exhibition hall.

Two Missouri institutions celebrated the centennial of statehood by placing their own alumni in the presidency. Dr. David J. Evans became the president of William Jewell College in 1920, just twenty-five years to a day from the time he entered that institution. He had been a Carroll county farm boy until he preached his first sermon in Livingston county, in 1894. Connection with William Jewell as professor of Biblical literature and dean of the school of theology preceded Dr. Evans' elevation to the presidency of his alma mater.

**St. Louis University's New President.**

To the presidency of St. Louis University, William F. Robison came in 1920. Born in St. Louis, a student in St. Louis University when it was located on Ninth and Washington avenue in what is now the wholesale district, Father Robison pursued his classical studies in the Jesuit Normal school at Florissant. He had intensive training with the French Jesuits, visiting the universities of Louvain, Innsbruck, Valkenburg in Holland, Rome and Naples. A part of Father Robison's preparation for his present high office was obtained as a professor of English at the University of Detroit and at Loyola University, Chicago. As professor of ethics at St. Louis University he became familiar with all departments of the university. For the past five years preceding his elevation to the presidency he was professor of fundamental theology in the divinity department of the institution. Year after year Father Robison has given Lenten courses in the College church, drawing audiences of 2,000, recalling the profound impression which Kenrick made upon St. Louis more than half a century ago. His books, "Christ's Masterpiece," "His Only Son," "The Bedrock of Belief"

and "The Undying Tragedy," met with the interest which prompted later editions.

The civic activities of President Robison have been notable. During the World war, Father Robison spoke frequently and trained others to speak for the Liberty loans, for the United War Work campaign and for other public and patriotic movements. More than 3,000 of the faculty, alumni and undergraduates of St. Louis University were in the service. With President Robison's accession to the presidency, a movement headed by Julius S. Walsh, an alumnus, was launched to raise an endowment fund of $3,000,000, the income from half of this sum to be used in increasing the salaries of the professors of the several departments of the university. The plans for the use of the other half of the fund, as announced by President Robison, include notable expansion in buildings and equipment. Speaking of the plans to make the institution greater, President Robison said:

"St. Louis University was founded in 1818, three years before Missouri became a state in the Union, at a time when St. Louis was a struggling frontier town of only 3,000 inhabitants. It brought medicine as a professional branch of study to the Middle West years in advance of any other institution. It introduced the school training of law west of the Mississippi. It maintains the only Class A school of dentistry in this section of the country and it was a pioneer in starting a school of commerce and finance. Each of the schools of St. Louis University has struggled to pre-eminence in the world of learning. Each of these schools has been placed in Class A by the rating agencies of the country. This standing has been won and maintained without a large, fixed, financial endowment. Endowed the university has always been, abundantly endowed, but not with money. Its endowment has been and still is in loyal devotedness and the uncounting self-sacrifice of its Jesuit teachers and the many lay professors of different religious creeds who occupy its faculty chairs. It has done its work financed only by the modest fees of its student body and the occasional small gifts of its appreciative friends.

**Mother Duchesne.**

Convent education to the earlier generations of St. Louis womanhood meant more than book teaching. It was association with teachers who knew all about the pioneer life. Five sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived in St. Louis from France in August of 1818. They were the first of the order. Their coming was the answer to an urgent appeal of Bishop Dubourg. The superior was Phillipine Duchesne. With her were Sisters Octavie Berthold, Eugenie Ande, Catharine Lamarre and Marguerite Manteau. A year's trial of teaching at St. Charles failed to show that the school would be supporting. The sisters, for economy, moved to a farm at Florissant. Mother Duchesne described the moving:

Sister Octavie and two of our pupils next embarked. I was to close the march in the evening with Sister Marguerite, the cows and the hens. But the cows were so indignant at being tied up, and the heat was so great that we were obliged to put off our departure to the cool hours of the morning. Then by dint of cabbages which we had taken for them in the cart they were induced to proceed. I divided my attention between the reliquaries and the hens. We crossed the Missouri opposite Florissant. On landing Marguerite and I drew up our charges in a line—she the cows and I the hens—and fed them with motherly solicitude. The Abbe Delacroix came on horseback to meet us. He led the way galloping after our cows when, in their joy at being untied, they darted into the woods.

Upon the farm these sisters lived and toiled. They planted and raised corn. They gathered their own firewood. They cared for their cows. The bishop riding by at milking time, smiled and asked Sister Ande "if it was at Napoleon's court she had learned to milk cows."

After a year on the farm, the house in Florissant was ready. Driving their livestock before them the sisters moved one cold day in December with snow knee-deep. Mother Duchesne wrote of that experience:

> Having tried in vain to lead with a rope one of our cows, I hoped to make her follow of her own inclination by filling my apron with maize, with which I tried to tempt her on; but she preferred her liberty and ran about the fields and brushwood, where we followed her, sinking into the snow, and tearing our habits and veils amidst the bushes. At last we were obliged to let her have her will and make her way back to the farm. I carried in my pocket our money and papers, but the strings broke and everything, including a watch, fell into the snow. The wind having blown the snow on my gloves, they were frozen on my hands, and I could not take hold of anything. Eugenie had to help me pick up my bag, and also my pocket, which I was obliged to carry under my arm.

Pioneering did not end with that first year on the farm. After the opening of the school in Florissant, Mother Duchesne wrote: "There was a moment this month when I had in my pocket only six sous and a half, and debts besides."

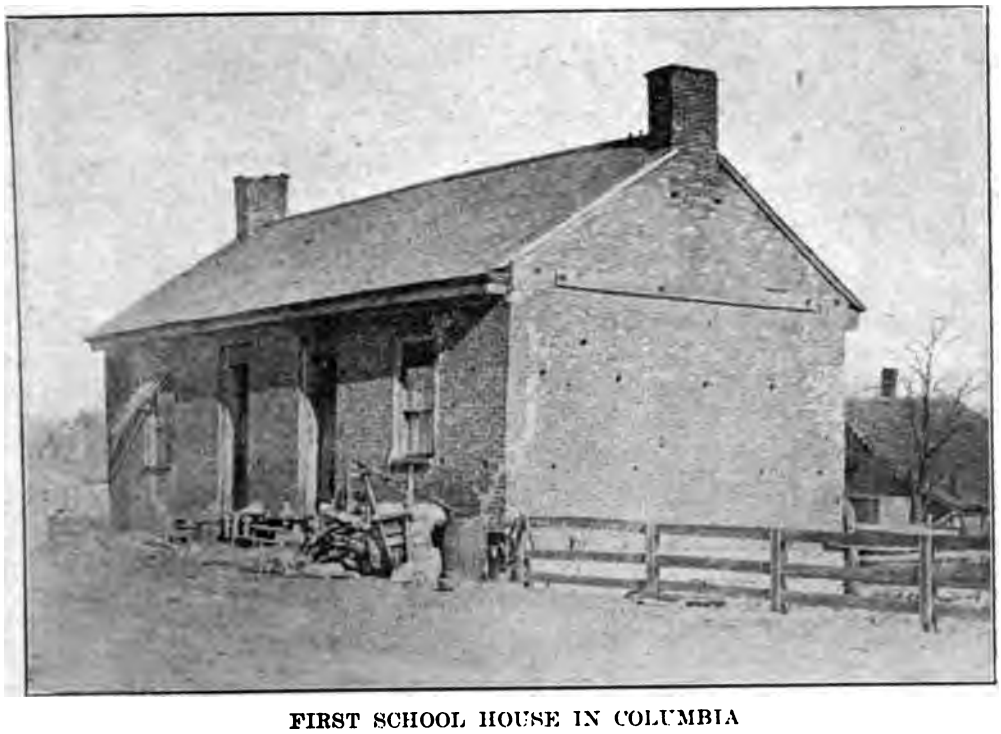
**Cooper County's First School.**

There were fifteen children in the first school established in what became Cooper county. The schoolhouse was not a house. It was two logs a short distance from Hannah's Fort. The children sat on one log and the teacher sat on another log facing them. John Savage was the teacher. He received a salary of one dollar for each pupil, payable in whatever the settler had to give. The fifteen children were Benjamin, Delany and William Bolin, Hiram and William Savage, Hess and William Warden, John and William Yarnall, John and William Jolly, Joseph and William Scott, John and William Rupe.

One of the early teachers in Dade county invented his own method of corporal punishment. He would compel one of the boys to carry on his back the culprit, and to march around the room. As the pair went past the teacher, the latter applied the switch to the one who was being carried. To make the punishment as formal as possible, this Schoolmaster Gregg announced before the performance began what number of strokes would be applied. The boys conspired to make the affair even more entertaining. While young Renfro was carrying young Ragsdale, he pretended to stub his toe on the puncheon floor and fell just in front of the teacher. The next time around the boy who was horse fell again. The whole school laughed. The teacher, before the boys could get up, used the whip on them until he wore it out.

When the Rev. Ebenezer Rogers, a Quaker, kept an academy in Chariton county, there was rivalry between his boys and those of another school near by. This led to occasional clashes. Master Rogers forbade fighting, and, with the aid of a heavy ferule, tried to enforce peace by whipping his boys when they came out of these fights with black eyes and bloody noses. William Harrison Davis, of Keytesville, afterwards prominent in Missouri affairs, was one of the

CONCORDIA COLLEGE IN 1860
On Carondelet Road, south of the Arsenal



FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE IN COLUMBIA

Quaker's star pupils. But he returned to the academy one day with the marks of conflict plain upon him. Master Rogers, ferule in hand, met him at the door. Young Davis burst out with, "I met one of their big boys, sir, and he said you was a Tory and an ass. And I couldn't stand for that, so I gave him a good thrashing." The Quaker laid aside the ferule and proceeded with extraordinary kindness to administer first aid to his young champion.

**The First School House in Howard.**

Walter Williams, describing the first school house in Howard county, said:

"It was built of round logs, the space between them chinked and then daubed with mud. About five feet from the west wall on the inside, and about five feet high, another log was placed, running clear across the building. Puncheons were fixed on this log and on the west wall on which the chimney was built. Fuel could be used any length not greater than the width of the building, and when it was burned through in the middle the ends were crowded together. In this manner was avoided the necessity of wood chopping. There was no danger of burning the floor, as it was of earth. The seats were stools or benches constructed by splitting a log and trimming off the splinters from the flat side and then putting four pegs into it from the round side for legs. The door was made of clapboards and there were no windows. Wooden pegs were driven into a log running lengthwise, upon which was laid a board that constituted the writing desk."

One of the pioneer schoolmasters was Burr Harrison. He taught from the "Introduction to the English Reader," "The English Reader," "The Moral Instructor," which contained many of the sayings of Benjamin Franklin. Harrison also used in his curriculum "Walker's Dictionary" and "Smiley's Arithmetic." Harrison left the tradition of his expertness in making goosequill pens and ink from copperas and maple bark.

A St. Charles schoolmaster of the period was Michael J. Noyes, who established a reputation for wit. One day on the ferryboat a traveler opened conversation with the pedagogue:

"I, sir, have certainly seen you at some time, but although your face is familiar, I remember not the time, place, circumstance or your name."

"My name, sir," said the schoolmaster, "is Contradiction." And with that enigmatic reply, he left the traveler guessing. The explanation was in the division of the name into two syllables,—No-yes.

Noyes afterwards moved to Illinois and established a newspaper which he named "The Illinois Sucker." Thereby he perpetrated what he called a "double agreement," to offset his "contradiction." But the double agreement mystified strangers until they learned the interpretation of the Indian "Illini."

**Daniel Webster at St. Louis University.**

The most notable feature of the visit of Daniel Webster in 1837 was his reception at St. Louis University. To the St. Louis Republic this account of the reception was given by Julia M. Bennett, as she received it in 1882 from one who had been a student at the university at the time of Webster's visit:

Mr. Webster was at this time making a political tour through the Western States, and on his arrival at St. Louis was entertained with a banquet and other festivities given in his honor. The president of the St. Louis University held Mr. Webster in much esteem for his intellectual attainments and he extended him an invitation to visit the institution, intimating that he would be received not as a politician, but as a scholar and a distinguished citizen of the United States.

Mr. Webster and the attending committee were met by Father Verhaegen, the president, and the whole party, Mr. Webster and the president, side by side, leading the way, advanced between the lines of students, who cheered as the visitor entered the grounds and continued their demonstrations until he had passed the main doorway of the college building.

The body of the hall was filled to overflowing with an ardent, expectant crowd of young men alive with interest and eager to have a further look at the "lion" of the day.

On Mr. Webster's entrance, the assemblage, as one person, rose and remained standing and cheering, until the guest and his party were seated. One of the students then stepped forward and delivered a short address in Latin.

He was followed by a young Mexican named Carnagel, a handsome fellow, possessed of engaging manners. In musical tones he addressed Mr. Webster in the Spanish language. Although the distinguished guest could not, as he afterward said, keep pace word for word with the speaker, he seemed, nevertheless, to take in his meaning.

Oscar W. Collett, the third and last of the youths who had been selected as the orators for the occasion, addressed a beautiful welcome to the great statesman. Not only did the audience applaud the young speaker, but Mr. Webster himself, who had so often listened, apparently untouched, to the impassioned eloquence of great orators, seemed for the moment thrown off his guard. Remembering his own boyhood days, with their many associations and the joyousness of his young life he was visibly touched and moved.

Rising slowly as soon as young Collett had made his bow and the applause had died away, his eyes wandered around the hall. He peered into the faces of the students; passed onto the faces of the black-robed Jesuits; for a moment he seemed to be musing on what was before him. He then delivered a short address, which was allowed by those whose good fortune it was to be present, to be one of the happiest efforts of his life. His measured flow of sentences, the eager, upturned faces of his youthful audience held spellbound by his utterances; the grave, decorous attention of the professors; the absolute stillness, which served to emphasize every word that dropped from his lips, made a scene that lingered forever in the memory of those who were present.

In concluding, Mr. Webster turned to the president and professors and said: "The work of the painter will molder in time; the sculptor's cunningly wrought images will perish; but your work, gentlemen, though invisible to the natural eye, will endure forever, for its subject is the immortal spirit, which can never be extinguished: You form, you mold, the intellect, the soul and they will survive the ruin no matter what the destruction of the visible universe."

Mr. Webster was immediately surrounded by an eager crowd, everyone desiring to get near him and a din of many voices filled the hall. He enjoyed all that was passing around him and conversed indiscriminately with every one that approached him, for a while, until, at a given signal, the meeting dispersed and the visitors departed.

**Professor Love's First School.**

Professor James Love in his ninety-fourth year gave Ovid Bell in the Fulton Gazette his recollections of school teaching in Callaway county about 1845. He had just come from Kentucky to Missouri when he learned that "Peg-Leg Davy" Dunlap, the Fulton schoolmaster, had left town. He promptly opened a private or "subscription" school. The first year he had about fifty pupils at $5 to $10 apiece, netting about $300 for his year's work. A good teacher received only

$8.33 a month in Kentucky then; so he remained in Fulton seven years, establishing an academy which grew into the present Westminster college.

The first year Prof. Love whipped one of his pupils, a son of Dr. Nathan Kouns. The doctor shot the teacher in the shoulder. Prof. Love tried to "draw," but the irate parent was too quick for him.

"Selling liquor was as respectable in those days," said Prof. Love, "as selling dry goods or groceries. Few persons hesitated to go into a saloon. Why, I was taken into a saloon when I was shot, and I was a member of the Presbyterian church and a Sunday-school teacher! Most of the stores always kept a barrel of whisky on hand for the free use of their customers. There was no ban on gambling, either. Gaming had not been prohibited by law. There were numerous persons who played cards for money, and they made no concealment of the fact."

Prof. Love was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1853. But for his difference with the doctor who shot him he might have remained in Fulton and been a member of the first class from Westminster college. The difficulty with the doctor forced him to go armed all the time. He said to Mr. Bell:

"It was nothing unusual for me to walk into my schoolroom, unbuckle my pistol belt and lay my arms down on the desk before my pupils. I had to go armed when I went to the postoffice or to church. I never passed Dr. Kouns without watching every move he made, and he was equally vigilant. When we met we turned as we passed and watched each other out of pistol range. Living in such a way became irksome to me, and finally I announced when my school closed in 1849 that I would not reopen it. I told the pupils my reason and said they might call it cowardice, or what not, but I did not want to live in a place where it was necessary for me to have a bodyguard when I went to the postoffice."

Dr. Kouns was fined $500 for shooting Prof. Love, but the governor of Missouri promptly remitted the fine.

**Pedagogy in Boone.**

One of the pioneer school teachers of Missouri was Judge Jesse A. Boulton. Almost within earshot of where the great University of Missouri is today, Judge Boulton in 1840, according to Walter Williams, had this experience:

"The trustees of the William Maupin school district in Boone county in 1840 were Joshua Lampton, William Maupin and Benjamin Conley. The highest wages that they had paid for a teacher previous to this time was $20 a month, and I told them that I would not teach for that price, but would teach for them a trial term of four months for $110, to which they agreed. The time set for the commencement of that term was November, proximo. I started from home to the schoolhouse on the morning of that day, and, after leaving the north boundary of the farm on which we lived, I followed a dim path through thick underbrush to within fifty yards of the school house. I frequently saw deer in going to and from my school. The school house was built of round logs, the cracks stopped with split wood and then plastered with mortar made of the black soil. It had a stick chimney and rock fireplace wide enough to receive a stick of wood 5 feet in length. The upper joists were barked hickory poles, with sheeting plank laid on them. The house was 20 feet square, with four windows, each window with twelve panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches the size. The benches were made of split logs of about 1 foot in diameter. Legs for the support of these benches were put in from the round side. The upper side had

been trimmed with a drawing knife until all splinters were removed. When my pupils came on the first morning of the school I had the greatest variety of reading books I ever saw in one school in my life. The school had never been classified.

"I remember the names of two books which were brought by the children of Reynard Pigg. One was a copy of Jack Halyard and another on astronomy, which looked as if it had arrived with the Pilgrims on the Mayflower. I gave each pupil a hasty examination, in order to learn his attainments. I then jotted down the names of the books which I wanted them to get. Reynard Pigg's children were two daughters and two sons, the oldest son being about twenty years of age. I gave him the list of books, as I did to the other children, and as they came into the schoolroom the next morning, I would ask them if their father intended getting the books desired. In due time I asked the oldest Pigg boy what his father said about getting the books. His answer came promptly, 'Dad says we've got enough books for us children.' I then told the Piggs to take their seats, and I did not call on them for recitation during the day. Some time between the dismissal of my pupils that afternoon and the assembling of the school on the following morning the books had been bought in Columbia and were on hand for use. Mr. Pigg was a boisterous man, and after the close of that school, when I encountered him at a sale or a muster, he would come up and slap me on the back and cry out loud enough to be heard a hundred yards distant, 'Well, Boulton, I have said it to your back and I can say it to your face, you are the best teacher ever I saunt to.' At the expiration of my first school they were anxious to continue me for five months, but I demanded $200 for the term, which they refused to give. I then took the Bear creek school, which paid me $47.50 per month. One hour after taking the Bear creek school, Joshua Lampton, the trustee of the former school, came to me and offered me the sum demanded, but was too late. The trustees of the Bear creek school district were Samuel Hanna, Walter R. Lenoir and Andrew Spence. Ashby Snell, a drummer for the school, visited a patron of the school named Leyi Parks, who will be remembered as the old constable of Columbia township. Mr. Parks being absent from home, his wife answered Mr. Snell by saying, 'We won't send our children to the school. We never sent them a day in their lives, and they have just as good health as our neighbor's children.' At the close of the Bear creek school, Gen. Thomas D. Grant and Thomas M. Allen, one of the pioneer Christian preachers of Missouri, offered me $500 for a ten months' school and board for myself and my horse."

### Bonne Femme's Ambitious Curriculum.

No longer satisfied with elementary schools, the well-to-do residents of the vicinity determined upon the establishment of Bonne Femme Academy. They organized trustees and in 1829 advertised in the Intelligencer, which had just been moved from Franklin to Fayette:

"The undersigned trustees of the Bonne Femme Academy are desirous of employing an instructor to take charge of that institution, competent to teach reading, writing, arithmetick, geography, the mathmaticks, some of the more ordinary branches of Belleslettres, and the Latin language. The schoolhouse is a very commodious brick building with two rooms of twenty-two feet square and situated in a healthy, highly moral, and very respectable neighborhood, possessing perhaps as many advantages for such an institution and offering as many inducements for boarders from a distance as any in the country. The trustees have fixed the rate of tuition per year, to consist of two sessions of five and a half months each, at eight dollars for reading, writing and arithmetick; twelve dollars for grammar, geography, the mathematicks, etc.; and eighteen dollars for the Latin language. It is expected that the number of scholars will be so numerous as to require the principal to procure a competent assistant in the lower branches. All applicants for the above situation will be punctually attended to, and their claims generously and impartially considered."

### The First Free School.

"The first free school west of the Mississippi" was opened in the basement of the Unitarian church on the site of what is now the building of the Missis-

sippi Valley Trust Company, Fourth and Pine streets. At the first communion service, on Easter Sunday, 1836, eight members raised $200 for philanthropic work. With this the school was started to give instruction for those who could not afford to pay tuition. Within a few weeks the school had an attendance of 100 children. Dr. Eliot soon inaugurated a movement in the interest of free public schools. He became an active member of the school board in 1848. At that time there were in operation five public schools with 2,000 pupils, while the census showed 8,000 children of school age. The city had been growing with marvelous rapidity. The board of education had property, a considerable amount of it, but no income or funds from which to build the needed school houses. Henry Ware Eliot, Jr., has told the story of a forward step by St. Louis, to which the later splendid development of the public school system owed much:

"Dr. Eliot drafted a memorial to the Missouri legislature asking for a tax of one-tenth of one per cent for the maintenance and increase of the public schools. The legislature passed an act to that effect and it was submitted to a vote of the taxpayers of St. Louis in June, 1849.

"The time was particularly unpropitious for the passing of such a measure, because Asiatic cholera had broken out in St. Louis in the preceding January. The cholera had been brought by immigrants from New Orleans, and while the greater part of the mortality was among the immigrants themselves, the toll of the plague was ten per cent, or 6,000 out of the 60,000 inhabitants of the city. In May of that year, moreover, a great fire had broken out on the levee and had burned twenty-three steamboats, and fifteen blocks of buildings in the business portion of the city, the loss totaling $5,000,000. Shortly after this came tremendous rains, which caused the river to rise, overflowing the lowlands of the Mississippi Valley. The citizens might well have thought the world was coming to an end.

"On the morning of the day when the vote was to be taken, five short articles from the pen of Dr. Eliot, urging taxpayers to go to the polls, were published in the papers. The members of the church went from house to house canvassing, and on the day of the election got the people out to the polls, so that the final vote was two to one in favor of the tax."

This was practically the beginning of the present public school system of St. Louis. Dr. Eliot and those associated with him established in the beginning the principle that the system should be free from sectarian teaching.

The same organization which raised $200 to start the first free school west of the Mississippi, which canvassed the city of St. Louis house by house to secure the vote imposing the first tax for school purposes, also furnished the seventeen charter members of Washington University and contributed four-fifths of the $478,000 which laid the foundations for this institution with its present $15,000,000 plant and endowment. Some members of that church group gave from fifteen to thirty per cent of all they were worth. One gave sixty per cent of his whole fortune.

**The Early Public Schools.**

Six teachers and two schoolhouses composed the public school system of St. Louis in 1842. One school was on Fourth, the other on Sixth street. Salaries were not munificent. Three of the teachers were men. One of them received $900 a year, the others $500 each. One of the young women, the

principal, was paid $500 a year. Her assistants received $400 each. The school board in 1840-1850 was composed of two members from each ward. These directors served without compensation. They had a superintendent and they elected the teachers. In 1854, the 97,000 people were served with twenty-five schools. The children attending were 3,881. They had seventy-two teachers. The first school houses were small. But in 1854 the city took pride in the possession of several three-story buildings "with ample provision for ventilation and heated by furnaces properly constructed."

The high school on Fifteenth and Olive was in course of construction. It was to be "an ornament to the city, a monument to its liberality and a perfect adaptation to the purposes for which it is designed." It was located "near the present western limits of the city." This high school was to be "for the use of those scholars of the public schools who have demeaned themselves the best, made most proficiency in the studies taught below and whose parents or guardians may desire them to acquire the higher rudiments of education."

The kindergarten in St. Louis had its origin when Robert J. Rombauer, William D'Oench and Thomas Richeson recommended the acceptance of Miss Susie Blow's proposition. The daughter of Henry T. Blow had become interested in kindergarten work. She offered to give her time to the supervision if the school board would assign one teacher and set apart a room. The offer was accepted and the "play school," as the school board called it, was started in 1873 at the Des Peres school with Miss Mary A. Timberlake as the paid assistant to Miss Blow.

**Wyman, the Born Master.**

Edward Wyman began his English and Classical High School in 1843 with one pupil, occupying a small room for which he paid eight dollars a month. He built Wyman's hall on Market street opposite the court house for the accommodation of his growing institution. Afterwards this became known as the Odeon and was used for public entertainments. When the founding of St. Louis was celebrated in 1847, the spectacular feature of the procession was the marching of the cadets from Wyman's High School. When the head of the school went into other business in 1852 he had over 300 students, many of them from outside of St. Louis. One of "Wyman's boys," was Edward Lawrence Adreon, who went into the office of the city comptroller on a month's trial and remained twenty years, eight of them as the city's chief financial officer. To three generations of St. Louis boys, Dr. Wyman was preceptor; except during two periods when ill health compelled him to change temporarily his vocation he taught boys for forty-five years. When he died he was conducing Wyman's Institute. The zenith of this born master's career was when he conducted the City University at Pine and Sixteenth streets. Three full companies of cadets splendidly drilled carried the university banner through the streets of St. Louis. The enrollment of the university reached 600 students at a time when St. Louis had about one-third of the present population. The master came to St. Louis from the home of his colonial and revolutionary ancestors at Charlestown, Mass. When he died in 1888 "Edward Wyman's boys" numbered many thousands. They were in places of influence and importance

PROF. EDWARD WYMAN
Founder and principal of Wyman's Academy

PROF. SYLVESTER WATERHOUSE
Who left his estate to Washington University to be held in trust one hundred years.

PROF. B. T. BLEWETT
One of the early Missouri educators

throughout the southwest. The preceptor knew and followed the career of every boy. He taught more than books contained. He trained character.

**Education in Missouri.**

"Parsimony in education is liberality in crime," said Governor Thomas T. Crittenden in his inaugural address.

"In Missouri about $10,000,000 is spent every year on public education—nearly four times as much as it costs to maintain the state government," said Governor Joseph W. Folk. "Missouri's tax rate is lower than that of any state of the Central West or in the South, and yet Missouri's permanent school fund is greater than that of any other state in the Union. There is a schoolhouse within reach of every Missouri child, and the percentage of school attendance in Missouri is greater than that of any other state in the Union. The percentage of illiteracy is less by nearly fifty per cent than the average in the United States. In every state there are some counties where illiteracy rules. That cannot be said of Missouri. There is not a county in this state that can be said to be illiterate. More newspapers and periodicals circulate in Missouri in proportion to the population than in Massachusetts. More books are read from the public libraries in Kansas City than in Boston. Everywhere virtue is honored and God is worshipped."

**High Tributes to the Educator.**

Blair told what Benton thought of the vocation of teaching.

"It was Woolsey's praise that he was the founder of Oxford University.

" . . . so famous,
So excellent in art and still so rising
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.

"It is a larger merit in our democratic statesman that he aided in the noble system of public schools in our city, and he was, as I am informed, the first secretary of its board. I have often heard him say that he had mistaken his vocation—that he would have accomplished more as a school-master than he had done—that he would have trained many to greatness. It is certain that this was genuine feeling for he found time amid labors, which would have overwhelmed almost any other man, to become the successful instructor of his own children."

To an assemblage of teachers, Champ Clark once said: "In looking back to my career as a teacher, I have one abiding consolation, and it is this: Wherever my pupils are, by land or sea, and in whatever occupation they are employed, they are my sworn friends. That glory cannot be taken away from me. I hear one of them preach occasionally, and I take pride in the fact that some people say he speaks like me. When I was in the crisis of my political career, another, voluntarily and without being asked, sent me more money than any other three men in the state, and wouldn't take my note as evidence of the debt. Such pupils are a joy forever. I sometimes regret that I ever quit teaching, for while I have succeeded fairly well in both law and politics, a lawyer is not always certain that he has rendered the state a service by acquitting his client, and a Congressman, through ignorance or inadvertence, may vote in such a way as to adversely affect the fortunes of 70,000,000 people; but a teacher knows that he is doing good when teaching the alphabet, the multiplica-

tion table, and the rudiments of grammar and geography. It is only when he strikes history that his feet get into the quicksands."

**The State University.**

When Missouri was admitted to the Union, Congress granted to the state two townships of land for "a seminary of learning." This was the beginning of the University of Missouri. The sections were well selected, as valuable in respect to fertility as any in the state. They were called "seminary lands." After waiting ten years the legislature in 1832 sold the lands. The price was too cheap. The amount realized was only $75,000. This money was put in the bank of the State of Missouri and allowed to grow by added interest until the fund reached $100,000. Then came the questions of character and location of the seminary. The legislature passed an act for a central institution with branches in different parts of the state. The provisions were ambitious but not practical. The scheme was too elaborate.

Switzler's History of Boone county is authority for the statement that when the seminary lands granted by Congress were to be offered at public sale, a home land ring was formed to hold down the bidding. An investor from Virginia, named West, came out to Missouri for the purpose of buying considerable land. The ring made him a prisoner and threatened his life if he bid at the sales. Mr. West appealed to Judge John F. Ryland, but the mob threatened to confine the judge if he interfered. The Virginian was told that he could have some land if the settlers did not bid on it, but he must not bid against the settlers. The result, according to Colonel Switzler, was that of some 25,000 acres of the seminary land in Jackson county, much that ought to have brought twenty dollars an acre, sold for less than half that amount. This occurred in the late thirties.

Higher education in Missouri received an impetus from Dr. John Gano Bryan of Potosi, according to Bryan Obear, the St. Louis historical writer.

"In the year 1837-38, Dr. John Gano Bryan had correspondence with a number of distinguished gentlemen in Virginia and North Carolina, whom he was endeavoring to persuade to remove their families to Missouri. Many of them objected to coming on the ground of inadequate educational facilities for their children. In order to overcome this objection, Dr. John Gano Bryan called upon Bishop Jackson Kemper, Episcopal bishop of the Diocese of Missouri, and requested him to conduct a school. The bishop assented to the proposal, and Dr. Bryan had a subscription list circulated amongst the Episcopalians by his attorney, Trusten Polk, to see how much they would give to a first class school—one to be established at Boonville, and the other in St. Louis county, in order that they might be accessible to all residents of Missouri.

"Dr. Bryan guaranteed the subscriptions of all subscribers, and built the schoolhouses at Boonville and in St. Louis county. Bishop Kemper and Mr. Menard, as superintendent, prepared a curriculum for the school, and when Dr. Bryan saw the course of education mapped out, he objected to it on the grounds that he did not want a theological college, but a school of common tuition, and said, 'if Bishop Kemper is going to run a theological college, I will run a medical college.' And to that end he requested Dr. J. W. Hall to call on the bishop and propose a medical department to 'Kemper's school.' Bishop Kemper accepted the proposition of Dr. Hall for a medical department. Dr. Bryan then erected a medical college on Cerre street and placed Dr. Joseph Nash McDowell in charge to superintend it.

"Kemper's school at Boonville and in St. Louis county did not meet the requirements,

and Dr. Bryan requested his attorney, John S. Phelps, of Springfield, to draft a bill for a university of the State of Missouri. The bill was read before a party of influential citizens in the office of Judge Geyer, of St. Louis, and after its approval, was given Captain M. Hickman of Boone county, with the request that he submit it to Judge David Todd and Dr. A. W. Rollins of Columbia, and if approved by them, have it introduced in the legislature. Section 1 of the bill appointed Peter Burdett of Clay county, Chauncey Durkee of Lewis county, Archibald Gamble of St. Louis county, John Gano Bryan of Washington county, and John S. Phelps of Greene county a committee to select a site. John P. Morris of Howard county was requested by Captain Hickman to introduce the bill. On Friday, Dec. 7, 1838, Mr. Morris, pursuant to notice, leave being first given, introduced 'a bill for the establishment of a university.'

"The committee met June 4, 1839, at Jefferson City, and Dr. John Gano Bryan was elected chairman. The committee located the university at Columbia. Dr. John Gano Bryan served as a member of the board of curators from the establishment until his death, August 10, 1860. During his administration he met from his private funds deficits of the university."

James S. Rollins was a member of the legislature at the time of the passage of the university bill and participated in the argument over the measure. The original measure underwent some amendment. As finally passed it provided for a state university, which must have a site of at least fifty acres within two miles of the county seat of Cole, Cooper, Howard, Boone, Callaway or Saline. It was an ingenious proposition and at once popular. The six central counties at once became competitors for the university. When the five commissioners met at Jefferson City in June, 1839, they found that Boone had outbid the other five with a bonus of $117,500. On the 4th of July, 1840, about one year after the commissioners had located the university at Columbia, the corner stone was laid. The address was delivered by James L. Minor of Jefferson City.

Practical in his zeal to improve the educational system of Missouri was the father of James S. Rollins. Dr. A. W. Rollins was a schoolmaster in Kentucky after he had by a hard struggle acquired sufficient education to teach. He saved from his salary as a teacher enough to carry him through college and to become a physician. When he died in Boone county his will disclosed the following:

"Having felt the great disadvantages of poverty in the acquisition of my own education, it is my will that my executors, herinafter named, shall, as early after my death as they shall deem it expedient, raise the sum of $10,000 by the sale of lands of which I may die siezed, and which I have not especially bequeathed in any of the foregoing items, which sum of $10,000 I desire may be set aside for the education of such poor and indigent youths of Boone county, male and female, as are not able to educate themselves."

**The Opportunity of David R. Francis.**

In his administration as governor came the opportunity to David R. Francis to do what, next to his World's Fair contribution, may be considered his greatest benefit to the greatest number. For several sessions antagonism on the part of legislators toward the state university had been growing. The Federal government paid to the state $600,000, being the long delayed refund of direct tax. Many bills to dispose of the money were introduced. Economists wished to buy and cancel state bonds. Governor Francis sent in a message urging the needs of the university and asking that the money be given as endowment. He pointed out that the condition of the university at that time was not in keeping

with the dignity of the state. The recommendation gained headway slowly. The first bill to give the money to the university carried with it the provision that it should not be available until changes were made in the personnel of the university management. Employing all his powers of persuasion to carry the appropriation, Governor Francis started legislation which reorganized the management. He sent in a measure which created a bi-partisan board of nine curators, only five of whom could be of one party, and only one of whom could be from a congressional district. This broke up party and clique control of the university. Another reform of Governor Francis provided that when the legislature made an appropriation for the university the money must remain in the state treasury until needed and drawn in proper form by voucher for actual expenditures.

The old custom had been to transfer the appropriations as soon as available to some favored bank in Columbia or elsewhere. The management underwent prompt changes. At the instance of Governor Francis, Doctor Jesse was secured for president of the university. The institution had entered upon a new era with encouraging prospects, when in February, 1892, the main building burned. Immediately Governor Francis called a special meeting of the legislature.

Taking the first train for Columbia, he addressed the students, advising them to remain and go on with their studies in temporary quarters. He promised them rebuilding should begin at once. For years successive legislatures had been threatening to separate the agriculture college and move it from Columbia. Such was the hostility occasioned by previous unpopular management that there was grave danger the fire might cost Columbia either the university or the college of agriculture. The special session was convened as quickly as the legal limit permitted. Governor Francis recommended an appropriation of $250,000 to rebuild, and the measure was passed promptly. From that day the University of Missouri has forged ahead in strength and influence at a rate that has been the surprise of educators everywhere. For his policies and his acts as governor, David R. Francis was called "the second father of the university." He ranked with James S. Rollins as one of the two men who had done most for the institution.

**Normal Schools.**

As early as 1845 the president of the state university presented to the people of Missouri the need of normal schools. Not until 1871 did the legislature take action establishing such schools. One of them was located at Warrensburg. The county voted $128,000 in bonds, the city of Warrensburg contributing $45,000 and private citizens giving a campus of sixteen acres.

The first state normal school of Missouri grew out of the experiment of Dr. Joseph Baldwin. It was established originally as a private school to train teachers. Dr. Baldwin was an enthusiast on education. He started the school in 1867 at Kirksville, making Mr. and Mrs. James M. Greenwood members of his faculty. At that time Mr. Greenwood had taught several country schools in Northeastern Missouri. One of the traditions is normal training was so lightly regarded that when the first teachers' institute was held in that part of

JAMES S. ROLLINS
Father of the University of Missouri

STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBIA, IN 1874

Missouri the only attendants for several days were Baldwin, Greenwood and Rev. J. Daniel Kintner. Nevertheless these three met day after day and carried on the institute with as much zeal and apparent interest as if they had a full house.

**Public School Management.**

The two chief cities of Missouri were singularly fortunate in the men who developed their public school systems. A few years after William T. Harris came to St. Louis, James M. Greenwood accepted the position of superintendent at Kansas City. William T. Harris made the public school system of St. Louis famous by introducing the first successful course of nature study in the country. He also gave the kindergarten its start in the public schools of St. Louis by encouraging the volunteer work in that direction of Miss Susie Blow. In an unusual manner Professor Harris combined very practical ideas in public education with his love for speculative philosophy. As the result of this unusual combination Professor Harris was able to give place to practical studies without lessening the historical and classic.

James M. Greenwood was born a schoolmaster. The first money he got—it was for taking a dose of bad-tasting medicine—he bought a spelling book for his sister, a primer for his brother and a second reader for himself. He worked on his father's farm and acquired a calf. With the money the calf brought, the boy bought a Virgil, a Latin grammar, a Spanish book, Butler's Analogy, Olmstead's Philosophy, and Davies' Algebra, Geometry and Surveying. As the nearest school was several miles away, the boy studied at home. When he was sixteen he took a school and taught.

"Last year," said Superintendent Greenwood in one of his reports, "I gave much patient thought to the subject of corporal punishment; not with the avowed purpose of excluding it entirely from our schools, because such action would, in my opinion, have been injudicious and subversive to the ends sought to be accomplished; but to regulate its administration in such a manner as to make it beneficial, if possible, whenever it should be inflicted. Careful investigation and practical experience convince me that in nine cases out of ten in which corporal punishment (whipping) is inflicted either the parent or teacher ought to be whipped instead of the child. This is a harsh sentence, yet it is true."

Superintendent Greenwood once said: "Ex-Governor Hardin was fully impressed with the importance of the teacher's position when he once said it required more skill and judgment to manage properly all of the interests of a large school than to govern the State of Missouri. While this may be a strong figure of speech, it nevertheless contains a great deal of truth."

**Greenwood on Spelling Reform.**

The late J. M. Greenwood left to the school teachers of Missouri what may be considered a farewell message. The subject was reform spelling. The message was written in April, 1914. In the straightforward, commonsense words always characteristic of him, this dean of Missouri educators traced the history of the English spelling and of the various proposed reforms. He told of one failure, in which he participated, to introduce "simplified spelling." In 1897

William T. Harris, then commissioner of education, Louis F. Soldan, the St. Louis superintendent, and Thomas M. Balliet of Springfield, Massachusetts, were appointed a committee by the National Educational Association to report on the spelling of some words which in their judgment might be abbreviated. The next year the committee recommended these changes: Program (programme), tho (though), altho (although), thoro (thorough), thorofare (thoroughfare), thru (through), thruout (throughout), catalog (catalogue), prolog (prologue), decalog (decalogue), demagog (demagogue), pedagog (pedagogue).

After much discussion the directors of the National Association voted in favor of the report, 18 to 16. Dr. Greenwood was one of the eighteen.

"This change," he said, "was recommended nearly sixteen years ago, and outside of school journals it has made little headway in the United States, and practically none among other English-speaking people.

"And now the conclusion is we can afford to let such writers as Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, Orpheus C. Kerr, Petroleum V. Nasby, Mr. Dooley, and occasionally a college or university professor, through ignorance or mental deficiency, take phonetic liberty with the spelling of our language, but beyond this narrow field the abbreviation freaks should be tied to a hitching post.

"The object of the Missouri State Teachers' Association is to reform or improve school methods, school organizations and school instruction and management. When we get through with these questions it will be time to chase 'bob-tailed spelling' shadows."

**Greenwood's Ideals.**

In the plainest words Professor Greenwood set forth his ideals of public school education. As to superintendents, teachers, pupils and even boards of education he held these ideals and was not slow to put them in his annual reports and addresses:

"Sound sense is the best qualification in a superintendent. He should know when to undertake a new scheme without bankrupting the community; when to take a dog by the ears to avoid getting bit, and when to let said dog loose and hie to the mountains of Hepsidam."

"If a pupil is kept in after regular school hours, it should be only for discipline, not to learn lessons he had failed to prepare. Study as a means of punishment is radically wrong. Study must come from glad and voluntary effort. Any other kind of study is unnatural, a delusion and a fraud. Interest in books cannot be awakened by detaining classes after school hours.

"The most important and responsible duty the board is required to perform is the selection of competent teachers. The best talent salary will command should be employed. It is a peremptory duty to the children and also to the public to secure the services of well qualified, skillful and judicious teachers. No system of schools having incompetent teachers can achieve real success. As the teacher is, so will the school be, the stream never rising above its fountain.

"In an economic point of view, the poor teacher is dear at any price. It is not only a reckless waste of money to employ such, but the positive injury inflicted upon the children cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. At times, it requires all the heroism of a martyr for members of a school board to say 'No!' when besieged by applicants for positions. Rather than employ incompetent teachers, it would be far better to make charitable donations to such and advise them to follow some other vocation.

"Low ideals produce poor schools, and just in proportion as the teacher's notion of

what good teaching is will the school improve or degenerate in quality. The only motto we have is to gather in the best there is in teaching in the whole country, and use it in our schools.

"There is but one way to keep the schools up to the standard of excellence they have already obtained, and that is to employ teachers competent to do the work.

"How can a teacher inspire children with a burning thirst for knowledge unless the fire first burnt with a fervent glow upon the altar of a teacher's heart? How can a teacher go forth each year to the conquest of new realms of thought without enthusiasm and an insatiable desire to extend the boundaries of knowledge. Would that all the teachers in this broad land of ours could be touched by some magic wand that would arouse them to the most intense activity, and fill their souls with a thirst for knowledge that dims not with declining years!

"Managing and teaching require tact and skill: tact in management and skill in imparting instruction. The teacher must know what to do and how to do. Novices and experimenters should practice upon other material than mere school children. Teachers learn how to teach either in a regular training school, or after years of experience in the school-room. To enumerate the essential qualifications of the successful teacher would exceed the limits of this article, but among other considerations the following are perhaps pre-eminent:

"1, common sense; 2, ability to manage and to harmonize conflicting interests; 3, adaptability to school-room work; 4, a good knowledge of what education means and what it is; 5, knowledge of the branches to be taught; 6, skill and ingenuity in imparting instruction; 7, a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the children; 8, a cultivated voice and manner; 9 a love for the work."

**Missouri's Most Recent Forward Step.**

The winter of 1913 brought what educators pronounced the best work done for the public schools of Missouri in a generation. Governor Elliott W. Major, speaking of the results accomplished as shown by the first year, said:

"The last legislature accomplished more for the cause of education than had been accomplished in any previous period of twenty-five years. The efficiency of our system of popular education is the beginning and the way of true progress. Missouri now is unquestionably in the forefront in educational interests. The special aid given is in addition to the $1,644,651.22 distributed last year from the state's revenue to the public schools, and that without any increase whatever in the rate of taxation." Analyzing this legislation the governor continued:

"The first of these new acts, the Carter-Brydon law, provides special state aid for weak rural school districts. Whenever the funds of such districts under the maximum rate levied, plus the public school moneys distributed, are insufficient to provide eight months' school, then the state will make up the deficit, thereby guaranteeing to the boys and girls in every country district an opportunity for eight months' school work in each scholastic year. Last year, under its provisions, the state gave special aid to 1,745 rural school districts, giving the total sum of $150,730.60. If there were only thirty pupils to the district, this means the state gave special aid in weak rural districts to 52,350 boys and girls. This service reached practically every portion of rural Missouri, because districts were aided in 113 of the 114 counties.

"The Wilson-McRoberts law provides for aid in the weak town, city or consolidated school districts organized as village schools, thereby enabling such districts to maintain an approved high school, and provides special aid in sums ranging from $200 to $800 per annum. Such districts must maintain at least two years of approved high school work and an approved course of at least one year in agriculture. The state gave special aid to 167 town and village schools, giving therefor $85,169.58. There were sixteen counties in the

state without approved high schools in 1911, and now there are only six, and before the close of the present year there will be none.

"The Buford-Colley law provides for the establishment of rural high schools, opening the way and providing the means for the young men and women in rural Missouri to have the benefits of a high-school education without leaving their homes. Under this law the state will give $2,000 for building and equipping a central high school building, and give a minimum of $300 per annum for its maintenance. This law had been in effect since March, 1913, and thirty-six rural high schools have been formed under its provision.

"The Crossley-Snodgrass law provides for the establishment of a teachers' training course in high schools, to be selected by the state superintendent of public schools. Not more than two can be established in any one county. The state will give special aid to such schools, providing the teachers' training course, in the sum of $750 per annum, and if two are selected in the same county, then $1,200 per annum, or $600 for each school. Under this law last year seventy-three first-class high schools have added the teachers' training course, and more than 1,500 young men and women are taking the course. We have 10,000 public schools, 500 of which are high schools, with an attendance of 975,000 children, instructed by some 18,700 teachers.

"The Crossley-Orr law provides for free text-books. A proper proportion of the county foreign insurance tax moneys received from the state will be placed to the credit of the incidental fund of each district, for purchase of free text-books for the children. Before the enactment of this law, there were only five districts in the state that had free text-books —to-wit: St. Louis City, two districts in Wayne county, and two in Oregon county. Free text-books are now supplied in Kansas City, Chillicothe, Cape Girardeau, Hancock school in St. Louis county, Cuba, Graniteville, Mountain Grove, Minden Mines and forty-three rural school districts."

Newspaper campaigning had not little to do with this forward step in education by Missouri. In 1912, at the City Club, David F. Houston, then chancellor of Washington University, sought Paul W. Brown, then editor of the St. Louis Republic, and said:

"I want to talk to you about the rural schools of Missouri and their needs. There are 10,000 rural schoolrooms in Missouri; 6,000 of these have not the same teachers they had last year, and next year 6,000 of them will not have the same teachers they have now."

For nearly an hour the chancellor talked of the deficiencies of rural education in Missouri. He laid the foundation for an intelligent newspaper campaign which supported insistently these rural school bills drawn up by Missouri educators and introduced in the general assembly at the following session.

**Some of the Higher Institutions.**

In 1875 Missouri had twenty universities and colleges and twelve institutions of higher education for women.

"The oldest Protestant college in the Louisiana Purchase" was the early description given the institution now known as Lindenwood. Maj. George C. Sibley, one of the commissioners who laid out the Santa Fe Trail, and his wife, Mary Easton Sibley, were the founders in 1828. A tract of twenty-nine acres on the high ground overlooking St. Charles was cleared. A log house was built and in that the college was started. The number of linden trees on the site suggested the name. Major and Mrs. Sibley conducted the institution more than twenty years. Girls from well-to-do families at St. Louis and along the Missouri river were sent to Lindenwood. For a number of years the college

was under the control of the United Presbyterian Synod of Missouri. After the Civil war the northern branch of the Presbyterian church took charge. Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls of St. Louis was a member of the board of directors for forty years or more. Major Sibley and his wife and Judge John S. Watson were large contributors to the endowment. Notable givers of the present generation were James Gay Butler and his wife. Hundreds of alumnae are prominent women in Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, Kentucky, Indiana and Kansas.

Drury College at Springfield has forged rapidly to the front with the new spirit of the Ozarks. It has taken high rank among institutions under denominational auspices.

**The Athens of Missouri.**

Lexington came well by its early name of "the Athens of Missouri." Baptist College had its beginning there about 1845. It occupied at that time what was considered the finest building in the state outside of St. Louis and St. Joseph. Soldiers occupied this structure in war time and vandalism completed the wreck.

Central College at Lexington was originally Masonic College, established by the order long before the Civil war. In the college building and on the high ground surrounding, Mulligan stood a siege by Price's army for several days. Hot cannon balls, rolling bales of hemp, a ton of powder in the basement added interest to ordinary war. After the war Masonic College became Central Female College under the Methodist church, South.

Elizabeth Aull of Lexington left $20,000 to found the "Female Institute" which was given her name. The institute was chartered in 1860. The first building was the residence of Robert Aull.

Wentworth Military Academy was added later to Lexington's extraordinary group of institutions for higher education. It was founded by Stephen G. Wentworth and obtained high rank as a preparatory school for university courses.

Hardin College at Mexico owed much to Governor Charles H. Hardin. The ex-governor left between $60,000 and $70,000 in the form of endowment, but provided that from year to year forty per cent of the income should be returned to the endowment until that fund should reach $500,000. Hardin College was established about 1875.

Another successful educational enterprise was due largely to ex-Governor Hardin. In 1889 the citizens of Mexico, headed by the ex-governor, raised a considerable sum to purchase twenty acres of ground on which was built and equipped one of the most complete military schools of the country, the Missouri Military Academy.

Central Wesleyan College at Warrenton was founded by the German Methodists, and is under the patronage of the St. Louis German and Western German conferences. The equipment embraces a well-selected library of about 4,000 volumes, a large and scientifically arranged museum, a carefully stocked laboratory for chemical study and an astronomical observatory. Music, always a favorite study with the Germans, is an emphasized feature in the curriculum. There are pianos enough scattered about the buildings to drive a nervous man wild during "practice hours." The college has both classical and scientific courses, and without any aid from the state is flourishing. "It is denomina-

tional, but not sectarian," the catalog says. "It is Christian from principle, because it believes that Christianity is the highest form of the divine revelation to man, and destined to become the absolute religion. It is Christian from policy, because without exhibiting and teaching the Christian religion, the best types of broad culture, pure morality, and active philanthropy can not be realized."

**Missouri the Pioneer in Co-education.**

Missouri pioneered the way in co-education. When Christian University was established at Canton in 1851 it received from the state a charter granting to women the right to co-equal, co-ordinate education. The board which organized the institution was composed of James S. Green, who obtained a national reputation as an orator in the United States Senate, D. F. Henderson, Samuel Church, John T. Jones, John Jameson, R. A. Green and David Stewart. These men opened the university to young men and young women, making it the first institution of its class to adopt the principle of co-education. The movement proved so popular and promising that in 1856 James Shannon, president of the State University, took the presidency of Christian University. The war hit hard. The principal college building was used to house troops. An endowment of several hundred thousand dollars was lost through the failure of investments. In 1919-20, through the generous gifts of Robert H. Stockton and Mrs. Culver this institution was enabled to enter upon a greatly enlarged career of usefulness, taking the names of the two benefactors.

The city of Marshall in Saline county gave $120,000 to establish Missouri Valley College under the control of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The main structure is one of the most artistic college buildings in the state.

St. Vincent's College at Cape Girardeau was founded with a charter from the Missouri legislature giving it the authority to confer all degrees usually granted by universities. In its earlier history St. Vincent was attended by Catholic youth from all parts of the South. The explosion of the steamboat Sea Bird with 1,500 barrels of gunpowder just opposite the college in 1849 damaged the buildings considerably.

**How William Jewell College was Located.**

There was strong competition in the early years for the location of colleges. Liberty obtained William Jewell as the result of a masterly speech and shrewd diplomacy of Alexander W. Doniphan. The meeting to decide upon the place was held at Boonville. In a sketch presented to the Missouri Historical Society, L. M. Lawson wrote:

"Just when the balloting was about to begin, Dr. William Jewell, of Columbia, proposed to the convention an additional subscription of ten thousand dollars, to be paid in lands situated in Mercer, Sullivan and Grundy counties, in the State of Missouri, the subscriber to have the corresponding number of votes on the question of the location of the college and the right to bestow a name upon the new institution. This proposition was earnestly supported by the Boonville delegation and others, but was strongly opposed by General Doniphan and his allies. It was believed that Dr. Jewell was favorable to Boonville as the home of the college. General Doniphan's opposition was most vigorous. He demonstrated the injustice of permitting the votes which represented an arbitrary valuation of unimproved and uncultivated land to weigh against the votes of subscriptions

CENTRAL FEMALE COLLEGE AT LEXINGTON
From an old picture made in the early days of the college

ELIZABETH AULL SEMINARY
The original building in which the institution was started at Lexington

which represented available funds. He kindled in the breasts of his allies the same ardor that burned in his own. The justice of his contention was recognized, his arguments availed with a majority of the convention, and the proposition of Dr. Jewell was rejected.

"Then came the balloting upon the choice among the places in nomination. An entente cordiale had long existed between the counties of Howard and Clay. The territory of the latter was formerly a part of Howard county, and there were close family connections between them. Clay county had the largest subscription in the list, and Howard county the smallest. Under the influence of Doniphan, and the ties of friendship and consanguinity that bound the peoples together, Howard county made common cause with Clay, and the two joined made an absolute majority for Liberty, and the location was determined."

The next day Doniphan made another adroit speech proposing that the institution be called William Jewell College. The resolution was carried and Mr. Jewell gave one-third of his fortune.

The pride of William Jewell College is the private library which, Spurgeon, the famous London preacher, was a lifetime in collecting. It numbers 7,000 volumes and is pronounced by theological scholars the finest collection of books on Puritan theology in the world.

William Jewell College might be said to have specialized in theology, without being limited in its scientific and classical training. As early as 1869, a department of William Jewell was known as the Jeremiah Vardeman school of theology, and this developed into the William Jewell school of theology. This combination of theology with the usual college departments has given a distinctive character to the institution, so much so that there have been many years when William Jewell has had a larger proportion of ministerial students in attendance upon the regular collegiate classes than any other college in the United States. From the beginning, on January 1, 1850, there has not been a year when a large percentage of the students of William Jewell did not belong to the ministerial class. From this Missouri institution have gone out ministers to every part of the United States. One of the interesting evidences of the character of William Jewell dates back to a period in the fifties when financial difficulties threatened suspension. The faculty continued the college without salaries until better times warranted the trustees in resuming their functions.

**The Decade of Colleges.**

"The decade of colleges" would describe in one way the ten years of Missouri history from 1850 to 1860. More than twenty institutions of higher education, with authority to confer degrees, were chartered by the state in that period. Every denomination felt that it must have at least one college in Missouri. Strong bodies, like the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Christians, established from two to four colleges in Missouri, with due regard to the claims of the several sections of the state. Every ambitious community aspired to have a college or a seminary. When a new institution was projected there was lively competition by cities and towns to secure the location. Cash and land and buildings were offered. Business interests and local pride cooperated with religious zeal in the bidding. Several interior cities of the state secured more than one institution. Co-education was exceptional before the

Civil war. In several instances, the location of a college for young men prompted the establishment of a college for young women in the same community. Half a dozen of these interior cities, like Lexington, Columbia, Fayette, Fulton, became rivals for the title of "the Athens of Missouri."

Perhaps the most significant fact about these colleges of the fifties, as it relates to the Missouri spirit of that day, is that so many of them survived the paralyzing effect of the Civil war. More than half of them are not only still in existence but with buildings, endowments and attendance greatly increased. They will celebrate their seventieth anniversaries between 1920 and 1930. One of these is Westminster, at Fulton, established in 1853.

The Presbyterians of that generation, so the records show, felt that the time had come for them to have a college in Missouri. The Rev. Dr. Potts was especially active. He was a minister of great personal popularity, so great that he was once described as "all the rage" in St. Louis. Dr. Potts aroused interest among St. Louis Presbyterians. The city made no claim for location but promised financial aid. The selection was left to the interior of the state and the synod received propositions. Richmond, Boonville, St. Charles and Fulton were the competitors. The synod received the bids but before taking action, prayer was offered. Fulton offered $15,391 cash, eighteen acres of land, a building known as Fulton college and an unfinished two-story house and won the location.

**The Beginning of Westminster.**

St. Louis Presbyterians were not laggard in extending the assistance promised. But linked historically with this beginning of Westminster College was a tragedy which shocked the state. Joseph Charless, the banker, had been especially interested in the college movement. He was the son of the founder of the first newspaper west of the Mississippi, the son of the good woman who was one of the nine persons who organized the first Presbyterian church in Missouri. Mr. Charless undertook the work of organizing St. Louis Presbyterians to raise the endowment for Westminster. He had called a meeting for that purpose when he was shot and killed by Joseph W. Thornton. As a director of the bank in which Thornton had been employed, Mr. Charless had testified in the prosecution of Thornton. The trial had resulted in conviction. Thornton, of good family and high spirited, brooded over the disgrace until in his desperation he armed himself and shot Mr. Charless. The plea of insanity failed to save him and he was executed.

Upon the settlement of the Charless estate, an only daughter, Mrs. LeBourgeois, joined with her husband in a letter to the trustees of Westminster asking "the privilege" of carrying out the intention of her father and making a contribution to the endowment. The sum of $20,000 was given and was recognized in the establishment of "the Charless Professorship of Physical Science."

Associated with the history of nearly every one of these Missouri colleges is something of general human interest. Thus Westminster pioneered the way in finding the solution of the problem of college discipline, a very interesting question and one on which there was much agitation in that day. Dr. S. S. Laws was for some years in the early period the president of Westminster.

He had the old theory of college discipline and he enforced it with iron rule. One thing he insisted on was that a student although innocent himself must give information against his fellow students if he had knowledge of any infraction of the rules. Dr. Laws expelled two students for refusing to tell on other students. In one year he dismissed six seniors. The students appealed to the synodical body which was the higher government of Westminster. The synod sent to colleges throughout the United States and sought information as to policies in cases of discipline. They learned that the old policies were undergoing change; that the honor system was dawning; that college discipline was becoming Americanized, so to say. The synod summed up the conclusions in this form:

> Resolved, that the law of Westminster college, requiring students "to give all the information in their possession respecting any occurrence or misconduct affecting the good order of the institution" is hereby abolished, leaving the faculty the rights given in the common law of colleges to be exercised in such extreme cases, as may seem to demand a resort to testimony so obnoxious to the feelings of our youth.

Six cases of dismissal were reversed. Dr. Laws resigned. The trustees accepted the resignation with a tribute to his scholarly character, but Westminster joined the ranks of American colleges recognizing the personal honor of the student.

The graduation of the third generation was Westminster's distinction in 1920. No other college in Missouri, and few in the United States has such a record of alumni. When Robert McPheeters, bearer of a family name historic in Missouri, took his degree, he was following his father and his grandfather. The father, Colin A. McPheeters, was a member of the faculty. The grandfather, Judge McPheeters, one of the early graduates of Westminster, was for years probate judge of Callaway county.

Westminster long ago passed out of the class of small and struggling colleges. When comparison was made some time ago, Westminster ranked with the first twelve of the thirty-nine Presbyterian colleges. Westminster was eleventh in age, thirteenth in income and expenditure, ninth in permanent endowment.

Westminster celebrated the centennial of Missouri statehood by a well organized movement headed by John Paul Jones, an alumnus, to increase the assets of the institution to more than $1,500,000. At the same time, the institution took another forward step in the announcement by President Reed of the plans of the new gymnasium to be one of the largest and finest in Missouri.

When the corner stone of Westminster was laid, it was stated that two-thirds of the colleges of the United States were directly or indirectly under the control of the Presbyterian church. It is an interesting fact that the first graduate of Westminster, James G. Smith, became a Baptist minister. One of the earliest catalogues of Westminster announced that "boarding, including washing, lights, and fires in Fulton or within a reasonable distance" could be had at from $1.50 to $3 a week. Fulton secured the location by a good margin, receiving thirty-two votes in the synod. Richmond was next with eighteen. St. Charles and Boonville received each three votes.

**The Pioneer Problem of College Discipline.**

Discipline was a problem at the colleges for young Missourians of both sexes in the fifties. Parents of the girls at Lindenwood authorized the faculty to exercise strict censorship over private correspondence. According to one rule of that period, "all letters addressed to improper persons were destroyed." Another rule classed "tattling" as a major offense. The college charter of Lindenwood, granted in 1853, declared the purpose of the institution to be to fit young women for "the useful life."

St. Charles did not give up the effort to secure a college for young men after the defeat over the location of Westminster. When the Methodists moved in the matter of Central College, Marvin led the St. Charles contingent. But on the other side for Fayette was Caples. Marvin and Caples were the two great Methodist preachers of that day in Missouri. Fayette won and so great was the joy thereof that the town illuminated and fired a salute with one of the cannon brought back from the Mexican war by Doniphan. The contest over the location took place about 1855 and within two years afterwards Central college for men was in operation. A little later, Central Female college was established.

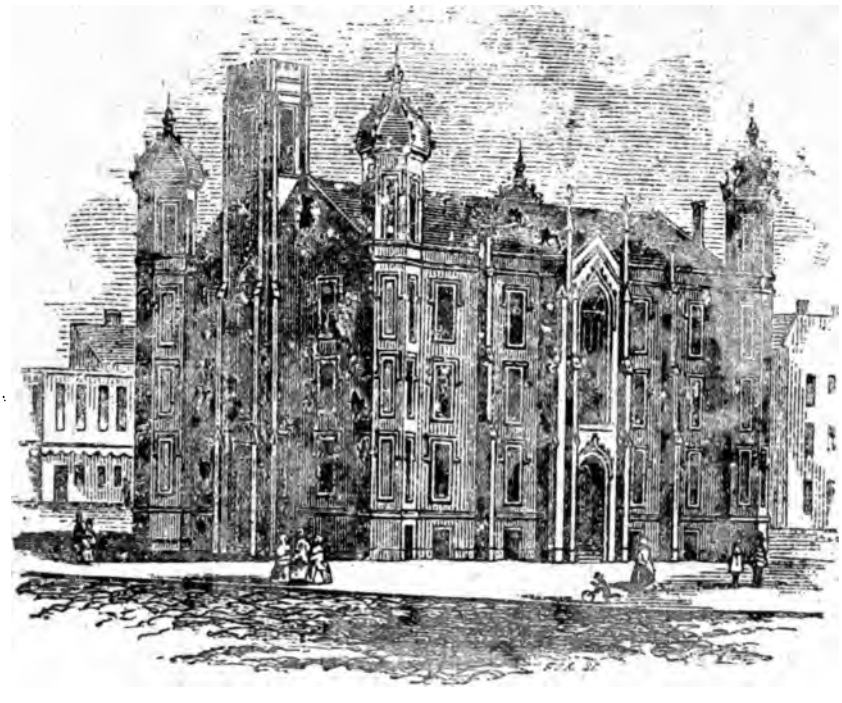
Fayette had been a center of higher education even earlier than the beginning of the two Central colleges. In 1844, the Howard High school, with Professor Carr W. Pritchett at the head of it, was attracting students from all parts of Central Missouri. While the institution was called a high school the standards were as high as some small colleges. The prestige of the Howard High school was of much advantage to the Central colleges in their earlier years. Among the laymen who held the leadership for Fayette in the battle for location was Abiel Leonard. Among the earliest contributors to the endowment of the Central colleges was Robert A. Barnes, the St. Louis banker, who left his fortune for the establishment of Barnes hospital. Barnes was not a Methodist but as he said in his will he believed that Methodists made money go farther than other denominations. Mr. Barnes gave Central college $25,000 to endow the Robert A. Barnes Chair of Greek and Latin. He added $20,000 for the Mary A. Barnes Chair of English and Modern Languages, a memorial of his mother.

"An institution of the highest order" was the expression of the Methodist conference sitting in St. Louis when it was decided to proceed with the location of Central college.

Fayette's fame as an educational center went back to an earlier time than that of the Howard High school. In 1835 Fayette academy, with Archibald Patterson as principal was flourishing.

Glasgow was the gainer by the transition from Howard High school to Central College at Fayette. Professor Pritchett was placed in charge of the old Masonic seminary at Glasgow. The name was changed to Pritchett Institute. Miss Berenice Morrison gave $100,000, one-half to endow the Institute and the other half for an astronomical observatory to be named the Morrison observatory. Under Professor Pritchett's direction the observatory took high rank with astronomers.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL
Seventeenth Street and Christy Avenue, before the war



ST. LOUIS HIGH SCHOOL
Olive and Fifteenth streets, in 1860

**When Missouri "Gave Until It Hurt."**

The grand prize in the competition for "institutions of learning" as they were commonly called in Missouri before the Civil war, was the location of the state university. Congress, when Missouri was admitted had set apart two townships of public land for "a university," 46,080 acres. After four years of struggle in the legislature a plan was adopted by which Boone, Callaway, Howard, Cooper and Cole counties were to compete in propositions for the location. The counties selected were not only the richest in wealth but they were central and heavily populated. Howard county people for a long time held to the belief that Boone won because the representatives of that county met the Howard commissioners from Fayette, learned how much they were authorized to bid, hurried back to their county and obtained authority to increase the Boone bid. Land and cash were offered. The value of the considerations were estimated at the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boone | $117,900 |
| Callaway | 96,000 |
| Howard | 94,000 |
| Cooper | 40,000 |
| Cole | 30,000 |

Whether there was anything in the Howard tradition that Boone raised that county's bid after learning what others were going to offer, there is no question that the people who won the location "gave until it hurt." Thomas Jefferson Lowry told of the gift of Edward Camplin who could neither read nor write. Camplin subscribed $3,000 and paid it. Five young men, students at Bonne Femme academy, put down their names for $100 each and paid. "Other men," said Mr. Lowry, "actually subscribed and afterwards paid more than they were worth at the time of their subscriptions, selling their farms, selling themselves out of house and home."

Upon James S. Rollins, who was in the legislature, representing Boone, the title of "Pater Universitatis Missourienses" was bestowed by Edward Wyman, the head of Wyman's Academy. When President Lathrop took charge in December, 1840, he said:

"I accept, gentlemen, the place offered me with a mind open to the greatness of the trust I hereby assume, and with full determination to pursue with zeal and fidelity, and the ability God has given me, the high and valuable end for the accomplishment of which the appointment has been made."

Some notable forward steps were taken as the university grew. In 1859, the university was reconstructed as to methods. The new plan adopted was substantially that of the University of Virginia. In 1865, L. M. Lawson, an alumnus of 1853, induced the curators to make their first move to add the college of agriculture. A memorial on the importance of agricultural education was prepared and presented to the legislature, Mr. Lawson undertaking to press for favorable action.

In 1882, the tombstone of Thomas Jefferson was presented to the university by the Misses Randolph and placed upon the campus. The stone had been planned by Jefferson and inscribed according to his directions. A more modern and impressive monument had taken its place.

**Hickory Cabin College.**

In a log house, known as "Hickory Cabin," a Missouri college had its beginning. The founder was a little woman who weighed ninety pounds,—Eliza Ann Carleton, born in Virginia and a resident of Missouri from the middle forties. She planned to go to heathen lands as a missionary; but one day while reading her Bible, the decision was made to establish an institution for the higher education of Missouri boys and girls. Miss Carleton had earned money, teaching a common school, and had graduated with the degree of master of arts at Arcadia college. She started her college in Hickory Cabin, eight miles from Farmington in 1854. Five years later the legislature granted her a charter. Four times the college buildings were rebuilt, each time larger. Throughout the Civil war, the college was kept open, sometimes within the sound of cannon. For thirty-one years Miss Carleton was president, business manager, teacher and matron of the institution. She performed these duties nine months in the year and spent her vacations going about and encouraging new students to come. In 1885, with old age coming on, Miss Carleton deeded the college to the Methodist church and gave up some of her previous duties, but continued a member of the board and took an active interest in promoting the college. She lived in the college dormitory and died there, at the age of eighty-nine.

**The Parkville Experiment.**

George S. Park was a veteran of the Mexican war and an anti-slavery editor when he bought a large tract of land and planned Parkville to be a great city. He thought the elbow of the Missouri river was the predestined location for a metropolis, but didn't measure the civic spirit of the men who backed Kansas City, nine miles to the south of him. Just forty-five years ago Dr. John A. McAfee was looking for a place to locate a college which would carry out a new idea. Colonel Park turned over an old stone hotel and a piece of ground for a five years' trial of Dr. McAfee's experiment. If the theory did not work out the property was to revert to the colonel. But it did work. And today Missouri shows the world the most successful effort at self help toward higher education.

Park College is a plant worth more than $1,000,000. Students made the brick and put them into the group of halls and dormitories and other structures. They have worked the farm and produced their own food. They have raised the horses and the mules with which the land is tilled. Park College turns off the cattle, the hogs, the dairy and other products which pay the professors' salaries and all the labor is performed by the students who turn in hours of labor in return for tuition and board.

An electrical shop, a printing plant, building and engineering industries give opportunities to those who wish to acquire trades. The students are divided into families. Those who belong to "Family One" have made exceptionally good records. They pay nothing but give three and one-half hours labor. Members of "Family Three" are those who pay $26 and work half a day for board and tuition.

As the purpose was to meet the needs of those unable to pay for higher education, the institution provided high school as well as college courses. Most of

the students have come from the farms. In 1914 Parks College had an attendance of near 500. Fifteen religious faiths were represented, Presbyterians and Methodists leading. The alumni lists show that about fifty per cent of the young men graduates become ministers. Of the remainder many are teachers, missionaries, doctors, social service workers and farmers.

**Chapel Hill College.**

In the history of educational institutions of Missouri there is nothing that quite parallels the record of Chapel Hill College. Archibald Wellington Ridings came out from North Carolina bringing a large retinue of slaves with him and established one of the finest estates in Central Missouri. He located on a sightly elevation near the southern border of Lafayette county. There he built what at that time was a mansion. The numerous cabins for the slaves made a community settlement. He had been educated at the North Carolina State University and was a man fond of books. He gave the name of Chapel Hill to his Missouri estate. Soon after settling in Lafayette county, Mr. Ridings married Miss Mary J. Stapp, a sister of the first wife of Senator Cockrell. A brother of Miss Stapp, Milton Stapp, a boy of seventeen, met with an accident while hunting and lost a leg. Mr. Ridings undertook the education of the youth and to make the home study more interesting told him to invite two or three of his friends to share the lessons with him. The teacher became so interested in the work that he announced he would take all who wished to come at the beginning of the next school year in September. Ten young men presented themselves. Out of this beginning grew Chapel Hill college, with a stone building for class rooms, and numerous two-room cottages with porches for dormitories for the boy students. The girls who came in numbers were boarded in private families. The faculty increased until it numbered ten professors besides the president. Mr. Ridings continued to fill one of the chairs. Senator Cockrell graduated from the institution and taught Greek and Latin there for a year. During some years before the war Chapel Hill was one of the largest institutions for higher education in the state. The Marmadukes, Colonel Bledsoe, of Bledsoe Battery fame; Joseph W. Mercer, John T. Crisp, the Jack family and hundreds of others were numbered among the students. Many Mexican youth attended school at Chapel Hill. Some of the most eminent divines of the Cumberland Presbyterian church were educated there. Lodging, board and candles cost the students $1 to $1.25 a week. The tuition was on a like reasonable scale. On the 26th of March, 1863, when the war feeling was at its height, the college was burned. It was not restored.

While Cockrell was attending Chapel Hill, the college building was of logs, perhaps the only log college in the United States. The stone structure, imposing for its day, came later. After his graduation Cockrell taught Greek and Latin in that same log college. He roomed with three other young men in a shed, two of them sleeping in the old fashioned trundle bed, so called because it was low enough to be trundled under the higher bed and thus put out of the way in the day time. At the time Cockrell was professor in the log college, tuition was twenty dollars a year and board, largely wild game, was $1.25 a

week. The Cumberland Presbyterians, later, conducted the college until Civil war caused suspension and Chapel Hill college became only a reminiscence.

**The Kansas City School of Law.**

The evolution of the Kansas City School of Law was one of the interesting things in Missouri's development of professional education. In 1892, Edward D. Ellison and Elmer N. Powell got together a dozen fellow law students in a New York Life building office and organized the "Law Students' club." About three evenings a week the members of the club met for the purpose of "delving deeper into the mysteries of the law," and of better qualifying themselves in the practice. The club continued these meetings several years studying the "science of jurisprudence as the collected reason of all the ages and combining the principles of original justice with the infinite variety of human concerns." From time to time, an older member of the bar was invited in to quiz or lecture. The first officers of the club were Elmer N. Powell, president; Edward D. Ellison, vice-president; Rees Turpin, secretary; William R. Hereford, treasurer. How the club grew into the law school and what far-reaching influence the school has had on the legal profession in the West are told by Professor Powell, of the faculty:

"The late Colonel J. S. Botsford, afterwards a lecturer in the Kansas City School of Law until his death, delivered the opening lecture before the club, as I recall. Our club proved helpful but we soon discovered that no lasting benefit could be accomplished without more perfect organization and systematic schedule of work. The club gave us the first vision of a law school leading to the degree of LL. B. In the spring of 1895, William P. Borland, John W. Snyder, Edward D. Ellison and I began the organization of the School of Law. First, we consulted with the more experienced, men learned in the law and standing at the head of the profession,—Hon. O. H. Dean, Judge E. L. Scarritt, Hon. S. B. Ladd, Judge F. M. Black, Hon. R J. Ingraham and a few others. We met with encouragement at the start. None gave us more generously of their wise, good counsel than our great, good friend, President Dean. With a modesty that is characteristic of such men, Mr. Dean, Judge F. M. Black, Mr. S. B. Ladd and Judge Scarritt took occasion to express doubt about their aptitude for teaching law. I well remember the fine spirit of them all in finally consenting to enter into the plan and become members of the faculty.

"'Well, fellows, it's a fine work you plan and if you think you need us older heads as much as you say, I will have to take my law books along with my fishing tackle on this summer's vacation,' declared Judge Scarritt at one of our earlier meetings. And so it came to pass that these gentlemen, noted members of our bar at a date as early as that, abandoned their plans for recreation and worked throughout the hot summer that they might prepare their lecture courses for the new School of Law.

"We took out the charter in 1895, and organized with Francis M. Black, president; O. H. Dean and E. L. Scarritt, vice-presidents; William P. Borland, dean; Edward D. Ellison, treasurer, and Elmer N. Powell, secretary. Upon Judge Black's death in 1902, O. H. Dean was elected president. Mr. Ellison succeeded Mr. Borland as dean when the latter was elected to Congress in 1906, and Mr. Powell was made both secretary and treasurer.

"Our first meeting of the Kansas City School of Law was held in a small room of the New York Life building with a little band of students. Our rostrum, often referred to in later years by President Dean as the 'soapbox platform,' barely gave room for the eleven members of the faculty, but ten were present, one being out of the city. That first class included three ladies, one being about sixty years of age. The school's struggle

for existence was hard those first years, paralleled but once since and that was during the lean years caused by loss of students to service in the World war. The kindly, little, old lady of the first year's class had difficulty in grasping the abstruse principles of the law and fell out of line before graduation. She had trouble, for example, in distinguishing between such questions as allodial and alluvial lands; choses in action and choses in possession; whether being placed in jeopardy was the act of a jeopard, and whether the rule in Shelley's case was the same as the rule in any other case because the law was no respecter of persons.

"During the first years eleven members composed the faculty, as I stated. At the present time, there are twenty-six regular lecturers and eight special lecturers. The first year there were enrolled 57 students, and there were 27 graduates in the first graduating class, in 1897. The institution has reached an average attendance of 275. Removals to larger quarters were made from time to time. The first was from the New York Life to the Ridge building, and from there, ten years ago, to the spacious rooms on the fifth floor of the Nonquitt building. To meet the demands of higher standards, the course was extended, in 1902, to three years. And now the faculty has arranged for an extension to four years, beginning September, 1920, making the Kansas City School of Law the equal to any and the superior to many law schools of the United States."

The records of the faculty and of the graduates are of the history of Missouri. Five of the faculty have been circuit judges; two have been appellate judges; two have been city counselors; one, mayor of Kansas City; one, acting city counselor; one, member of Congress, William P. Borland; one, United States district judge, A. S. Van Valkenburgh; two, state senators; one, probate judge, J. E. Guinotte; one, judge of criminal court, R. S. Latshaw; one, member of the Kansas City court of appeals; and eleven are ex-presidents of the Kansas City bar association.

Of the graduates one has been mayor; two, prosecuting attorneys; four, now circuit judges of Jackson county; several have served in the general assembly; and about thirty per cent are engaged in higher educational work. Of the distinction reached by the School of Law in respect to the alumni, Professor Powell further says:

"About sixty-five per cent of the graduates have actually engaged in the practice of the law, which is about fifteen per cent in advance of the average number of law school graduates who practice after receiving the LL. B. degree. Our faculty has been strengthened greatly by the addition of Judge Van Valkenburgh, who accepted the lectureship on Federal jurisdiction and procedure as successor to the late Judge John F. Philips; Hon. A. L. Berger, of Kansas City, Kansas, who succeeds Judge John I. Williamson, now a member of the supreme court of Missouri, on the lectureship of agency; and Hon. Clifford Histed on damages. T. A. Costollow, who became registrar, has proven a worthy successor to T. L. Healy and the late Ben E. Todd.

"The contributions of President Dean, Mr. Ladd, Wash Adams and others of valued law books to our little collection of law books emboldened the executive committee to begin a real library with the result that we have now a good working library. The use of the Scarritt library was continued that the students be not handicapped at all in their reference work. The history of our moot courts, fraternity and glee club activities may be mentioned as interesting features of the Kansas City School of Law. It was a good day for educational enterprise in Kansas City when the foundations of this School of Law were laid with such great lawyers of Missouri as Judge F. M. Black, Dr. O. H. Dean, Hon. S. B. Ladd and the others who have been mentioned."

**Washington University's Distinction.**

By the light of a tallow candle, in his room at a boarding house of Jefferson City, the session of 1853, Wayman Crow wrote the charter of Washington University. He did it alone and of his own motion. He was a state senator. From time to time he had heard Dr. Eliot and others talk of the need of an institution above the high school for St. Louis. But no suggestion or request had come to him to obtain this legislation.

The charter was very brief, not as long as a lawyer might have written. But it went to the Supreme Court of the United States and was sustained. It gave the institution this distinctive character:

> No instruction, either sectarian in religion or partisan in politics, shall be allowed in any department of said university, and no sectarian or party test shall be allowed in the election of professors, teachers or officers of said university, or in the admission of scholars thereto, or for any purpose whatever.

The creators meant what this non-sectarian, non-political section said. They provided for the strongest possible enforcement. In the very next section, the charter provided that if any violation of the foregoing was reported an investigation must be made. Any officer offending in the matter of political or sectarian instruction must be removed and he would be, thereafter, ineligible to any office in the university. If the board of directors failed to enforce the prohibition of sectarian and political instruction, the St. Louis circuit court was made competent to compel the board by mandamus to act.

Marshall S. Snow, coming up from Nashville, where he had been teaching, stopped over in St. Louis with Frederick N. Judson, in 1870. Mr. Judson was about to locate as a lawyer. Mr. Snow was willing to spend a few days en route to his New England home for vacation. The two young men made the acquaintance of Dr. Eliot. Almost before he realized it, Professor Snow found himself engaged as a member of the faculty of Washington University. He suggested that, possibly, Dr. Eliot might wish to make some inquiries about him in Nashville, but Dr. Eliot assured him he was ready to close the matter if the professor was. Then, when the arrangement had been closed, Dr. Eliot remarked:

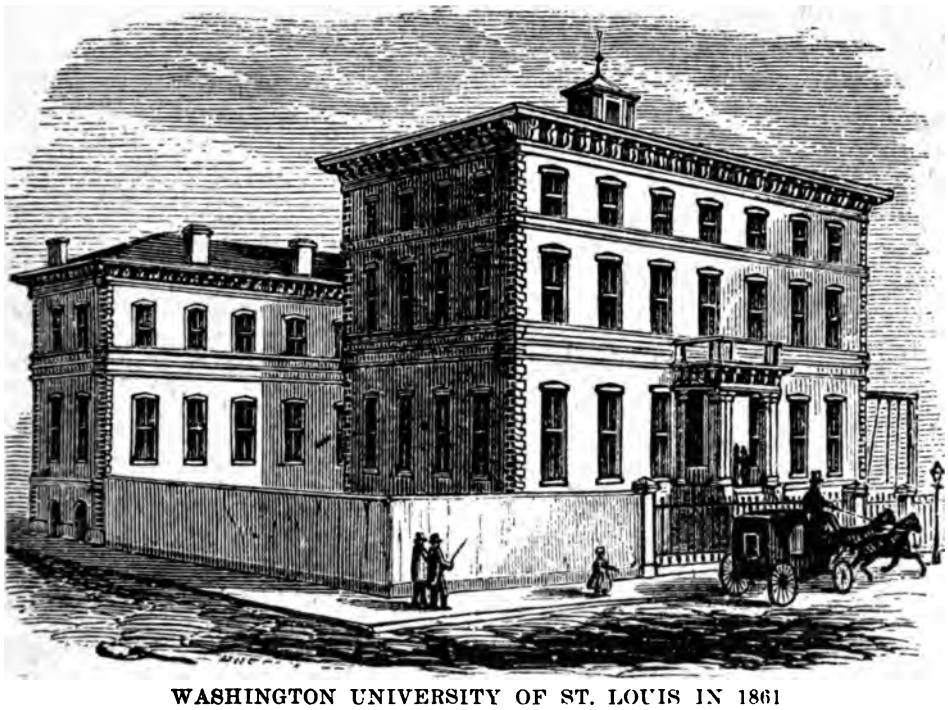
"May I ask what church you attend? I never ask that question until after a member of the faculty has been engaged."

That was the non-sectarian spirit of Washington University in its practical application. Upon two men in those early days Dr. Eliot leaned for what he called "the intramural affairs" of the institution. These men were Snow and Woodward. To Professor Snow the relationship with Washington University recalled student memories of peculiar interest. Snow had been a student at Exeter under Hoyt, the much loved preceptor, and Hoyt had come west to be the first chancellor of Washington University, dying in the harness. During two considerable periods of the university's history Dr. Snow was called upon to perform the duties of chancellor in addition to the duties of his own professorship.

Fourteen men contributed the $38,000 endowment with which Washington University was started as an "Institute" in 1854. They were Wayman Crow,

WAYMAN CROW
Author of the legislation which created Washington University

REV. DR. WILLIAM GREENLEAF ELIOT
Unitarian, founder of Washington University



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY OF ST. LOUIS IN 1861
Washington Avenue and Seventeenth Street

Jas. Smith, Wm. H. Smith, John Tilden, George Partridge, John Cavender, Geo. Pegram, T. R. McCreery, Wm. Glasgow, Jr., John How, R. M. Renick, Giles F. Filley, C. Rhodes, Col. John O'Fallon.

**The Practical Department.**

Original in its theory, Washington University at the very beginning attempted the solution of the new problems in education. "The Practical department" was the first organized. That was the name which Dr. Eliot gave to this branch at the inauguration of the university in 1857. St. Louisans knew it as the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute. John How, who was president of the board having special charge of the Practical department, explained the new field of education which his associates hoped to occupy and cultivate in St. Louis:

> Our desire is to establish here in St. Louis an institution that shall have all of the advantages of the mechanics' institutes of our country, with those of the polytechnic institutes of Berlin, Vienna, and other cities of Europe; to have a building where, besides the library and reading rooms usually found in the mechanics' institutes, will be found a place for the model of the inventor, with the engine to work it, and for a school of design. The professors of the various branches of science treat of the mechanic arts, and there are few of these arts which do not need for their successful prosecution a scientific education.

Time has proven that the germ which John How, John O'Fallon, Samuel Treat and their associates, more than half a century ago sought to develop, was one of great possibilities for good. Financial stress, following the inauguration of the university, Civil war, misjudgment in the construction of a building in the wrong location were handicaps the idea encountered. The university never abandoned the theory but the practice of it did not begin to attain hoped for results until Calvin M. Woodward took hold of it. Professor Woodward was backed by a new generation of business men imbued with the same public spirit as the John O'Fallons of the fifties. Foremost among these friends of engineering and manual or "hand-and-head" education was Samuel Cupples. Other notable contributors whose gifts enabled Professor Woodward to perfect his manual training plans were Edwin Harrison, Gottlieb Conzelman, Carlos S. Greeley, Ralph and Timothy G. Sellew, William L. Huse, William Brown, William Barr and Emiline F. Rea.

**Manual Training and Co-education.**

Far beyond the perhaps dim theory of those who started the polytechnic idea in St. Louis, Professor Woodward carried his plans until the "Practical" features of Washington University became of more than national renown. The innovation was received with skepticism and even with some ridicule. Dr. Eliot was prompted to say of those who opposed:

> A carpenter's shop and blacksmith's forge seemed to them a singular appendage to the college "humanities" and the schools of philosophy and advanced learning which dignify the university career. It seems to have been forgotten that the word "university" was itself borrowed from the "guilds" or trade associations which were known as universities two or three hundred years ago, as the "university of bakers," of smiths, of watchmakers, etc., in Rome and London. Already the prejudice is passing away and it is

recognized as a proper American-republic idea that skilled labor may command the same respect with intellectual development, and that the two should, so far as possible, go hand in hand.

As the experiment of manual training established beyond question its merits, Dr. Eliot said:

"It is in fact only a more systematic development of the educational ideas which lie at the foundation of our whole university enterprise."

"In a republic," he continued, "the head cannot say to the hand: I have no need of thee; nor can the hand say it to the head. The dependence is mutual, and the more frankly we recognize it the better for all concerned. If we can bring educated brains to the work-bench, and at the same time respect for skilled labor into the daily thoughts of the student, we shall be doing the best work of an American university."

"Surely," Dr. Eliot concluded, "it is not beneath the dignity of a western university, however high its standard, to inaugurate a new order of things by elevating skilled labor to its due respect among educated men."

Co-education came naturally as a principle of Washington University in view of the relationship of the institution to the public school system of St. Louis.

"Equal advantages and the survival of the fittest should everywhere be the rule," was Dr. Eliot's theory and practice in respect to educational relationship of the sexes.

The practice was illustrated in the full graduation of a woman as LL. B. by the University Law School, the first instance in this country. As early as 1870, a St. Louis girl was a member of the freshman class of the college.

**Education as a Business.**

A business study of the subject of education was what Robert S. Brookings set about when he found himself at the head of the trustees of Washington University. Mr. Brookings was sixteen or seventeen years of age when he came out from Maryland to enter business life in St. Louis. He joined his brother who had preceded him in the house of Cupples & Marston. The secret of Robert S. Brooking's success in business is said to have been his habit of making a most thorough investigation and then of working intelligently. Mr. Brookings, Mr. Cupples said, never went into anything until he had given it an exhaustive inquiry. Satisfied as the result of his examination he went ahead with perfect confidence. This business trait Mr. Brookings applied to his investigation of educational matters. He made a study of the workings of American universities so thorough and so complete that his knowledge and conclusions have surprised many professional educators. Few men have such complete information of the operations of the higher institutions of this country as has Mr. Brookings, the result of his personal, tireless investigation. Upon a great chart, the president of Washington University has before him at all times the compiled information of what all of the large institutions are doing.

"A poor boy's college," President Brookings of the corporation recently called Washington University. And he told in glowing words how Washington University had supplied the advantages of higher education to boys of lim-

ited means from the high schools and from the Manual Training School who wanted to go on and who have become eminent in their callings. It was a story to stimulate the pride of all St. Louisans.

**"A Poor Boy's College."**

Washington University is "a poor boys' college" in a sense other than that Robert S. Brookings had in mind when he, in terse, graphic sentences, told of the alumni and their achievements. The university stands today, in the majesty of its granite quadrangles, a monument to the honor and glory of "poor boys" of St. Louis who began with their unskilled hands in the industries, who swept out stores, who succeeded without the advantages of liberal education, who determined that any boy of St. Louis coming after them should have the opportunity to start better equipped than they did.

Late one night Dr. Eliot was preparing to retire. He had taken off coat and vest. A ring called him to the door. There stood James Smith holding a bundle in his hand. Between the doctor and the merchant, who had been warm friends for years, it was "William" and "James."

"Why, what is the matter, James? Is Persis sick?" asked Dr. Eliot.

"Persis" was Mrs. Smith. The young professors of Washington University called her "Aunt Persis."

"No," said Mr. Smith, "Persis is well. But Persis and I have been thinking and talking tonight about the university and its needs. We have concluded we ought to do something now. Here is the Boatmen's bank stock. I can't sleep and Persis can't sleep until it is in your hands. So I have brought it over to you."

In that singular manner one early donation of thousands of dollars came to Washington University.

For the first quarter of a century of its existence the largest individual contributor to Washington University was James Smith. With his brother, William H. Smith, and his brother-in-law, John Cavender, James Smith came from New Hampshire to St. Louis in 1833. The three young men started the grocery house of Smith Brothers & Co. It is tradition that the partners in the struggling period were not above doing any part of the work. They handled the goods, waited on customers and kept their own books. The house they founded became nearly twenty years later Partridge & Co. When James Smith died childless, it was found that he had bequeathed one-half of his estate to his wife and the remainder, except minor bequests, was left to William G. Eliot without conditions or instructions. This was in accordance with an understanding that the greater part of the property should go to Washington University. It was a fine illustration of one St. Louisan's absolute confidence in another. Smith Academy perpetuated the memory of James Smith. William Henry Smith, the brother of James Smith, was the founder of one of the best endowed lecture courses, giving $27,000 for this purpose.

James Smith had the New England thrift in material things and the New England hunger for education. Circumstances of his youth had prevented him from satisfying that hunger. He lived and worked to make possible for other

young men what had been denied him. The Smiths lived on Olive street near Seventeenth. One day Dr. Eliot called there and was met by Mrs. Smith.

"Persis, where is James?" the doctor asked.

"You'll find him in the cellarway blacking his boots," said Mrs. Smith.

Sure enough! There was James Smith, who was giving more than any other man in St. Louis to place Washington University on its feet, putting a polish on his boots.

"Why, James," exclaimed Dr. Eliot. "Why don't you let one of the servants do that?"

"Well, William," replied the old son of New Hampshire, with a little smile, "the servants are so wasteful with the blacking."

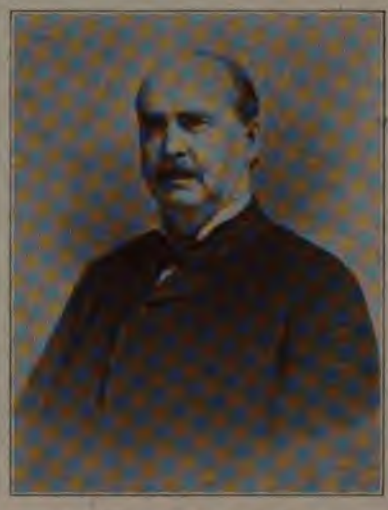
**Wayman Crow and Other Givers.**

Wayman Crow was a giver to the university from the beginning. He subscribed $10,000 in 1860. He gave $138,000 to establish the Art Museum. He sustained the indefatigable Halsey C. Ives in the creation of the Art school. He established a scholarship fund. He provided other funds for special purposes. How often and how much he helped when emergencies arose during the many years he was a director will, perhaps, never be known. The men who were Mr. Crow's partners and successors in business gave. They had started, as he had, from the ground, even below the first round of the mercantile ladder. As early as 1860 William A. Hargadine and Phocion McCreery were two of twenty who subscribed $192,500 to the support of the young university. Hugh McKittrick, of the same house, began giving a little later, but with the same sense of devotion to the institution. It was a frequent act of Dr. Eliot to hand to the treasurer a check with the remark: "Mr. McKittrick has given me $1,000."

Wayman Crow had at least one experience which convinced him that college education does not spoil a young man for business. In 1857 he employed an Illinois youth, from Beloit College, as office boy. In eight years the young man won his way, grade by grade, to a junior partnership in the great house of Crow, McCreery & Co. He was David Davis Walker, born of English and Maryland parents on a farm near Bloomington, named for David Davis, the friend of Lincoln and the eminent jurist of United States Supreme Court fame, whose home was in Bloomington. With Frank Ely and others, David Davis Walker added, in 1880, to the group of wholesale houses the Ely & Walker Dry Goods company.

From the so-called border states, neither north nor south, came some of the men who became the most successful merchants in St. Louis. The Crows were of North Irish origin; the Waymans were an English family; but Wayman Crow was from Kentucky, the son of a Virginia father and a Maryland mother, his name combining those of the two families. He was the youngest of twelve brothers and sisters. His education was begun in a log cabin. When he was twelve years old he was apprenticed to what was in 1820 "assorted dry goods, grocers and hardware," at Hopkinsville. He slept on a cot in the store, carried water from the spring, opened, swept and closed. For his services he received

JAMES SMITH
Who blacked his own shoes and gave a fortune to establish Washington University



JAMES RICHARDSON
Father of the St. Louis Public Library

"SAYING HER PIECE"
Closing day of the school term in the Ozarks

"victuals and clothes." When his apprenticeship ended he was considered by his employers to be worth $300 a year to them.

With his Kentucky experience, Wayman Crow, having for a partner his cousin, Joshua Tevis, started at St. Louis, in 1835, the dry goods house of Crow & Tevis. This house passed successfully through six national panic periods. In 1857 Mr. Crow borrowed money at 2½ per cent a month and pledged his fortune to protect the firm's obligations. In an address to his creditors he wrote:

> To us our commercial honor is as dear as our lives; to preserve it we are prepared to make any pecuniary sacrifice short of impairing our ability to pay ultimately every dollar we owe.

Every year Wayman Crow postponed departure for his summer home in order that he might attend the closing exercises of all of the departments of the university. As he came out, after the distribution of the diplomas and the other formalities, he would say to Dean Snow or to some other member of the faculty:

"Well, professor, another baby spanked."

Regularly the trustees of the pioneer period attended the commencement exercises. They could be depended upon for the lecture courses. Watching over the finances, making up the deficits by no means fulfilled their obligation or satisfied their interest. If now and then, one slept peacefully through a Fiske lecture on American history, it did not deter him from attendance at the next.

**A Red Letter Day.**

A red letter day in the calendar of Washington University has been the 22d of February. When that day in 1871 came around, Hudson E. Bridge arose at a meeting of the board and announced a gift from himself of $130,000. This was one of several complete financial surprises which have come in the history of the university. Not a hint had Mr. Bridge given of his intention. He divided the gift—$100,000 to endowment and $30,000 toward the polytechnic or scientific department for building purposes.

Hudson E. Bridge left his New Hampshire home with $6 in his pocket. To economize he walked to Troy. There he worked in a store until he had saved enough to take him to Columbus. His early career in St. Louis was a curious but marvelously successful combination of venture and caution. Mr. Bridge pioneered the way in the stove manufacturing business by bringing the plates from the Ohio river and putting them together in a little foundry attached to the store with which he was connected. Old stove dealers in St. Louis said the experiment was foolish and tried to discourage young Bridge. Foreman and salesman by day and bookkeeper by night, Mr. Bridge went on making stoves until he had proven his theory to be profitable. But while he was venturesome in experiment of manufacturing, he would never borrow capital for his growing business.

**When Merchants Divided Earnings.**

Some of these early friends of the university gave in large amounts, evidently after careful deliberation. Others carried their interest in the university as a continuous or current obligation. There was George Partridge, who was "always giving." He was a sterling business man, but was never classed as wealthy. Keeping in close touch with the university's needs, Mr. Partridge would come around just at the time when Dr. Eliot felt the situation becoming urgent and give his check. These timely gifts ran as high as $5,000. In the aggregate, Mr. Partridge gave about $150,000 to Washington University. One of his last gifts was a house and lot on Washington avenue.

When George Partridge came to St. Louis, about 1840, he formed a company in the wholesale grocery business. One of the stipulations in the articles of partnership was that the house should never sell any alcoholic liquor. Mr. Partridge had built up a larger business in Boston, starting with a capital of $13, and working at first for $50 a year and board. He had gone through the panic of 1837 without breaking, but he had discovered that a wholesale grocer in Boston at that time must sell liquor if he wanted to hold his own in the trade. He sold out, came west, and kept groceries which did not include "wet goods."

Looking backward, after Washington University had been firmly established, Dr. Eliot said:

> At that first meeting, when the seventeen incorporators were called together in a private parlor, they had not a dollar in hand; there was little or no wealth among them; their conjoined property would not have reached half a million in value; they had no social or religious organization to back them; no definite plan of action; no reasonable assurance of success. There was probably not an individual outside of their own number who thought they would succeed, and the most sanguine among themselves were only half convinced. But beginning with a grammar school on a small scale, they worked with just enough faith to keep them alive, and by deserving success gradually gained it.

**Mechanic Princes.**

"Mechanic princes," Dr. Eliot once called a class of self-made St. Louisans. When he looked around the room on the first board of directors, or trustees, assembled to give life to Washington University, he saw only here and there one who had received educational advantages. The most of them had been "poor boys" who had gone from a few months in the log school house to learn trades, to sweep out stores. Stephen Ridgely, whose memory is preserved in the library building of Washington University, taught the rest of the country the use of "spirit gas." This was a preparation made from alcohol by Mr. Ridgely. It was used in lamps with tin tubes two inches high, through which ran long wicks. This St. Louis spirit light was a great improvement on the lard oil which was used in lamps. It was popular until kerosene came into use. Profits of the spirit lamp are represented to the amount of $60,000 in the present library of the university.

The four sons of George Collier united in a gift of $25,000, which was made an endowment bearing their father's name. In token of their esteem for Professor Waterhouse, the endowment was made applicable to the chair of Greek until such time as the university might require it for other purposes. The Col-

liers chose Washington's birthday, the fifteenth anniversary of the granting of the charter, as the date to make their gift.

Individuality entered into the condition governing some of the donations. Professor Sylvester Waterhouse, who filled the chair of Greek for many years, by strict economy and careful investment acquired considerable means. He gave $25,000 to the university to be held and invested until it had increased to $1,000,000, when it would become available. The professor carefully estimated that the gift would be multiplied by forty if principal and compound interest were preserved one hundred years. The Waterhouse fund is now about $40,000 and growing.

With perhaps two exceptions, the financial support of Washington University has come through individuals or families from fortunes accumulated in St. Louis. Mrs. Mary A. Hemenway was one of the exceptions. This excellent Boston lady took deep interest in American history. She founded in her city the famous Old South lecture course. Desiring to extend the interest in the history of this country, Mrs. Hemenway gave to Washington University $15,000 for a lecture course, stipulating that so long as he lived, Professor John Fiske should deliver the lectures. During twenty years Professor Fiske came to St. Louis almost annually to deliver these lectures. To found the Tileston professorship of political economy as a memorial for her father, Mrs. Hemenway gave $25,000. Nathaniel Thayer, the Boston philanthropist, was the other non-resident contributor, giving $25,000 in 1860. In recognition of this substantial gift, "The Nathaniel Thayer Professorship of Mathematics and Applied Mechanics" was created in 1870. Professor Calvin M. Woodward held this position for forty years.

**A Twenty-five Years' Review.**

Twenty-five years after the inauguration, Dr. Eliot, speaking of the financial support given by the friends of the university, said:

> In all the years since our beginning, an annual deficiency, varying from $2,000 to $10,000, has been made up by gifts for that purpose. The men who have done this are the true founders of the university, although their names have been scarcely known.

He told of one supporter of the institution, who, not having the principal to give, regularly paid 7 per cent on $10,000. There were professional men like John R. Shepley, who gave from current income almost as regularly as the years rolled around. Henry Hitchcock presided over the law school. For a long period he turned back into the university treasury the sum allowed him for his services. And in addition when special funds were to be raised, he gave generously. In 1871 the university faced a crisis before which even Dr. Eliot quailed. He said: "There seemed to be a gulf of difficulties that we could not pass. But from unexpected sources, unsolicited, there came, in the three months that followed, gifts amounting in all to $215,000."

**A Most Useful Citizen.**

Two generations of St. Louisans gave Dr. Eliot the credit of being the most useful citizen to raise money for the public good. But Dr. Eliot's ways

were not those of direct solicitation. They were more effective. They aroused interest. They inspired the first step. They fostered the habit of giving.

"Gentlemen," Dr. Eliot would say to the board at the end of the year, "I am sorry to tell you we have an alarming deficit. I don't know how we are to meet it, but I trust Providence will provide some way."

Then those business men would go over the accounts methodically, arriving at the exact financial situation. One after another of them would write a check. The university would enter upon another year out of debt.

Late in his career, Dr. Eliot remarked that he had never asked any one directly for money in behalf of Washington University. The look of questioning surprise which met this assertion the good doctor answered with a trace of a smile and a story about a friend who held that it was sometimes "necessary to economize truth." The doctor said he thought it was at least "very handy sometimes to economize truth." And with that he let his declaration about raising money for the university rest.

At one annual meeting of the board, after congratulations on the fine progress of the year, the doctor concluded:

> And yet, to prove how the ghost of the impecuniousness will not "down," the treasurer reports the usual skeleton in the closet, a deficiency of $5,000, upon which the usual unguent of charity must be poured.

**The Non-Sectarian Principle.**

This generation does not realize the boldness of the non-sectarian position taken by the founders of Washington University. In that period state universities, with perhaps a single exception, were little known. The leading colleges of this country were under denominational control or patronage. This Washington University movement was viewed as dangerous by many good people. Public sentiment was apprehensive that non-sectarianism might mean irreligion. The first graduating exercises were opened with prayer. Dr. Eliot pronounced the invocation. The newspapers of St. Louis estimated that action as perhaps the feature most interesting to their readers. Dr. Eliot was requested to write out the prayer and he did so. The prayer was printed with the newspaper comment that it expressed "the spirit of the institution." Dr. Eliot prayed thus:

"May the principles upon which this university was founded be sacredly regarded and inviolably kept. From these walls may all party spirit and sectional strife be forever banished while the duties of patriotism and loyalty are faithfully and plainly taught. From these hallowed precincts may all disputes of sectarian zeal be kept away, while the authority of the Divine Master is daily acknowledged, and the laws of Christian morality and righteousness (rectitude and holiness) are held supreme. May the teachers and scholars of this university thus learn to walk at liberty, by keeping Thy precepts."

Washington University is the gift of individuals to the cause of education. In the more than fifty years of its life, the institution has received nothing from public funds, national, state or municipal. No money has come from denominational sources. The givers have been numerous. There have been several princely contributions to buildings and endowments, such as those of Samuel Cupples, Adolphus Busch, Robert S. Brookings, William K. Bixby, the

Liggett family, the McMillan family, and Mrs. Graham. But the university has received in the past two generations from several hundred St. Louisans donations aggregating a great amount. The multitude of supporters has included every creed and every nationality represented in the city's population. The amounts have varied with the abilities of the contributors. But the long lists attest a good will toward the university, a civic pride, a devotion to the highest and best in education.

In 1854, Washington University was started with a fund of $38,000. In 1920, the property and endowment of the university were $14,580,299.14. The two original departments had been increased to eleven, with 3,257 students and 271 professors and instructors. Upon a campus of 160 acres were twenty college buildings forming the most notable group of distinctively educational architecture in the United States. The new school of commerce and finance and the evening courses testified to the development of the original purpose to promote the most practical forms of education. With such encouraging development of the institution, public spirited citizens entered upon the movement to add $2,000,000 to the endowment in order that the university "shall retain the desirable men already here and that it shall bring to St. Louis, in the future as in the past, men who are leaders in their respective fields."

**One of the Few Lost Colleges.**

The pride of the Grand River country seventy years ago was Grand River College. The institution was at Edinburgh, one of the most promising towns in that part of Missouri. The college was well on the way to take rank with the leading colleges of Missouri when fire destroyed the main building in 1853. In 1859 the college was reestablished and flourished for nearly two decades. It graduated many men who became prominent in North Central Missouri. One of the graduates was Enoch M. Crowder, who, as provost marshal-general, created the selective service system for the United States army in 1917, making the success of it which amazed a doubting Congress. Grand River College won wide fame for its action in admitting young women. The railroads left Edinburgh to one side. The college dwindled. It was removed to Gallatin, but too late to revive its prestige, and permanent closing followed. It is an interesting fact that comparatively few of the institutions of higher education in Missouri have gone down. Some have been moved from original locations and some have changed their names, but most survive and flourish.

**The Porter School.**

An eastern woman looking for notable solutions of present day problems in education discovered one in Missouri and described it at length in her book, "New Schools for Old." Near Kirksville, one of Missouri's centers of progressiveness in things educational, is the Porter school, a township school, where Emily Dewey found methods and a spirit which were revolutionizing rural education. The proof of the Porter school is found in the fact that, as stated by the teacher, Mrs. Mary Turner Harvey, "Not one boy or girl has been lost to the community since the school was started in 1912. Prior to that not one stayed in the community." The broad theory of the Porter school is to make rural

life so fascinating to the children that they will not feel the lure of the cities. Mrs. Harvey took fifteen of her children to Farmers' Week at Columbia in 1920 to let that great gathering from all parts of Missouri judge of the results of the Porter school methods of teaching. With almost a decade of experience in this new kind of school behind her, Mrs. Harvey said:

"There is opportunity for as great social service in saving the childhood of Missouri as there was for work in France, but we are closing our eyes to the responsibility before us and are wasting children by the thousands."

**"Send the Whole Boy to School."**

Of Calvin M. Woodward and several other Missouri pioneers in educational reform, Dr. John R. Kirk, president of the Kirksville Normal School, gave this personal reminiscence:

"In the early nineties, when Dr. Woodward was making his plea for 'sending the whole boy to school,' many school and college men scoffed at him. Only a few radicals and iconoclasts were encouraging him. Many conservatives yet living can remember how they called Dr. Woodward a man of one idea. Certainly in his earlier pleadings Dr. Woodward could not set forth all the phases of the many-sided education for service in which at the present time the public schools of St. Louis take such high rank. But Dr. Woodward had visions. He dreamed of more than benches, anvils, lathes and instruments of engineering. His mental states were never static. In his later pleadings his expanding sympathies reached into fine arts, household economics, commerce and agriculture. With him 'sending the whole boy to school' came to mean stimulating the consciousness of all the young mortals of school age so as to make immediate and continuous connection between school education and the experiences of home and street and shop and store and playgrounds. When Dr. Woodward began his innovations we didn't have even the terms in which to express the practical school activities of the present time.

"Fine arts and school music were needless ornaments. Literature in the grades was a whim of the eccentric. Women's clubs were few and without influence. The college of agriculture was laughed at by farmers and stock raisers. Traveling lecturers sent out by the university and the state board of agriculture were called 'the menagerie.' Education hadn't taken hold of common life. Kansas City opposed manual training. St. Louis called it a fad. But the old manual training school at Eighteenth street and Washington avenue kept hammering away and Dr. Woodward kept dreaming. Do we not all rejoice that he lived long enough to see his dreams coming true?

"In the late nineties Prof. Gilbert B. Morrison of Kansas City began to have dreams. The Hon. R. L. Yeager, then president of the board of education at Kansas City, had an awakening. Superintendent Greenwood of Kansas City was willing to try experiments. The state superintendent of schools was traveling by day and by night heralding the plea of Dr. Woodward, then a curator of the University of Missouri. President Jesse of the university gave warm support.

"Then it was that a few men planned a programme and Dr. Woodward delivered his message to Kansas City. Almost at once that progressive city voted to 'send the whole boy to school.' Prof. Morrison was installed principal of the manual training high school of Kansas City, the first of its kind in the Middle West. Dr. Woodward and Gilbert B. Morrison were genuine educational pioneers."

**Rural Educational Reform.**

A shock came to Missourians in the centennial period when a comparative study of state school systems gave Missouri the thirty-fourth place. This was the finding of a department of education maintained by an eastern "Foundation." It showed that the West had been coming up rapidly in educational

efficiency, but the Center State had been dropping behind. Illinois was given twenty-fourth place. Montana, where the expenditure was $14.40 per pupil, took the first place on the list of states. California was second; Arizona, third. But Missouri trailed far behind with an average annual expenditure per pupil of only $5.26.

Investigation by the state, on the direction of the governor, did not fully sustain the findings of the foundation survey but it did not restore public confidence in Missouri's educational system. The results of the survey gave Missouri thirty-second place among the states. Analyzed in detail, the investigation seemed to indicate wherein the deficiencies lay. These were some of the conditions that awakened public sentiment:

"That Missouri stands twenty-eighth from the top in the length of the school term.

"That Missouri is twenty-ninth in number of days attendance by pupils.

"That Missouri is twenty-ninth in the percentage of high school pupils to the total school population.

"That Missouri is twenty-ninth in the expenditure per capita of the total population.

"That Missouri ranks thirty-first in the average school expenditure per capita of all children between five and eighteen years of age.

"That Missouri ranks twenty-fifth in the average value of school property per child.

"That Missouri ranks twenty-second in the average salary of all teachers, thirty-fifth in the average salary paid to city superintendents, and forty-third in the average salary paid to county superintendents."

Missourians found difficulty in accepting such results. In the early days, Harris in St. Louis and Greenwood in Kansas City had put the public schools of the cities in the foremost rank. Their successors, men like Soldan and Blewett, had maintained the progressive pace. Eastern cities had borrowed Ittner, the architect who had developed St. Louis public school architecture until it attracted national admiration. Kirk and others had given the teachers' colleges high reputation for pedagogic education. Three great universities had grown into commanding positions and were drawing students not only from other states but from foreign countries. Eleven years of successful operation had shown wonderful progress made by the school of mechanical trades established with the fortune of David Rankin, Jr. Starting with twenty students and the purpose to give to the trades educated mechanics, the school had reached an annual enrollment of more than 1,500, two-thirds of them in night classes meeting the needs of employed youth. Facilities had been increased by further endowment provided in the will of Eli Hillis Larkin. In addition to the three universities with students numbering in the thousands, Missouri had thirty-four colleges, most of them under denominational auspices, incorporated by the state, authorized to confer degrees upon young men and young women, and all of them apparently firmly established and doing well. No other state, seemingly, could show more ample provision for higher education. Where then were the deficiencies which gave Missouri such low rank in education?

**The Plans to Remedy Deficiencies.**

The answer came quickly. Missouri's rural schools had pulled down her educational averages. The movement to remedy became state-wide. The fed-

eration of farm bureaus, women's clubs, the state grange, all other farmer organizations joined with the teachers' association in the movement. They soon realized that while the city and town schools were being conducted in accordance with the advanced methods of 1920, the country schools were two generations behind the times. The latter were not supported financially on the basis of the former. While the city and town had been empowered to vote for public education ninety cents on the $100 assessed valuation, the rural district could levy only sixty-five cents. By comparison of the total assessments of cities and towns with the assessments of the rural districts it appeared that the assessed valuation of the rural property was one and one-half times greater for the rural school child than the assessed valuation of city and town was for the city and town child. So it was apparent that the poorer support of the rural schools was not due to the poverty of the rural property holder.

But an element of wastefulness in the rural school system was found. In the school year of 1919 there was spent for teachers' salaries the sum of $1,500,000 to keep open schools which had from three to five pupils. Such schools, by the up-to-date methods of other states, are consolidated, and, so far as necessary, free transportation is provided for children living too far to walk. State Superintendent of Instruction Baker gave the information that in the last school year 1012 Missouri schools had fewer than ten pupils.

A telling defect in the state's rural school management was the system which made the school district the unit for the levy of the school tax. A wealthy district, by this method, could raise, on the legal basis, enough or more than enough, to give it a good school, while in the same county would be districts so low in assessed valuation as to pay only starvation wages to a teacher.

Comparison of educational results showed glaringly the defects of the system. It was discovered that eighty-three per cent of the rural school children of Missouri do not reach the eighth grade, to say nothing of high school advantages. City children, it was found, completed their eighth grade in seven or eight years. The less than seventeen per cent of the rural pupils who get through the eighth grade, as bright naturally as the city children and with less to detract from mental application, take ten years to acquire this common school education.

The plans of reorganization to remedy these lamentable defects in the rural education of Missouri take on several forms. It is proposed to make the county the unit for school taxation, just as it is for all other taxation purposes. Under the present system the wealthy communities or sections of a county obtain from the state apportionment almost enough to support their schools while the poorer parts of a county cannot raise enough by their local levy to carry on decent schools. If the county was taxed as a whole the entire wealth of the county would, by the same rate of taxation, be able to put its schools on a better basis.

**Reorganization of the Old System.**

Another reform proposed is the redistricting of the county so that there will be high schools, consolidated schools and one-room schools, all planned to give the country child systematic advancement through the grades to the higher branches. This reform is already in operation in many other states.

After six years study of the educational system of Missouri the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of teaching, in an elaborate report, gave out the conclusion that unity is the necessary thing for the public schools in Missouri and in all other states as well.. The report urged that the public schools be made a state matter in detail. The state now collects a school fund and distributes it, but beyond that the public school system is left mainly to local control. The report recommended that the education of teachers be made a state matter; that the teachers' colleges, the state university, the high schools be so unified as to establish a system of state pedagogical education. This carried out and the financial support given which will command good teachers, the quality of rural education which Missouri owes its rising generation outside of the cities and towns would be assured. The findings of the Carnegie Foundation gain added interest to all Missourians from the connection of a native of Missouri therewith—educated in the institutions of the state, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, son of one of the best known pioneer educators of Missouri.

That public sentiment has been aroused to remedy the low standing of Missouri, educationally, Superintendent Baker was able to furnish evidence in the fall of 1920. In 325 cities and towns of the state, all but two from which the superintendent had received reports, teachers' salaries had been increased from fifteen to twenty-five per cent.

Changes in the present constitution and legislation by the general assembly will be necessary to carry out some of the reforms. Hopeful indications of better quality of rural education in Missouri are many. In the summer of 1920 the largest apportionment of school funds ever made in Missouri was announced from Jefferson City. It was $2,887,622, an increase of $226,233 over the preceding year. The amount would have been half a million dollars more but for the collections of state income taxes and corporation franchise tax withheld pending litigation.

Missouri in 1919 had 914,255 school children. Revelations of the census of 1920 showing decreases of population in the country districts of many counties were interpreted quickly as having close relationship to the educational deficiencies and stimulated the movement toward reforms.

C. F. Jackson, 1861

H. R. Gamble, 1861-1864

Willard P. Hall, 1864

Thomas C. Fletcher, 1865-1869

Joseph W. McClurg, 1869-1871

B. Gratz Brown, 1871-1873

GOVERNORS OF MISSOURI

## CHAPTER XXXII

## MEDICINE IN MISSOURI

*The Physician's Duty to the Woman in Travail—Coming of Saugrain—Father Didier's Homely Remedies—First Cases of Smallpox—Pioneer Patent Medicines—Farrar's Famous Operation—Sanitary Progress—First Student and First Lecture—Heroes of the Epidemics—Beaumont and St. Martin's Stomach—Early Medical Literature—Home Educated Doctors—First Free Dispensary—Dr. S. Gratz Moses and His Public-Spirited Associates—Beginning of Sisters' Hospital—One Doctor for 274 People—Sappington's Pills—Introduction of Quinine—A Record Cure—Governor Jackson's Three Wives—Missouri's Redemption from Malaria—McDowell's College—Eccentricities of the Founder—Fourth of July Celebrations—Pope's College—Its Courteous Head—Hodgen, "the Beloved"—A Profession of Many Nationalities—The Era of Numerous Medical Colleges—Raising the Standards—Post-Graduate Work—Luedeking, "the Students' Friend"—International Surgical Fame of Bernays—Missouri Climate and Health—A Record of Three Generations—Homeopathy Introduced—The Eclectic School—A Congressman's Border Remedy in the Camps—Wyman's Work as Health Officer of World-Wide Fame—The Free Cancer Hospital—George D. Barnard, Public Benefactor—Progress of Medical Education—Dentistry's Development—Inventions by Missourians.*

The doctor when at the bedside of the woman in labor almost meets his God, and that duty, the stern duty of God, must be evoked every moment and hour in her travail. Give your strength to the laboring mother. Fill her with hope; it may be light diet but it will be very stimulating; it awakens courage. If the doctor ever is at the service of any one he must be at the absolute service of the lying-in woman. Be thoughtful of her in her agony of pain. Encouragement is everything. It well becomes God's most exalted creature. To relieve distress is not only human but it is Godlike; and thrice blessed is that man who relieves a single maternal pain.—*The teaching of Dr. Moses M. Pallen as Dr. Warren B. Outten, one of his pupils, recalled it.*

To St. Louis, in 1800, came a physician and scientist who was to leave his impression on the community. Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain may be called the father of the medical profession of St. Louis and the profession may feel honored thereby. He came to the United States on the advice of Benjamin Franklin when the latter was minister to France. The young Frenchman, born in Versailles, highly educated and with developed taste for scientific investigation impressed Mr. Franklin as the kind of a man to make a valuable American. His first experience in this country was rather disheartening. After living nine years with the unfortunate French colony of Gallipolis on the Ohio river, Dr. Saugrain floated down the Ohio and made his way to St. Louis four years before the American occupation. With the Saugrains came the Michauds of Gallipolis. Dr. Saugrain had married Genevieve Rosalie Michaud, eldest of the daughters of John Michaud. Two little girls, Rosalie and Eliza Saugrain, made the journey. They became the wives of Henry Von Phul and James Kennerly, the merchants. Other daughters of Dr. Saugrain married Major Thomas O'Neil, of the United States army, and John W. Reel, the St. Louis merchant. Descendants of the Saugrains and Michauds are numerous in this generation of Missourians.

**Homely Remedies.**

Possibly the reason that the medical profession had attracted so little attention up to the coming of the Saugrains was because of the good health which the community enjoyed. The eldest daughter of the doctor remembered that when the family first came to St. Louis there were few cases of sickness. When Dr. Saugrain came, he discovered that the habitants were accustomed to go to Father Didier, the priest, when they felt bad. Father Didier would fix up teas from herbs and give simple remedies, without professing to be educated in medicine. Dr, Saugrain was a botanist. He depended largely upon vegetable compounds and upon brews from herbs which he grew in a wonderful garden that surrounded his house, or gathered in the wild state.

**Paupers and Indians Vaccinated Gratis.**

The first case of smallpox appeared in St. Louis the year after Dr. Saugrain came. With it came a problem that appealed to the scientific mind. The virtue of vaccination was accepted by Dr. Saugrain. As soon as he could supply himself with the material, Dr. Saugrain began a campaign of education. He published cards in the Gazette explaining the preventive. He informed "such physicians and other intelligent persons as reside beyond the limits of his accustomed practice that he will with much pleasure upon application furnish them with vaccine infection." But especially noteworthy, and characteristic of the medical profession in St. Louis in all its history, was the philanthropic position taken by Dr. Saugrain toward those so unfortunate as to be unable to protect themselves. "Persons in indigent circumstances," he wrote to the Gazette, "paupers and Indians will be vaccinated and attended gratis."

**Cough Drops and Bilious Pills.**

"Patent medicines" followed the American flag into St. Louis. They were here when Colonel Charless began to publish the Gazette. Within a month after the inaugural number, the Gazette was advertising cough drops, balsam of honey, British oil, bilious pills, essence of peppermint. Four years later, Dr. Robert Simpson, a young Marylander who had come to St. Louis as assistant surgeon in the army, opened the first drug store in St. Louis, associating with himself Dr. Quarles. Dr. Simpson became postmaster and in the fifty years of his life in St. Louis had a varied experience. He went into local politics and held the offices of collector and of sheriff. In his more active years it was said of him that he knew personally everybody living in St. Louis and most of the people in the county. He engaged in mercantile life, was cashier of the first savings bank, the Boatmen's, was chosen comptroller of the city several times and went to the legislature.

**Marvelous Surgery.**

The distinction of being the first American physician and surgeon to establish himself permanently west of the Mississippi belongs to Bernard Gaines Farrar. Born in Virginia and reared in Kentucky, young Dr. Farrar, on the advice of his brother-in-law, Judge Coburn, came to St. Louis to live two years after the American occupation. He was just of age. Dr. Charles Alexander Pope de-

scribed Farrar as a man of most tender sensibilities, so tender-hearted that he seemed to suffer with his patients. And yet, before he had been in St. Louis three years, Dr. Farrar performed a surgical operation which for a generation was a subject of marvel in the settlements and along the trails of the Mississippi valley. The patient was young Shannon, who had made the journey to the mouth of the Columbia with Lewis and Clark. Going with a second government expedition to find the sources of the Missouri, Shannon was shot by Blackfoot Indians. He was brought down the river to St. Louis, arriving in very bad condition. Dr. Farrar amputated the leg at the thigh. Shannon recovered, went to school, became a highly educated man and served on the bench in Kentucky. He never failed to give Dr. Farrar the credit of saving his life. The St. Louis surgeon went on performing what in those days were surgical miracles. Older members of the St. Louis profession always believed that Farrar antedated Sansom in the performance of a very delicate operation on the bladder, although Sansom, by reason of making publication first, is given the credit in medical history. Dr. Farrar died of the cholera in the epidemic of 1849. He was the man universally regarded as the dean of the medical profession of St. Louis in that day. It was said of Dr. Farrar that he was the physician and surgeon most devoted to the duties of his profession; that he took very little recreation; that he did not indulge in the sports of fishing and hunting which were common. Dr. Charles A. Pope pronounced before the medical association a eulogy in which he declared that the acts of benevolence and the charity performed by Dr. Farrar at the time when there was no hospital or asylum in the city were "unparalleled."

**Sanitary Warnings.**

From the days when St. Louis chose a doctor for the first mayor of the new city, the medical profession has done for St. Louis far more than to prescribe for physical ails. That first mayor, Dr. William Carr Lane, in his inaugural message, 1823, said: "Health is a primary object, and there is much more danger of disease originating at home than of its seeds coming from abroad. I recommend the appointment of a board of health to be selected from the body of citizens, with ample powers to search out and remove nuisances, and to do whatever else may conduce to general health. This place has of late acquired a character for unhealthfulness which it did not formerly bear and does not deserve. I am credibly informed that it is not many years since a fever of high grade was rarely, if ever, seen. To what is the distressing change attributable? May we not say principally to the insufficiency of our police regulations? What is the present condition of yards, drains, etc.? May we not dread the festering heat of next summer?" If this early warning had been heeded, St. Louis might have escaped or minimized the series of terrible cholera epidemics which began in the next decade.

Progress in sanitary conveniences was shown by the newspaper announcement in 1829 that "the new bathing establishment of Mr. J. Sparks & Co. has about thirty-five visitors, and of that number not one has experienced an hour's sickness since the bathing commenced; we should, for the benefit of the city, be glad there were more encouragement, and, as the season is partly over, tickets have been reduced to one dollar the season."

**Medical Education Begun.**

The first medical student west of the Mississippi was Meredith Martin. He was a young Kentuckian who came to St. Louis and read medical books in the office of Dr. Farrar in 1828. There was no medical school here. After he had read the books, Martin went to Philadelphia and took a degree. He came back to St. Louis to practice and had a strenuous beginning. Almost immediately he was given a commission to go to the Indian Territory and vaccinate the Indians. This was a work of months. Dr. Martin returned to St. Louis to find the city passing through its first terrible visitation of cholera. He lived to be one of the oldest physicians in St. Louis and was three times elected president of the St. Louis Medical society.

The first medical lecture delivered west of the Mississippi was by Dr. John S. Moore, from North Carolina. On the basis of a fine classical education he started for Philadelphia, at that early day the center of medical education in the United States, to complete his studies and "get a diploma." Meeting Dr. McDowell, he was induced to stop in Cincinnati, and became a member of the first class of the Cincinnati Medical college, graduating in 1832. As the youngest member of the faculty of the medical department of Kemper college, with which medical education began in St. Louis, Dr. Moore delivered that first lecture.

**Heroic Service in Epidemics.**

The cholera epidemics developed heroic qualities in the medical profession of St. Louis. Dr. Hardage Lane, a cousin of the first mayor of St. Louis, Dr. William Carr Lane, devoted himself day and night to cholera patients in 1849, until he was overcome with physical exhaustion, dying after a brief illness.

Dr. Edwin Bathurst Smith, a Virginian, member of an old family of that state, before he came to St. Louis had been one of the founders of the Louisiana Medical college. He had been the first physician to give yellow fever patients cold drinks to allay the fever. He went through the first cholera epidemic of this country, that of 1832, and won high reputation as an authority. After settling in St. Louis he devoted the most of his attention to the sciences and was one of a coterie which half a century ago gave St. Louis worldwide fame in scientific matters.

A highly educated son of Maryland who joined the medical profession in St. Louis, a representative of one of the families of Revolutionary patriots, was Dr. Stephen W. Adreon. He came in 1832. After some years of practice he, like many other members of his profession, took an interest in civic matters and served as a member of the city council under three mayors, Kennett, King and Filley. As president of the board of health, Dr. Adreon had much to do with the development of that department of the municipal government. He was also, toward the close of his active career, health officer and one of the managers of the House of Refuge.

**Beaumont's Discoveries in Digestion.**

Connection with the army brought to Missouri notable members of the medical profession. The most distinguished of these, probably, was a surgeon of Connecticut birth. Dr. William Beaumont had been a surgeon in the regular army

about twenty years when, after stationed for some time at Jefferson Barracks and the arsenal, he resigned and made his home in St. Louis. That was about 1832. While he was living here Dr. Beaumont brought out a book which gave him worldwide fame. He called it "Physiology of Digestion and Experiments on the Gastric Juice." That wasn't a title to arouse much curiosity among laymen, but when the story got into circulation, interest was not confined to the profession. During the time that Dr. Beaumont was at an army post on the Canadian frontier he was called upon to attend Alexis St. Martin, a boatman. Martin had been shot in such a manner as to leave a hole in his stomach. The wound healed, but the hole did not close. Dr. Beaumont carried on a long series of experiments. He observed the operation of digestion under many conditions. St. Martin ate solids and drank liquids under the doctor's directions. The doctor looked into the stomach, watched and timed the progress. He was able to give from actual observation the effects produced by various kinds of foods and drinks upon the stomach.

Some of these young physicians who settled in St. Louis combined sound business qualifications with professional standing. Dr. Alexander Marshall, who was born eight miles from Edinburgh, Scotland, made a careful tour of observation of American cities before he decided upon St. Louis in 1840 as his permanent location. He had $600 when he came here and gave himself six months to live on that while making acquaintances. But before the half year of probation was up, Dr. Marshall had not only become self-supporting on his practice, but had added $600 to his nestegg. He continued to practice in St. Louis and accumulated an estate of $300,000.

Henry Van Studdiford was intended for the ministry by his New Jersey relatives, but his natural bent and education took him into the profession of medicine. He came to St. Louis in 1839, invested the surplus earnings from his practice in real estate. He did this so judiciously that he became one of the wealthiest members of his profession in this city. He married a daughter of Colonel Martin Thomas, the army officer who established and commanded the St. Louis arsenal.

**Early Medical Literature.**

The medical profession before the Civil war drew upon Kentucky born men for some of its strongest characters. Besides Joseph Nash McDowell and M. L. Linton, John T. Hodgen, E. H. Gregory and E. S. Frazier were from Kentucky stock. Dr. Moses L. Linton came from Kentucky in 1842. A graduate of Transylvania University, perfected in his profession by study abroad, he had a short time before moving to St. Louis announced his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Then had ensued a sharp controversy between Rev. Robert Grundy, a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and Dr. Linton, running through a series of pamphlets and attracting a great deal of attention. Dr. Linton wrote with much spirit and in an attractive style. The high standard of medical education in St. Louis owes a great deal to that farmer's son in Kentucky. Dr. Linton took a course in Europe at a time when few American doctors did that. He was associated in his studies abroad part of the time with Dr. Charles A. Pope. That association had much to do with Dr. Linton's decision to settle in St. Louis, where he was invited to take a chair in the faculty of the medical department of

St. Louis University. The St. Louis Medical Journal, established in 1843, owed its beginning to Dr. Linton more than to any one else. Dr. McPheeters was associated with Dr. Linton in the editorial management of the Journal. "Outlines of Pathology" was the title of one of the first medical books published by an author west of the Mississippi. In that book Dr. Linton gave to the profession what served for students in the way of general instruction many years.

**Home Educated Doctors.**

Between 1850 and 1860 St. Louis began to produce her own professors. One of the first of these was Dr. T. L. Papin, a descendant of the founder of the settlement. In 1852 he became a member of the faculty in the Missouri Medical college. The greater part of his career he was a teacher of medicine. St. John's Hospital owed its origin to Dr. Papin and the connection of the medical college with the hospital was largely brought about by him. The Nidelets, James C. and Sylvester, were descended from the Pratte family. They completed their education in St. Louis and entered the medical profession here. The father of the Nidelets was of San Domingo birth, but of French descent. He was Stephen F. Nidelet. He came to this country while a boy and became a merchant of Philadelphia. While on a visit to St. Louis he made the acquaintance of Celeste E. Pratte, a daughter of General Bernard Pratte and a belle of the decade of 1820-1830. Marriage followed. Some years afterwards the Nidelets removed from Philadelphia to St. Louis and made this their home.

The decade 1840-50 gave to the medical profession of St. Louis notable characters. These men were not only strong personalities but they brought to their practice and to the educational work in which they engaged the advantages of study and observation far beyond the ordinary. And this inheritance of knowledge and thought they passed down to the thousands of young men who came to the medical schools of St. Louis. To these physicians and surgeons, coming from other countries and from various states, St. Louis owes much for her foremost position among cities in the philanthropy which has to do with physical ails.

**Pioneer Free Dispensary.**

S. Gratz Moses, born in Philadelphia, had enjoyed classical education and medical training before he went to Europe as physician to Joseph Bonaparte, the eldest brother of Napoleon. His connection with the Bonaparte family brought him into friendly relations with the great men of his profession in Paris. Returning to this country, Dr. Moses came to St. Louis in 1841. The next year he, with half a dozen young men in his profession, started something that was new in this city and one of the first of its class in the United States. That institution was a dispensary for treatment of those unable to employ physicians. Mrs. Vital M. Garesche suggested this dispensary and worked zealously for its establishment. The support came from churches and private subscriptions. The Mullanphy family gave generously toward this as they did toward other movements to relieve the unfortunate. At that time the Unitarian church was on Fourth and Pine streets. With his spirit of cooperation in all public spirited enterprise, Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot gave rooms to the dispensary office in the basement of his church. Associated with Dr. Moses in this work were Dr. William M. McPheeters, Dr.

DR. EDWIN B. SMITH

DR. S. GRATZ MOSES

Founder of the first free dispensary west of the Mississippi. One of the first in the United States.

DR. PHILIP WEIGEL

DR. JOHN B. JOHNSON

The St. Louis physician who never sent a bill for professional services

DR. B. G. FARRAR

J. B. Johnson, Dr. Charles A. Pope, Dr. J. L. Clark, Dr. George Johnson and others. These men carried on the dispensary for seven years until the city assumed this as a municipal function and opened a public dispensary.

**Horseback and Saddle Bags.**

Those were primitive times. It is said that the only one of these practitioners in the early forties who rode in a buggy to visit his patients was Dr. Clark. The others rode horseback. Dr. John B. Johnson was of Massachusetts birth and of Harvard education. He came from the position of house surgeon of the Massachusetts General hospital to enter practice at St. Louis. A man of splendid appearance and fine manners, Dr. Johnson obtained almost immediately a professional standing among the leading families. One of his earliest friends was Theron Barnum, who kept the City hotel in the days when the leading hotelkeeper of St. Louis ranked close to the mayor in public estimation. It was said of Dr. Johnson that for many years he did not send a bill for services, relying upon his patients to come around and settle when they felt so disposed.

Dr. Moses M. Pallen, the head of the Pallen family in St. Louis, was a Virginian by birth, educated at the University of Virginia. He practiced in Vicksburg several years before coming to St. Louis in 1842. He was a student of the sciences as well as a physician and was one of the coterie which gave high character to the St. Louis Academy of Science in its early days.

**Mullanphy Hospital.**

Dr. E. H. Gregory, born, bred and educated in Kentucky, joined the profession at St. Louis in 1852. He became the surgeon-in-chief of the Sisters' Hospital. That was the first hospital west of the Mississippi. Sister Francis Xavier, with three other members of the order of Sisters of Charity, which had been founded at Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1809, came to St. Louis in 1828 and started the hospital in a modest way on a strip of ground 100 feet wide running from Fourth to Third street along the south side of Spruce. The lot was a donation for the purpose by John Mullanphy, who set a fine pace for philanthropy in St. Louis soon after the American flag was hoisted. The first building was small. It left room for an orchard and a garden. The institution grew until crowding commerce prompted removal, July, 1874, to a large block of ground on Montgomery street east of Grand avenue. Around him Dr. Gregory gathered a staff composed of such specialists as N. B. Carson, Paul Y. Tupper, S. Pollak, W. C. Glasgow, L. L. McCabe.

Charles W. Stevens was a member of the Kemper college medical faculty. He was one of the first graduates of that institution. Coming west from his New York home to be a civil engineer and surveyor, when he was about of age, Stevens found that profession unpromising and took up the study of medicine. Diseases of the nervous system became his specialty and he was superintendent and physician of the St. Louis Insane Asylum. Kemper college was located where the asylum was afterwards built. Dr. Stevens went to his charge of the city's wards on the same hilltop in southwest St. Louis where he had studied medicine and had lectured a quarter of a century before. The first class of young doctors grad-

uated at Kemper included Dr. E. S. Frazier, a young Kentuckian, who married a sister of Dr. John S. Moore and joined the profession in St. Louis.

From Prague, in Bohemia, came to St. Louis, in 1845, a highly educated specialist in the person of Dr. Simon Pollak. He had already given study to the branch of medicine which was to place him among the leaders in ophthalmology. Joining the coterie of physicians and surgeons who had established the dispensary, Dr. Pollak pioneered the way for what has become one of the city's most beneficial institutions. In 1852, Dr. Pollak started the movement which by private subscriptions founded the Missouri Institution for the Education of the Blind. This was supported five years by the contributions of citizens and was then made a state institution.

**A Medical Census.**

In 1845, according to the Medical and Surgical Journal published here, St. Louis had 146 "persons who are endeavoring to obtain a livelihood by the practice of the healing art in this city, which includes the homeopathists, botanics, Thompsonians, etc." The population was 40,000. There was a doctor of some kind for 274 people. The Journal stated that about one-third of these doctors enjoyed lucrative practice and that many of the others were leaving and settling in surrounding towns.

Distinguished among the writers on medical subjects in this country was Dr. R. S. Holmes, a native of Pittsburg, who left the position of army surgeon to make his home in St. Louis about 1849. Dr. Holmes not only contributed a great deal that attracted attention in medical literature but he became widely known as a magazine and newspaper contributor. He popularized subjects more or less connected with his profession. He wrote on "Beauty," "Use of the Hair Among the Ancients," and like topics. He contributed "Sketches of American Character." His great work in his profession was his study and treatment of malignant, climatic fevers. He led in the use of large doses of quinine to overcome malaria. Visiting Europe he brought home to St. Louis the finest microscope that had been seen here and entered upon minute researches with the powerful lens.

Dr. George S. Case, then a young student, was one of the passengers on the first omnibus trip made in St. Louis with Erastus Wells as driver. He adopted medicine as his profession and before he graduated he startled the doctors at a meeting of the St. Louis Medical society with a declaration of the existence of a cholera bacillus. That was shortly after the fearful cholera epidemic of 1849. Dr. Case, then not quite of age, not only made his point about the bacillus but he showed the doctors that men employed about the omnibus stables and other places where ammonia fumes abounded were immune.

**Dr. Sappington of Anti-Fever Pill Fame.**

About 1850 the most popular medicine in Missouri was Sappington's anti-fever pills. Most of the people lived along the creeks and in the river bottoms. They suffered from malaria. Dr. Sappington invented pills in the preparation of which quinine was used. He also wrote a book called "Sappington on Fevers," which had wide sale. A copy of the little leather-bound volume was in the possession of the late Dr. Frank J. Lutz. It was one of the objects of chief interest at the exhibit of medical history of Missouri given by the Missouri Historical

Society in 1914. With the relic, Dr. Lutz supplied this information about Dr. Sappington:

"In 1817 he removed to Missouri, settling near Glasgow, where he practiced medicine for several years. Then he removed to Saline county and built 'Fox Castle,' his country home, near Arrow Rock, where he resided until his death.

"Dr. Sappington was one of the most remarkable pioneer citizens and prominent physicians of Central Missouri of his day, his practice covering a wide area, including half a dozen counties and requiring an occasional visit to Arkansas. His reputation as a physician extended all over Missouri.

"In 1804 Dr. Sappington married Miss Jane Breathitt of Russellville, Ky., a sister of a former governor of that state. She died in 1852. They had nine children. Of these, three daughters—Jane, Louisa and Eliza—became in succession the wives of Clairborne Fox Jackson, governor of Missouri.

"It is related that on the governor's asking him for the third daughter, the doctor replied: 'Yes, you can have her on this one condition, that if you lose her, you will not come back for her mother.'

"Dr. Sappington introduced the then new remedy—quinine—into the Mississippi Valley. This he used largely in his practice, and so great was his success in the treatment of malarial and other fevers that to fill the demand he compounded and placed in the market a remedy which became widely known.

**The Introduction of Quinine.**

"Quinine formed a considerable constituent of these pills and for years the sale was so large indeed as to have yielded to the doctor what in those early days was considered a very large fortune. One of his orders for quinine exhausted the entire stock of a wholesale company in the East and yet was not sufficient to fill his saddle bags.

"This shows that the remedy was not fully established. While other physicians in the frontier region were tentatively prescribing quinine, with Dr. Sappington its use was quite general and satisfactory.

"Dr. Sappington was a man of untiring industry, for in addition to his wide practice he managed several large farms. The principal product of these farms was corn, which he sold at the uniform price of 35 cents a bushel.

"Dr. Sappington was a man of eccentricities. Several years before his death he had a leaden coffin made for himself and this he kept under his bed. For some time previous he had occasional attacks of asthma, and whenever he thought of himself as lying in this air-tight casket there was a recurrence of the trouble. After a time he had a couple of holes made in the head of the coffin, so that he 'could breathe,' and, it is said, thereupon his asthmatic attacks ceased.

"Dr. Sappington left behind him a reputation as a man of wide and generous benevolence. To crown his charitable works he bequeathed $20,000, known as the 'Sappington School Fund,' to be used in the education of the indigent orphan children of Saline county. By good and careful management this fund has grown to be more than three times the original sum, although $90,000 has been expended under the bequest and great good accomplished."

While Sappington's pills were composed in the main of quinine, they were a compound with additions of blue mass and pepsin.

The fame of Sappington's remedy was not limited to this state. At the time Missouri was reducing its death rate through the use of quinine compounded, an Illinois newspaper contained the following advertisement:

"Blow ye the trumpet blow!
"Fever and ague.

"Look out for your shake-ism! Just received a fresh supply of Dr. Sappington's Fever and Ague Pills."

The present generation does not realize what a scourge malaria was in the western country at the time Dr. Sappington cornered the quinine supply. Dr. Victor C. Vaughan, of the University of Michigan, a specialist of nation-wide fame, born in Mt. Airy, Missouri, about the middle of the last century, told the City Club of St. Louis in April, 1920, that Missouri's death rate, largely because of malaria, was 21 per thousand of the population. This had been reduced to 14 per thousand. The average term of life of the Missourian, Dr. Vaughan said, had been increased ten years. That is to say, the average in the time of prevalence of malaria was between 30 and 33 years. It is now between 42 and 45. Dr. Vaughan recalled the successful fight which had been made to eradicate malaria. He expressed confidence that tuberculosis might be decreased by different methods but by like zeal in the field of prevention. He predicted that the death rate of Missouri would be brought down to 7 per thousand, or one-half the present rate. As to methods for combatting and decreasing tuberculosis in Missouri, his native state, Dr. Vaughan urged comprehensive and thoroughgoing surveys; discovery and publicity of housing conditions and causes of tuberculosis; sanatoriums on farms for the treatment of incipient cases and tendencies toward the disease; hospitals for the open or advanced cases, and training schools for workers in the cause of overcoming the white scourge. Analyzing local conditions of site and climate, Dr. Vaughan told the City Club there was nothing to prevent St. Louis from becoming the healthiest city in the world.

**Record Cure with Sappington's Pills.**

In a paper which Mrs. Ed. Helber read before the Fortnightly Club of Farmington this incident of the early days in Southeast Missouri was narrated:

"On account of the dense forests, with only a farm cleared here and there, the early inhabitants were subject to attacks of ague or chills and fever. Old Aunt Sallie Elvins was 'a chilling' as she called it. Mr. Elvins came to town and bought a box of Sappington's pills, a new remedy. There were twenty-four pills in the box. When Mr. Elvins returned in the evening he found Aunt Sallie sitting in the chimney corner. He handed her the box and went to the barn to feed his horses. When he came to the house he said, 'Sallie, have you taken any of the pills yet?' 'Well, Elvins,' Aunt Sallie replied, 'I have swallowed all but two of them and for the life of me I can't get them down.' Thirty-five years afterwards, Aunt Sallie told this story and added, 'Believe me, I haven't had a chill from that day to this.'"

The first settler in Sullivan county, according to tradition, was Dr. Jacob Holland. He was known far and wide on the frontier as an Indian fighter and physician who compounded his medicines from Missouri herbs.

A medicine of high sounding name which was sold in large quantities was "Dr. Bragg's Celebrated Indian Queen Vegetable Sugar Coated pills."

Dr. John Wolfskill, one of the earliest practitioners in Livingston county was called to prescribe for a lady who told him he was "the first doctor ever on the place." He gave her some powders "to be taken in water." After he had gone the lady with much protesting climbed into a barrel of water and took a powder. The next time the doctor called the patient was so much improved he discontinued the powders.

**Pioneer Prescriptions.**

Dr. Samuel Bender was one of the Dade county Missourians of strong individuality. It was his custom to catch polecats and extract the perfume from the animal's glands, keeping on hand a bottle. The doctor was a foe to the use of tobacco. If a man smoking a cigar entered his office, the doctor would uncork the bottle, sprinkle some of the contents on the floor and remark: "You like your stink. I like mine. Nuff sed." Dr. Bender was one of the first physicians. Medicine was scarce. A popular form in many parts of the Ozarks was the walnut pill made from the bark of the white walnut tree. If the bark was peeled upward the pill's action was that of an emetic. If the bark was peeled downward it yielded a pill which acted as a physic.

Dr. Thompson arrived in the Grundy county section early enough to have his name taken for Thompson's Fork. He combined sense with science in his practice. Having been called into the country to treat a man who was in a very nervous condition, Dr. Thompson examined the premises. It is not recalled whether he looked under the bed as part of the diagnosis, but he did make an examination of the door. After the usual form, the door was made of two puncheons on end, fastened together and hung to the side of the house with wooden hinges. When the door was moved it gave out a screech that could be heard a long distance. "The first thing I will prescribe," said Dr. Thompson, "will be a pint of hog's fat. Melt it and give it to me now." The wife of the patient brought the fat. The doctor took it and poured it down the side of the door and over the hinges, whence the creaking proceeded. Then he turned to the patient.

**Eccentric Joseph Nash McDowell.**

In the fall of 1838 Dr. Joseph N. McDowell began to lecture to the students of Kemper college. His subject was the history of man. He illustrated his talks with skulls of the different races. The lectures were fascinating. Students wanted more. Dr. McDowell built a medical college, not the great pile of masonry which looked like a massive fort; that came later. The first McDowell college was a small brick building. There the young men of St. Louis flocked to him for medical education. Architecturally, McDowell's college was as original as the founder. A large stove in the amphitheater of his first college building gave Dr. McDowell the suggestion of an octagon building. This plan was carried out as far as means would permit. The octagon building was to be eight stories in height. It was started with foundations eight feet thick but never reached the height designed. In the center was a column of masonry which was to form the peak of the roof. In this massive column Dr. McDowell intended to have niches in which to place the copper cases containing the bodies of members of his family.

**McDowell's Americanism.**

From the Christian Brothers' academy, northward toward the city was open space. It extended toward Mill Creek and the famous mill. The creek ran under a culvert where Seventh street crossed. This open space Dr. McDowell appropriated for his patriotic celebrations. He encouraged his devoted medical students to make much of Washington's Birthday and of the Fourth of July. Several cannon were included in the equipment of McDowell's Medical college.

They had been obtained originally for moral effect at a time when popular prejudice was easily inflamed against dissecting rooms. And when a national holiday came around, the head of the institution took evident satisfaction in showing the community that he and his constituency knew how to shoot them. The cannon were not mounted upon wheeled carriages but that did not deter Dr. McDowell. Wearing a three-cornered hat of the continentals, with feathers bristling from it, having a large cavalry sabre strapped to his waist, McDowell would lead his students carrying the cannon to the vacant space. The guns were placed on sawbucks for support. Dr. McDowell superintended the loading and firing. In loud and emphatic language he gave his orders, encouraging much cheering and telling his followers to "make Rome howl." That was one of the doctor's favorite forms of appeal.

Those days of patriotic outburst by Dr. McDowell and the medical students were observed in very different spirit by the Christian Brothers and their pupils. Brother Jasper was in charge of the playground. The coming of the medical body was the signal for Brother Jasper to assemble the students of the academy and to marshal them to a place of safety. The Brothers, viewing the reckless manner in which Dr. McDowell conducted the salutes in honor of the day, had no doubt there would sometime be an explosion, with loss of life or limb. There was strong suspicion that the evident apprehension of the Brothers stimulated Dr. McDowell to louder and more violent language and to greater demonstrations on his holidays. The more marked the disturbance of the Brothers became, the greater seemed the satisfaction of the doctor. And yet it was not malevolence, for Dr. McDowell would speak well of his neighbors. One day returning from the celebration on the vacant space, the doctor thrust his head in at an open window of the academy and loudly declared with unquotable emphasis that if he had a boy young enough to go to school he would send him to the Brothers.

Dr. Warren B. Outten, the surgeon, was a boy student at the Christian Brothers' academy, as it was called in the decade of 1850-60. His recollection of the militant head of McDowell's Medical college remained vivid through all of the years that followed:

> He was a tall, slim man, with clean cut features and cleanly shaven face. His hair was gray and combed straight back from his forehead after the manner of Calhoun. Dr. McDowell was to each and every student of the academy a marked and wonderful character. His intensity and tendency toward profanity, his high pitched voice, his swaggering and independent bearing made him always interesting, awesome and peculiar. I can well remember how the Brothers viewed him. To them he was a vice regnant deputy of His Satanic Majesty. Brother Valgen, who was master of dormitory for fifty years, a man of mild, timid character, if he could see Dr. McDowell a square off, would cross himself and hunt for cover.

**McDowell, the Orator.**

Great reputation locally as an orator, had Dr. McDowell. His language was always picturesque and often lurid. His commencement addresses drew to his college large audiences. The late Dr. Montrose A. Pallen could describe graphically one of these commencement days at McDowell's college, for he was present although a student of another institution. The manner and words of McDowell made a lasting impression on Pallen's memory. On that commencement day,

Dr. McDowell came down the center aisle of the amphitheater, carrying his violin and bow. When he reached the amphitheater table he turned and facing the expectant throng began to play. After several tunes, he laid down the violin and spoke in his high pitched voice:

Now, gentlemen, we have been together five long months. Doubtless, some of these months have been very happy months, and doubtless some have been very perplexing ones. Such is the eternal fate of workers and students. But now, gentlemen, the saddest of all sad words must be uttered, namely, farewell! Here retrospection takes her sway, either gladdened or saddened, as idiosyncrasies hold the mind. We have wandered in the labyrinthian way of anatomy. We have floated in the ethereal atmosphere of physiology. We have waded knee deep, nay, neck deep, into a sea of theory and practice; ground, filtered, pounded and inspected elements of materia medica, and slowly pounded in the endless crucible of chemistry. As we say farewell! it is needless for me to say that I hope God may, in His infinite mercy, bless you as you deserve. But remember that labor omnia vincit. No man under God's blue sky need hope that success can, or will come without labor, for God has ordained that all of us must earn our living by the sweat of our brows. Nature only recognizes the laborer, and eternally damns the rich man, by satiety and disease.

Doubtless one of your number, in this class, will come back to the great city of St. Louis with the snow of many winters upon his hair and walking upon three legs instead of two, as Sphinx has it. As he wanders here and there upon its streets amidst the crowded and eager throng, noting the wondrous improvement here and the change there, suddenly, gentlemen, it will occur to him to ask of one of the eager passers-by, "Where is Dr. McDowell?" "Dr. McDowell? Dr. McDowell?" he will say, "what Dr. McDowell?" "Why," he will tell him, "Dr. McDowell, the surgeon!" "Oh, yes, Dr. McDowell, the surgeon. Why! He lies buried close to Bellefontaine."

Slowly, gentlemen, he will wend his way thither, and there amidst the rank weeds, he will find a plain marble slab inscribed, "J. McDowell, Surgeon." While he stands there contemplating the rare virtues and eccentricities of this old man, suddenly, gentlemen, the spirit of Dr. McDowell will arise on ethereal wings and bless him, aye! thrice bless him. Then, suddenly, gentlemen, this spirit will take a swoop and as he passes McDowell's college he will drop a parting tear. But, gentlemen, when he gets to Pope's college, he will spit upon it. Yes, I say, he will spit upon it.

Into his peroration Dr. McDowell would throw almost frenzied emphasis. When he concluded there would be a hurricane of cheers and yells. Dr. Pallen was a student at Pope's college, but, as did many of the students of the rival institution, he went to hear Dr. McDowell's address to his graduates.

**"Old Sawbones."**

McDowell wore his hair in an iron gray mane thrown back and falling almost to the shoulder. He had great natural power as an orator, but he cultivated rather familiarity than dignity. Standing at the front of the courthouse to address a public gathering he was greeted by some one in the crowd as "old sawbones." "Yes," he answered back, in his high pitched voice, "I am 'old sawbones' and look out that I don't saw your bones."

Dr. McDowell was a fascinating lecturer. He had stories to illustrate every assertion. His students were in the habit of saying that Dr. McDowell could tell a story to go with every bone, muscle, nerve and vessel of the human body. Dr. McDowell was not a successful business man. The college passed through financial straits. The doctor held St. Louis University responsible for his money troubles because the faculty permitted another medical college to be organized

under the auspices of the university. He lectured against the Jesuits. And then he professed to feel that he and his college were in danger of attack. Wearing a brass breastplate made according to his own design and carrying arms, Dr. McDowell turned his medical college into a fortress. He bought 1,400 condemned muskets from the United States government, paying $2.50 apiece for them. These he stored in the basement of the college. From old brass, which he bought, and from the college bell Dr. McDowell had cast for him six cannon. He talked of recruiting from his students a force to march across the plains and capture some Mexican territory. When the Civil war came Dr. McDowell went south and gave his cannon to the Confederacy. He died in 1868.

**Pope, the Courteous Gentleman.**

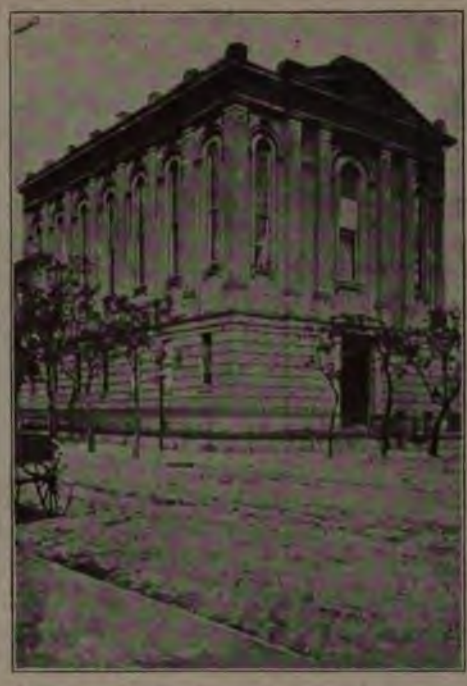
Altogether unlike McDowell was that other dominant figure of early medical education in St. Louis, Charles Alexander Pope. In leisure hours, Dr. Warren B. Outten attained marked facility with the brush. He painted a portrait of Dr. Pope, under whom he had been a student when Pope's college was known throughout the country. Dr. Outten has given a pen picture of Dr. Pope. He describes him as " a very handsome man, about five feet, nine inches tall, having a well shaped head with dark blue eyes, well turned eyebrows, an expression of thoughtful gentleness about the eyes. It was a face such as to win anyone on first sight. Dr. Pope had a general appearance of elegance and culture. His voice was quick, incisive and agreeable in tone. His movements were quick and graceful. Dr. Pope was unconsciously polite and courteous. He was in my estimation, in every respect, a most perfect gentleman. He never descended to anything little, petty or mean. No one ever heard a vulgar or profane word come from his lips, nor did he ever utter abuse or gossip about a professional confrere. Always eager to commend and always full of good advice and encouragement, he made the world around him better for his having been in it."

From such a picture of Dr. Pope it is not difficult to understand the strong and lasting impression he made upon his profession in St. Louis. Dr. Pope was from Alabama. He had studied under Drake at Cincinnati, had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, had spent several years in medical schools in France, in England and in Ireland, coming to St. Louis in 1842. Within a year he entered the faculty of the St. Louis Medical college as professor of anatomy. In 1846 Dr. Pope married Caroline O'Fallon, the daughter of John O'Fallon. Proud of his brilliant son-in-law, John O'Fallon built on Seventh and Spruce streets the medical college which in its architecture and appointments was without equal in the United States, outside of New York and Philadelphia. Around him Dr. Pope drew a faculty of great strength. In 1854 he was elected president of the American Medical Association.

Coming back to St. Louis from Europe in 1870, Dr. Pope received a reception such as has been given to few citizens after an absence. To the faculty, newly organized, of the St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons, at a banquet, Dr. Pope made an address in March, 1870. Four months later, this man of splendid faculties, with a record of inestimable usefulness to his profession in St. Louis, was dead by his own hand. It was one of St. Louis' mysteries.

Pope's College survives, with its strenuous traditions and its honorable

DR. CHARLES A. POPE



OLD POPE COLLEGE
Seventh Street and Clark Avenue, 1865

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

McDOWELL'S OLD MEDICAL COLLEGE

The first structure erected at Ninth and Cerre streets in accordance with the designs of its eccentric founder with provisions for defense against mobs. The later and larger college was at Eighth and Gratiot streets and was used as a military prison during the Civil war.

record in the history of medical education of St. Louis. It has been, in its lifetime, the medical department of two universities. It has stood alone as the St. Louis Medical college. Uniting with the Missouri Medical college, it was merged in the Washington University medical department.

**John T. Hodgen's Sensibilities.**

Strikingly unlike his preceptor, McDowell, was John Thompson Hodgen, who was born in a rugged part of Kentucky near the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. After he graduated under McDowell, Dr. Hodgen became first demonstrator and then professor in the institution. When the war came and McDowell's college was turned into a military prison, Hodgen was chosen surgeon-general for the Western Sanitary commission. Later he was surgeon-general for the State of Missouri. He tried to keep alive the old medical school but finally joined the faculty of the St. Louis Medical college. The American Medical Association drew upon the St. Louis profession repeatedly to fill the office of president. One of those drafted was Dr. Hodgen.

The beloved surgeon of St. Louis in 1870-80 was John T. Hodgen. He used but few words. He accepted no familiarity. Addressed as "Doc," he would respond, "If you want me to answer you politely, don't call me 'Doc.' There is no such word. Call me 'Doctor' and there will be no trouble, but I will not answer to the call of 'Doc.'" And no man once receiving this rebuke required another warning. Dr. Hodgen could put an astonishing effect into his few words. His assertions uttered before his students were remembered and quoted for years afterwards. One who studied under him, said: "He could say 'I don't know,' in such a manner as to convey the idea that there was a profundity of knowledge back of it."

Men of strong sympathy, fine sensibilities and great charity have ennobled the medical profession of St. Louis. It is told of Dr. Hodgen that in driving up to the residence of a patient, where the case was desperate, he would sometimes say to the one with him: "Look out and see if crape is on the door. I am afraid to look." If crape was on the door the doctor drove on quickly; if not, Dr. Hodgen was out of the buggy in a hurry and with a bright face, his lips forming for a pleasant little whistle showing the pleasure he felt, he went into the house.

**Composite as to Nationality.**

The medical profession of St. Louis early became composite as to nationality and as to education. One of the German patriots of 1848 who became prominent in the medical profession of St. Louis was Dr. G. Fischer. Edward Montgomery from near Belfast, Ireland, settled in St. Louis in 1849 to practice medicine. He became widely known as a writer on medical subjects. About the same time, three other young men established themselves as physicians in St. Louis, coming from widely separated parts of the world. Louis Ch. Boisliniere was from the Island of Guadaloupe, descended from one of the oldest families of that West Indian paradise. He had been educated in France, had traveled extensively in South America and had been for some time a guest of Henry Clay and other eminent Kentuckians before he chose St. Louis as his permanent home. Under

the auspices of the Sisters of Charity Dr. Boisliniere took prominent part in giving St. Louis the honor of establishing the first lying-in hospital and foundling asylum in the United States. He was the first physician to hold the office of coroner in St. Louis. That was in 1858. Dr. Boisliniere's recreation was singing. He delighted in classical music and those who heard him in the rendition of church masses never forgot the fervor with which he sang. Dr. F. Ernst. Baumgarten began to practice in St. Louis contemporaneously with Dr. Boisliniere. He was from the kingdom of Hanover and had edited a surgical journal in German before he came to St. Louis. He became one of the founders of the German Medical society of St. Louis, a very strong professional organization. The third of these young doctors was Thomas O'Reilly, who came from County Cavan, Ireland, with the best medical education that Dublin could give him. All of his life in St. Louis he was devoted to the political advancement of his native island.

**Many Medical Colleges.**

The St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons came into existence in 1879. The movement was of considerable strength and resulted in the erection of a modern college building. The Beaumont Medical college cultivated close relations with hospitals, the Alexian, St. Mary's and the Missouri Pacific. It had its origin with a group of younger members of the profession, desiring to spread the benefits of hospital experience. Marion-Sims Medical college was started in 1890 and the Rebecca hospital was established in connection with it. The Barnes Medical college was inaugurated with a board of trustees including some of the most prominent citizens of St. Louis. For this institution was erected a handsome five-story building on Garrison avenue and Chestnut street, very complete in appointments. The medical colleges of St. Louis for several years graduated from 600 to 750 students annually.

Alfred Heacock, who came from Pennsylvania, after a few years' practice in Ohio and Indiana, lived to be the oldest practitioner in St. Louis. When he was eighty years of age, the St. Louis Medical society made him a member for life without payment of dues. In earlier years before the days of railroads, Dr. Heacock crossed the Mississippi by the upper ferry and attended patients in the American bottom and as far east as Collinsville, making the travel on horseback.

At a meeting of the Alumni Association of the Missouri Medical college, Professor C. O. Curtman, in 1895, introduced the X-ray discovery to the medical profession of St. Louis.

**Post-graduate Work Encouraged.**

In the decade of 1880-1890 a new generation took up the traditions and carried forward the prestige of the medical profession of St. Louis. Medical education for which St. Louis had won widespread fame was still farther advanced. The St. Louis Post-Graduate School of Medicine, the first institution of the kind in the country. was established. Its purpose was to encourage the graduate to go on with his study and researches. A moving spirit in this development was Herman Tuholske, who had come from his home in Berlin, with a classical

education in the gymnasium to enter upon professional life in St. Louis not long after the Civil war. Graduating from the Missouri Medical college, Dr. Tuholske perfected himself by study in the schools of London and the European capitals. He attracted much attention by the reforms he instituted as the physician in charge of the St. Louis dispensary. He went through epidemics with credit for his personal courage and professional skill. When he began to agitate the movement for advance in the standard of medical education in St. Louis he was joined by such men as Robinson, Michel, Steele, Hardaway, Glasgow, Spencer, Fischell and Engelmann. In response to this St. Louis movement the State of Missouri required three years' attendance upon lectures for license to practice.

**Bernays' International Fame.**

The first successful operation of the Caesarean section performed in St. Louis or Missouri is credited to Dr. A. C. Bernays. This was in 1889. Dr. Bernays was a young man, in the thirties. He was the first American to receive at Heidelberg the degree of Doctor of Medicine "Summa cum laude." He became famous internationally for the originality of his surgical operations, many of which were classed as daring by the profession. His surgical experiences he published in a series of pamphlets bearing the title, "Chips from a Surgeon's Workshop."

"The students' friend," Dr. Robert Luedeking was called. He was a native St. Louisan. When he died in 1908, at the age of fifty-five, he had honored his profession and his city. The title bestowed upon him had been earned by his devotion to the cause of medical education. Dr. Luedeking received the very best of advantages at Heidelberg. He endeavored to advance the standards in his teaching which began with a professorship in the St. Louis Medical college and was concluded with several years of invaluable service as dean of the medical department of Washington University. Dr. Luedeking was more than an instructor, he was the adviser and helper of the young men who came to St. Louis to prepare themselves for the profession. Through Dr. Luedeking's efforts and influence, Adolphus Busch was inspired to lend his aid to the material increase of facilities for instruction in St. Louis—facilities which placed this city with the best of centers of medical education.

**Rainfall and Sickness.**

In 1893 Dr. W. John Harris of St. Louis made public some of the results of the relation of rainfall to disease. He said:

"By looking up the records of this city, I find that the heaviest rainfalls since 1838 have occurred in June. I find that when the June rainfall is excessive as compared with the average June rainfall, amounting, say, to 10 and in some instances to 17 inches, and is followed by high temperature in July and August, St. Louis is in for an unusually unhealthy fall. Malarial diseases are prevalent and malignant under these conditions. The average rainfall at St. Louis in June is 6 or 7 inches. When it goes to 10, 15 or 17 inches the increase in malarial diseases in the fall months following is marked. Remittent fevers of malignant type are then frequent. The heaviest June rainfall St. Louis ever had was in 1848. Seventeen inches fell. After that we had the cholera epidemic of 1848 and 1849. Another peculiar thing I have found is that when we have two wet Junes together, the fall months in the second of the two years are attended by greater mortality than those of the

first. Last year was an illustration. We had excessive rainfall in June and a very bad fall following it for malarial diseases. The wet and dry Junes do not alternate as a rule. We have two or three wet Junes in succession, and in them the rainfall is nearly double that of other years. I know it is the general impression that the overflow of the rivers is caused by the melting of snow on the mountains. My investigations convince me that the unusually high water comes with the excessive rainfall in June. The hot summers follow and then we have the heavy mortality from malarial causes in the following September."

**Raising the Standards.**

The Academy of Medical and Surgical Sciences was one of the forms that the motive to raise the standard of the profession of medicine took. This association was formed in 1895 by Drs. James M. Hall, Wellington Adams, Emory Lamphear and others.

The coming of the Alexian Brotherhood to St. Louis was fifty years ago. Five members of this order arrived here in 1869 to establish a monastery and a hospital. The institution has grown to possess buildings which cost $250,000 in which 1,500 patients are cared for yearly.

**Introduction of Homeopathy.**

Dr. John T. Temple, a Virginian by birth, a graduate in medicine of the University of Maryland, introduced the practice of Homeopathy in St. Louis in 1844. He participated in the founding of the Homeopathic Medical college of Missouri in 1857. Dr. J. T. Vastine came from Pennsylvania in 1849. His son, Dr. Charles Vastine, succeeded him. A homeopathic physician who early achieved general acquaintance in St. Louis was Dr. Thomas Griswold Comstock. He was descended from one of the Mayflower families which settled in Connecticut. Dr. Comstock studied and graduated in 1849 at the St. Louis Medical college. In 1851 he went to Philadelphia and studied Homeopathy. He practiced a short time in St. Louis and then went to Europe, where he spent several years in the medical schools of the continent. Returning to St. Louis in 1857 Dr. Comstock, while classed as a homeopathic physician, was an independent practitioner. He was early recognized as one of the most learned and best read men in the medical profession of the city. He was perhaps the most proficient linguist here for years. The Comstock residence, on Fourteenth and Washington avenue, contained some of the choicest works of art as well as one of the finest private libraries in St. Louis. Riding behind one of the best carriage teams of the city was Dr. Comstock's recreation.

Dr. Augustus H. Schott was an infant in arms when his parents left Hanover, Germany, in 1851, to come to America. He was educated at Shurtleff college and at the Homeopathic Medical College of Missouri. After several years' practice at Alton he came to St. Louis and soon after took a professorship in the Homeopathic Medical college. Dr. E. C. Franklin came from Dubuque, Iowa, in 1857, and soon after joined the coterie engaged in carrying on the Homeopathic college. About the same time Dr. William Tod Helmuth came from Philadelphia. Helmuth, a dozen years later, went from St. Louis to become famous as a surgeon in New York. Franklin joined the faculty of the Homeopathic medical department of the University of Michigan. Dr. George S.

Walker was of Pennsylvania birth. He did not become a homeopathic practitioner until eight years after he made his residence in St. Louis in 1852.

The Eclectic school of medicine in 1873 founded the American Medical college. The leaders in the movement were George C. Pitzer, John W. Thrailkill, Jacob S. Merrell, Albert Merrell and W. V. Rutledge. The college graduated about 1,000 students.

**Congressman Cochran's Border Prescription.**

"Take care of yourself," was the parting injunction of friends on the border. It also applied in days of going to war. Take care of yourself was the first lesson the Spanish-American volunteers had to learn. Fortunate was the regiment which included on its roster a sprinkling of veterans who served in the Civil war, or had learned through life in the Far West the first lessons of self-reliance and resourcefulness. When Congressman Cochran went out to Camp Alger to see his soldier constituents from St. Joseph and the Platte Purchase, he found an epidemic of bowel complaints prevailing. The regimental medical staff was in despair. To Major Whittington the Congressman said:

"When I was a printer's devil I was given an advertisement of a sure cure for cholera, to put in type. I have forgotten how long ago it was, but there was cholera somewhere in the world. That day I had a bad case of gripes. I copied the 'sure cure' and took it across the street and got the druggist to fill it. The medicine did the business. It was so effective that I have remembered the prescription. Years afterwards I was out on the plains with Ben Holliday's overland trains. There was almost universal suffering among the men from the usual effects of drinking alkali water. I remembered my 'sure cure' and had some of it put up. I cured everybody who tried it. Now, if you will give it to the boys I'll send out a lot of it when I get back to Washington."

Major Whittington said he would be only too glad. The medical staff had been unable to draw supplies from the medical bureau, and had spent $50 of personal funds for medicines, while the troubles still continued. Congressman Cochran had a Washington druggist prepare two gallons of this compound:

Two parts tincture of rhubarb.
Two parts of spirits of camphor.
One part tincture of opium.
Dose, a teaspoonful.

Congressman Cochran's sure cure obtained first place in the pharmacopoeia of the 4th Missouri. With it the boys were prepared to brave all changes of water and climate in Cuba or the Philippines.

**Health Officer of World Wide Fame.**

The surgeon-general who developed the Marine Hospital Service into its latter day importance was born in St. Louis. General Walter Wyman, son of Professor Edward Wyman, graduated at Amherst and at the St. Louis Medical college. He entered the Marine Hospital service as an assistant surgeon in charge of the St. Louis Marine hospital in 1876 and almost immediately began to attract more than local attention by his efforts to improve the conditions of

the deck hands of western rivers. Congress was prompted by the movement which General Wyman fostered to pass a law for the better treatment of deck-hands. Then came the enlargement of the Marine Hospital service to meet the problems of epidemics with government authority—first cholera, then yellow fever and plague. To General Wyman's fearlessness and intelligence the country owed its escape from threatened visitations of contagious diseases. The surgeon-general's successful conduct of the service encouraged Congress to transfer, step by step, to this department the various government functions relating to the public health. The quarantine system grew into its effective status under General Wyman's investigations and recommendations. With the Spanish-American war, the service came into greatly increased responsibilities. It was extended over Cuba and Porto Rico. General Wyman aimed at control of the yellow fever situation in the West Indies and he achieved it. He promoted the establishment of a great sanitarium for the treatment of consumptives on the plains of New Mexico. The extension of American influence in the Pacific brought the study of leprosy, and of the bubonic plague within his jurisdiction. This Missourian lived to become recognized as the greatest health officer in the world.

**George D. Barnard, Public Benefactor.**

Cancer is an ailment people do not like to talk about. In the winter of 1905 a St. Louis physician who was shut in with the grippe received a visit from two fellow practitioners. Conversation rather curiously drifted to the depressing topic of cancer. All three doctors were men with wide experience. They knew that cancer was one of the diseases which the usual hospital management does not welcome and for which facilities of treatment are not possessed by many institutions. They told experiences with cases where cancer patients were poor and where neglect in the earlier stages had meant a lingering death. The three doctors agreed that there was nothing St. Louis needed more, with its variety of eleemosynary institutions, than a free cancer hospital. When the case of grippe reached the convalescent stage, these doctors got together a small group of public spirited men and women in the parlors of Mrs. J. M. Franciscus. They went over the ground. They offered all of the medical service free, providing the laity would do the rest.

The next step, in February, 1905, was a little gathering in the offices of the Third National Bank. Those present were Charles H. Huttig, who became president of the organization formed, W. J. Kinsella, J. M. Franciscus, John Schroers, Doctors W. E. Fischel, H. G. Mudd, M. F. Engman, and George Gellhorn.

Then followed a canvass to see if five years of experiment would be justified. Some people gave cash contributions and others pledged themselves to annual payments for five years. It was agreed that "if a five years' test of our plans proves them impracticable, or at least not productive of the results desired, we should then be willing to close the establishment."

In 1910 the patients in the rented building were moved into a building owned by the association and equipped with facilities not only for treatment, but for research work upon skin and cancer diseases.

There is no other skin and cancer hospital in the United States which in laboratory, in wards, in operating rooms, in provision for clinics can compare

with the St. Louis institution. Grounds and building and equipment represent $175,000.

The temporary quarters for the five years' experiment provided beds for only a limited number of patients. Such was the pressure that some had to be accommodated with cots. The permanent hospital takes care of more than twice the number who could be accommodated in the temporary hospital. During the five years of trial no patient was permitted to pay anything. The doctors redeemed at par their promises to give service absolutely free. They agreed to continue to serve in the new hospital at the same rate, and the management proclaims that the rule of no pay from patients will be adhered to. Grounds and building were the gift of one man—George D. Barnard. The new hospital is known as "the George D. Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital."

No institution in the world is better prepared than the new Barnard hospital to do pathological work. Even during the experimental or temporary period of five years the hospital accomplished results which attracted attention not only in this country but abroad. Notably has this been the case in the acetone treatment, which originated with a member of the staff of the St. Louis institution. This treatment is now generally accepted by the medical profession in the United States and in other countries as the best method of treating a certain class of cases.

When representatives of the Barnard hospital went abroad they were welcomed and shown great consideration by such men as Dr. Basham of the London Cancer hospital, which is the largest institution of the kind, and by Professor Czerny, who had given up a professorship of surgery at Heidelberg to devote himself to cancer research, endowing the hospital for cancer treatment at Heidelberg with $100,000. At Berlin the representatives of the Barnard hospital were shown special courtesies and their work commented upon. One of the new ideas which has been tried with remarkable results in the St. Louis institution is the "fulguration" treatment. This consists in the application of a direct spark of electricity upon the surface of the cancer. The apparatus for the application was obtained in Europe by Doctor Frank J. Lutz, and was presented by him to the x-ray department of the Barnard hospital.

**Medical Education.**

St. Louis had at one time eleven medical colleges. Going east in 1893 to address the almuni of a medical college, the then chancellor of Washington University, Dr. W. S. Chaplin, gave this testimony to the progressiveness of medical education in St. Louis:

> Some thirty years ago the faculty of one of these medical schools formed an organization which was a hard and fast agreement that they would turn over every dollar of profit to a fund, put it out of their control entirely and devote that fund to furthering medical education. As a result of this they built one of the very best educational buildings I know of. It has large laboratories; it has splendid lecture rooms. It has every feature of the most modern methods of teaching. And that has been built and equipped out of the self-sacrifice of members of the medical profession. I believe it is a lone example of such self-sacrifice. I know of no other profession that can boast of such an example; nor do I know of any other school in the medical profession that can show it.

Upon Dr. John Green, the chancellor bestowed, in large measure, the credit for the movement.

Dr. Eugene R. Lewis, a Missourian by birth, gave Missouri railroads the credit of developing the pioneer railway surgical organizations in the United States. This was done in 1882. Dr. Lewis adopted railway surgical work as a specialty in 1874. He became one of the chief officers of the National Organization of Railway Surgeons.

"The first organized railway medical service I know of," said Dr. Lewis, "was on the Central Pacific road between San Francisco and Sacramento, and then extended East. The Missouri Pacific Railway sent Dr. J. W. Jackson to the Pacific Coast to investigate the three systems of caring for railway injured, and, on his return, organized a system of care for its men which grew rapidly and became about the best equipped department, with possibly the Wabash Railroad excepted, in the United States. Dr. W. B. Outten, of St. Louis, at the head of the Missouri Pacific Railway Medical Department, was a co-worker with Dr. Jackson, and did more to perfect railway surgical service than any other man of his time.

**Dentistry in Missouri.**

Dentists began to announce their presence in Missouri within two years after the first newspaper was published. Dr. Paul, likely the first practitioner in St. Louis, advertised in 1809, in "The Missouri Gazette" that "A well-bred surgeon-dentist Dr. Paul, has the honor of informing his friends in particular and the public in general, that he is prepared to practice in all the branches belonging to his profession, viz, extracting, cleaning, plugging and strengthening the teeth, also making artificial ones."

With the coming of Dr. Isaiah Forbes in 1837 the dental profession took on new character. The year after he came Dr. Forbes constructed upon plans of his own a dental chair which was a great improvement to those in use. A dental society was formed, "The Missouri Dental Journal" was organized 1869. St. Louis dentists advanced new ideas and invented new methods.

Dr. John S. Clark of St. Louis was one of the first if not the first in the country to use rolled cylinders of gold foil for filling teeth.

One of the most noted fathers of the dental profession in St. Louis was Dr. Henry J. McKellops. A New Yorker by birth who located here in 1840. He was a page in the Missouri legislature and with the money thus earned attended the state university at Columbia. He became famous in his profession, all over the world as an expert operator and for the introduction of the mallet to pound into solidity gold filling. That was over fifty years ago. At that time the profession was not organized. Dr. McKellops led in a movement which established national, state and local societies of dentists throughout the country. He was one of the organizers and first president of the Missouri State Dental Association, 1865, and president of the American Dental Association in 1878. In his years of travel and investigation he assembled what was regarded as the most complete dental library in the world, at the time of his death.

The Morrison Brothers became noted among dentists in 1870-80. Dr. James B. Morrison invented a dental chair of iron with wonderful range of motion, which came into quite general use. He devoted a great deal of attention to a dental engine and invented a dental bracket.

The Missouri Dental college was organized in 1866, and developed largely through the influence of Dr. Wm. M. Morrison. It required the students to take certain regular courses of study in a medical college in addition to the dental course. Other dental colleges adopted this Missouri idea. Dr. Forbes was the first president of the dental college. Down to the present day the dental profession of Missouri has maintained the progressive spirit and the high standards which characterized these pioneers. In 1909 the American Dental association, the organization representing the profession throughout the country, looked to Missouri for a president—electing to that high position Dr. Burton Lee Thorpe, not only a practitioner of repute but a contributor of national reputation to the literature of the profession. He was president of the Missouri State Dental Association in 1901-2 and president of the National Dental Association in 1909-10. Other Missouri pioneer dentists of note in the early days of the profession were Homer Judd, W. H. Eames, C. W. Spalding, H. E. Peebles, H. S. Chase, A. H. Fuller and George A. Bowman.

St. Louis was honored for years as being the home of Dr. Edward H. Angle the greatest living teacher and practitioner of orthodontia, the science of regulation of crooked teeth of children.

THE ARCADIA VALLEY

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

CHOUTEAU POND, ST. LOUIS IN 1840

Known later as Mill Creek Valley. Now occupied in large part by Cupples Station. Anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie was celebrated on this pond in the forties. Building of first railroad toward the Pacific begun from upper end of this pond.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

## THE MORMON WAR AND AFTER

*"Tampering with Our Slaves"—An Unpardonable Sin in Missouri—The Independence Uprising—Printing Office Demolished—"Stripped, Tarred and Feathered Liberally"—The Offending Publication—"Free People of Color"—Driven from Jackson County—Appeal to Jefferson City—Suits Started—Governor Dunklin's Stand—Conferences at Liberty—The Ferry Tragedy—Arrival of a Mormon Army—Segregation Planned—A County Set Apart—Rapid Spread of the Sect North of the River—A Regiment of Mormon Militia—Captain Fear Not—Election Rioting at Gallatin—The Danites—Dissensions in the Church—Battle of Crooked Creek—State Forces Ordered Out—The March on Far West—Governor Boggs' Instructions—Extermination or Exodus—Surrender of the Leaders—Wholesale Executions Ordered—Doniphan's Stand for Humanity—"The Treaty"—Holcombe's Painstaking Search for Truth of History—Massacre at Haun's Mill—Eighteen Bodies Buried in a Well—John B. Clark's Wise Course in a Crisis—The Midwinter Flight to Illinois—Prohibition at Nauvoo—Emancipation of Slaves Advocated—Murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith—Brigham Young's Heresies—Reorganization of the Church—Judge Philips' Decision—Return to Jackson County—Revolution of Public Sentiment—Present Day Creed and Growth.*

The people of Missouri,
Like a whirlwind in its fury,
And without judge and jury,
Drove the saints and spilled their blood.

—*By a Mormon Poet.*

**It is cold blooded murder. I will not obey your order. My brigade shall march for Liberty tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock; and if you execute those men I will hold you personally responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God!—*A. W. Doniphan's reply to the order of his commanding officer to shoot the Mormon leaders in the public square at Far West.***

The unpardonable sin of the Mormons in Jackson county was opposition to slavery. On the 18th of July, 1833, a call was circulated for a mass meeting at Independence. It was signed by one hundred citizens of the county. It began:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Jackson county, believing that an important crisis is at hand as regards our civil society, in consequence of a pretended religious people that have settled and are still settling in our county, styling themselves Mormons, and intending as we do to rid our society peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must, and believing as we do that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee, or at least a sufficient one

against the evils which are now inflicted upon us and seem to be increasing by the said religious sect, deem it expedient and of the highest importance, to form ourselves into a company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purpose—a purpose, which we deem it almost superfluous to say, is justified as well by the law of nature as by the law of self-preservation."

**"Fanatics or Knaves."**

Then followed a general criticism of the religion of the Mormons with reflections on the characters of the members of the despised sect:

"It is more than two years since the first of these fanatics or knaves (for one or the other they undoubtedly are) made their first appearance amongst us, and pretending as they did and now do to hold personal communication and converse face to face with the most high God; to receive communications and revelations direct from heaven; to heal the sick by laying on of hands; and, in short, to perform all the wonder-working miracles wrought by the inspired apostles and prophets of old.

"We believed them deluded fanatics or weak and designing knaves, and that they and their pretensions would soon pass away; but in this we were deceived. The arts of a few designing leaders amongst them have thus far succeeded in holding them together as a society, and since the arrival of the first of them they have been daily increasing in numbers, and if they had been respectable citizens in society, and thus deluded, they would have been entitled to our pity rather than to our contempt and hatred; but from their appearance, from their manners, and from their conduct, since their coming among us, we have every reason to fear that with very few exceptions, they were of the very dregs of that society from which they came; lazy, idle and vicious. This, we conceive, is not idle assertion, but a fact susceptible of proof, for with these few exceptions above named, they brought into our county little or no property with them, and left less behind them, and we infer that those only yoked themselves to the Mormon car who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose by the change; and we believe that if some of the leaders amongst them had paid the forfeit due to crime, instead of being chosen ambassadors of the Most High, they would have been inmates of solitary cells. But their conduct here stamps their characters in their true colors."

**"Tampering with Our Slaves."**

Then followed the specific ground of offense which, in the judgment of the one hundred citizens, justified the extraordinary action of appeal to force:

"More than a year since it was ascertained that they had been tampering with our slaves and endeavoring to sow dissensions and raise seditions amongst them. Of this their Mormon leaders were informed, and they said they would deal with any of their members who should again in like case offend. But how specious are appearances! In a late number of the Star, published in Independence by the leaders of the sect, there is an article inviting free negroes and mulattoes from other states to become Mormons and remove and settle among us. This exhibits them in still more odious colors. It manifests a desire on the part of their society to inflict on our society an injury that they know would be to us entirely insupportable, and one of the surest means of driving us from the county; for it would require none of the supernatural gifts that they pretend to, to see that the introduction of such a caste amongst us would corrupt our blacks and instigate them to bloodshed."

**"Ulterior Movements."**

The address concluded with further criticism of the religion of the Mormons, reiterated the charge that "degraded and free negroes" were to be brought in, and pledged the signers of the address "to use such means as may be sufficient to remove" the saints:

"They openly blaspheme the most high God and cast contempt on His holy religion by pretending to receive revelations direct from heaven, by pretending to speak unknown tongues by direct inspiration, and by divers pretense derogatory of God and religion, and to the utter subversion of human reason.

"They declare openly that their God hath given them this county of land, and that sooner or later they must and will have the possession of our lands for an inheritance, and in fine they have conducted themselves on many other occasions in such a manner that we believe it a duty we owe ourselves, to our wives and children, to the cause of public morals, to remove them from among us, as we are not prepared to give up our pleasant places and goodly possessions to them, or to receive into the bosom of our families, as fit companions for our wives and daughters, the degraded and corrupted free negroes that are now invited to settle among us.

"Under such a state of things even our beautiful county would cease to be a desirable residence, and our situation deplorable! We therefore, agree, that, after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us, we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes and sacred honors.

"We will meet at the courthouse at the town of Independence, on Saturday next, 20th inst., to consult ulterior movements."

**"Tarred and Feathered Liberally."**

On the 20th of July four hundred of the non-Mormons—Gentiles they were called by the saints—met in Independence. The meeting adopted a "solemn declaration in regard to the singular sect of pretended Christians." This declaration ordered that the Star be suspended; that no more Mormons settle in the county; that those then resident give a pledge to remove within a reasonable time.

"It requires no gift of prophecy," the declaration continued, "to tell that the day is not far distant when the civil government of the county will be in their hands; when the sheriff, the justices, and the county judges will be Mormons, or persons wishing to court their favor from motives of interest or ambition." The declaration concluded with this significant and somewhat sarcastic mention of the possible penalty for disregard of it: "That those who fail to comply with these requisitions be referred to those of their brethren who have the gift of divination and of unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them."

Following action on the address, the Gentiles appointed a committee to wait on the Mormon leaders and took a recess of two hours to hear the report. Joseph Smith was in Ohio. Bishop Partridge and other leaders asked for delay to hear from the founder of the church. This was refused. The committee went back and reported. The meeting adopted a resolution that the Mormon printing office must be destroyed. This was done, the press, type and paper being scattered far and wide. Some of the material was carried down to the river and thrown in. "Ulterior movements" did not stop with vengeance on the inanimate print shop. The Gentiles took Bishop Partridge and Charles Allen to the public square, stripped them naked, tarred and feathered them, "liberally" the account says, and turned them loose. "One paddle of tar was thrust into Partridge's mouth and he was nearly suffocated." It is further stated that "Lieutenant Governor Boggs was in the vicinity, had full knowledge of the lawless proceedings and refused to interfere." Boggs was governor five years later and issued the instructions to the militia that the Mormons must be exterminated or removed from Missouri.

**The Agreement to Leave.**

On July 23rd, three days after the destruction of the newspaper plant, the Gentiles reassembled at Independence. They were armed and displayed a red flag. A committee called on the Mormon leaders to deliver the ultimatum. The result was an agreement on the part of the Mormons that one-half of them would leave Jackson county on or before the first day of January, 1834, and that the other half would be away by the first of April. On the part of the non-Mormons the committee agreed to use their influence against further acts of violence. Richard Simpson was chairman of the citizens' body. The secretaries were S. D. Lucas and J. H. Fleurnoy. It was part of the agreement that the publication of the Star would not be resumed. On the part of the Gentiles this was written into the agreement:

"The committee pledge themselves to use all their influence to prevent any violence being used as long as a compliance with the preceding terms is observed by the parties concerned."

**An Appeal to the State.**

Instead of carrying out their part of the agreement the Mormons sent a delegation to Governor Dunklin at Jefferson City, presented a long memorial and asked for protection. In October, after consultation with the attorney-general, Governor Dunklin answered the memorial, saying the non-Mormons had no right to take the troubles into their own hands. He recommended the Mormons to appeal to the civil courts. On this advice the Mormons engaged four of the most prominent attorneys of Western Missouri, Doniphan, Atchison, Reese and Woods, to defend them and to prosecute the Gentiles. The non-Mormons now decided to expel by force. On the last day of October fifty armed men went to a Mormon settlement on Big Blue river, destroyed ten houses and whipped some of the men. The next day another party of non-Mormons went to a settlement twelve miles southwest of Independence, captured a party of sixty Mormons assembled by Parley P. Pratt after a fight in which two men were hurt. That same night the Mormons in Independence were attacked. Their houses were stoned and doors broken down. The Mormon store was entered and the goods thrown out into the street. A party of Mormons came to the rescue, made charges against Richard McCarty and asked for a warrant. Justice Samuel Weston refused to issue a warrant. Attacks on the Mormon settlers continued. Application was made to the circuit court at Lexington for protection. Sunday came bringing rumors that there was to be a general massacre of Mormons. Large parties of both sides assembled at central points. A battle occurred on the prairie some miles southwest of Independence. Hugh L. Brozeal and Thomas Linville, of the Gentiles, were killed and a Mormon named Barber was fatally wounded. During the early part of November there were frequent encounters between Mormons and non-Mormons. The citizens, to the number of several hundred from all parts of the county, came into Independence. The Mormons assembled an armed body of one hundred men about a mile west of Independence. A battle was impending when the militia was ordered out with Colonel Pitcher in command. The colonel notified the Mormons they must give up their arms, surrender certain of their number to be tried for murder and the rest must leave the county at once. The Mormons yielded and delivered about fifty guns. Colonel Pitcher took the men accused

of being in the battle on the prairie, held them prisoners twenty-four hours, conducted them into a corn field and said to them, "Clear out." The exodus of the Mormons from Jackson county proceeded rapidly, most of the fugitives crossing the Missouri into Clay county.

**The Exodus.**

The departure was hurried. Leading down through the bluffs from Independence to the Missouri river was a rock road which, tradition says, was built by the Mormons and was the first hard surface highway in Missouri. Bloodstains from the feet of the Mormons were left on the broken limestone of that road, tradition further adds. According to one non-Mormon account of the exodus, "a number of the houses at Independence and in other parts of the county were plundered, and much Mormon property was forcibly taken and appropriated rivaling, if not surpassing, the worst excesses of the Kansas jayhawkers and Missouri bushwhackers during the Civil war."

**Joseph Smith's Revelation.**

Mormon settlement began in Jackson county in 1831. It was preceded by a visit of Joseph Smith who traveled through Central Missouri looking for a location. He visited Saline and Lafayette counties and then found what pleased him in Jackson county. Independence had been laid out in 1827, on a tract of 240 acres. It was comparatively new. Settlements in the surrounding country were sparse. Local history has it that there were sixteen fine flowing springs of clear limestone water on the townsite. The men who located the town were David Ward, Julius Emmons and John Bartleson. The first court was held in a log cabin. A new courthouse was built by Daniel P. Lewis on a contract for $150. About three hundred settlers were in and about Independence when Joseph Smith came on his search. The fertile and watered lands were being settled by planters emigrating, with their slaves, from Kentucky and other southern states. Independence was coming into prosperity as an outfitting and starting point for the Santa Fe Trail. Joseph Smith decided that Missouri was to be the home of the Mormons. He announced a revelation received at Independence which he re-named Zion:

"Hearken, O, ye elders of the church, saith the Lord, your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints:

"Wherefore, this is the land of promise and the place for the City of Zion. And thus saith the Lord your God: If you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place and the spot for the temple is lying westward upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse, wherefore it is wisdom that it should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even to the line running directly between Jew and Gentile. And also every tract bordering by the prairie inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands. That they obtain it for an everlasting inheritance."

**The Coming of the Mormons.**

On his return to Kirtland, Joseph Smith sent an advance colony of one hundred to Missouri. His instructions to these colonists were to proceed to the borders of the land of the "Lamanites." That was the name the founder bestowed

on the Kaw Indians. The first notable arrival of Mormons in Jackson county was about July, 1831. After that the saints came rapidly and in greater numbers than non-Mormon settlers. They bought a tract of sixty-three acres in the name of the church. This land lay a short distance west of the Independence courthouse square. They gave out that a great temple was to be erected on the tract. They became aggressive. Some of the less discreet talked of the time when Mormons would outnumber the Gentiles and control the county. Not a few of these Mormons were from New England states and were abolitionists. Some of them let their sentiments on slavery be known, so much so that the non-Mormons went to the leaders of the church and complained. They were promised that the Mormons would be law abiding and would not interfere with the "peculiar institution" recognized by the constitution and statutes of Missouri. A further complaint of the Gentiles was that there were some lawless men claiming to be Mormons who acted on the belief that "the Lord had given the earth and the fullness thereof to his people." They did little work, prowled about the scattered settlements and helped themselves at corn cribs and hog lots of those who were not of their faith. This they called "milking the Gentiles."

When the Mormons had come in considerable numbers, Joseph Smith with several leaders arrived at Independence. He had the revelation that the "great temple" must be erected on a site three hundred yards west of the courthouse. The next day the leaders proceeded to the site and with great ceremony dedicated it. More Mormons arrived from Ohio and the first "general conference" in their new "Land of Zion" was held. During the conference Joseph Smith had another revelation to the effect that the whole land should be theirs and that it might come into their possession "by purchase or by blood," so the non-Mormons claimed.

After this the Mormons became more numerous and more aggressive. When they saw "Gentiles" improving their farms they told them that their work would be useless as the Lord intended the whole of Missouri to be occupied by them. A church store was established in Independence, occupied by Bishop Partridge. Immigration of Mormons was so rapid that it threatened to outnumber the Gentiles. Some stones were thrown at houses and some fences were broken down. It was reported about that Mormons had talked of a coming contest which would be "one gore of blood from the Mississippi to the border." But nothing very serious occurred until the summer of 1833 when the Mormon population in the county was estimated variously at from 800 to 1,200 men, women and children.

**The Evening and The Morning Star.**

In April, 1832, a press and printing material were received in Independence. A prospectus announced the coming publication of "The Evening and The Morning Star." The press was set up with religious ceremonies. In July the first number appeared. It was well printed. The contents were in the main devoted to the upbuilding of the church, but some space was given to general news of the world. "The Evening and The Morning Star" continued to appear monthly until July, 1833. Up to that time nothing about slavery had been printed.

The article headed "Free People of Color," which prompted the action of the Gentiles, appeared in the July issue of "The Evening and The Morning Star." It was a carefully worded statement, not especially encouraging immigration of free

JOSEPH SMITH

Son of Joseph Smith, the founder. President of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints until his death in 1914.

JOSEPH SMITH, THE MARTYR

Founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

MORMON TEMPLE AT NAUVOO

Built upon the plans designed for Independence previous to the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri.

HYRUM AND JOSEPH SMITH

The founder of the Mormon church and his brother as they were dressed when they went to the Carthage jail where they were murdered. From an old daguerreotype which belonged to their sister, Catharine Smith Salisbury.

Negroes to Missouri, but showing the course which must be pursued if such people came. To this end, the statement quoted the statutes of Missouri. These laws had been enacted to put into effect the requirement of Congress as a condition of the admission of Missouri into the Union. After Congress had passed the enabling act and after Missouri had set up and put in operation a complete state government, Congress had demanded as precedent to admission "a solemn act" whereby Missouri was bound to admit any citizen of another state. Missouri, in its first constitution, had provided a prohibition against the coming of free negroes. Congress had taken the ground that Missouri must not be admitted if the new state barred citizens of any other state. The article in the Mormon paper which provoked the action of the Gentiles is given in its entirety:

**"Free People of Color."**

"To prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad, respecting free people of color, who may think of coming to the western boundaries of Missouri, as members of the church, we quote the following clauses from the laws of Missouri:

"'Section 4. Be it further enacted, That hereafter no free negro or mulatto, other than a citizen of some one of the United States, shall come into or settle in this state under any pretext whatever; and upon complaint made to any justice of the peace, that such person is in his county, contrary to the provisions of this section, he shall cause such person to be brought before him. And if upon examination, it shall appear that such person is a free negro or mulatto, and that he hath come into this state after the passage of this act, and such person shall not produce a certificate attested by the seal of some court of record in some one of the United States, evidencing that he is a citizen of such state, the justice shall command him forthwith to depart from this state; and in case such negro or mulatto shall not depart from this state within thirty days after being commanded so to do as aforesaid, any justice of the peace, upon complaint thereof to him made, may cause such person to be brought before him, and may commit him to the common gaol of the county in which he may be found, until the next term of the circuit court to be holden in such county. And the said court shall cause such person to be brought before them, and examine into the cause of commitment; and if it shall appear that such person came into the state contrary to the provisions of this act, and continued therein after being commanded to depart as aforesaid, such court may sentence such person to receive ten lashes on his or her bare back, and order him to depart the state; and if he or she shall not so depart, the same proceedings shall be had and punishment inflicted as often as may be necessary, until such person shall depart the state.

"'Section 5. Be it further enacted, That if any person shall, after the taking effect of this act, bring into this state any free negro or mulatto, not having in his possession a certificate of citizenship as required by this act (he or she) shall forfeit and pay, for every person so brought, the sum of five hundred dollars, to be recovered by action of debt in the name of the state, to the use of the university, in any court having competent jurisdiction; in which action the defendant may be held to bail, of right, and without affidavit; and it shall be the duty of the attorney-general or circuit attorney of the district in which any person so offending may be found, immediately upon information given of such offense, to commence and prosecute an action as aforesaid.'

"Slaves are real estate in this and other states, and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of the church of Christ, on this subject. So long as we have no special rule in the church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in the hands of a merciful God, we say: Shun every appearance of evil."

"While on the subject of law, it may not be amiss to quote some of the constitution of Missouri. It shows the liberality of opinion of the great men of the West, and will vie with that of any other state. It is good; it is just, and it is the citizens' right.

"'4. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can be compelled to erect,

support or attend any place of worship, or to maintain any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion; that no human authority can control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no person can ever be hurt, molested or restrained in his religious professions or sentiments, if he do not disturb others in their religious worship.

"'That no person on account of his religious opinions can be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this state; that no preference can ever be given by law to any sect or mode of worship; and that no religious corporation can ever be established in this state.'"

On another page of this issue of "The Evening and The Morning Star" appeared a paragraph touching upon the same subject. It was embodied in an address of "The Elders stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad, in Love, Greeting." Zion was the name given to Western Missouri, especially Jackson county.

"Our brethren will find an extract of the law of this state, relative to free people of color, on another page of this paper. Great care should be taken on this point. The saints must shun every appearance of evil. As to slaves we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age, much is doing toward abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks in Africa."

**Refuge Found in Clay County.**

In these publications the non-Mormon settlers found their provocation for immediate action. There was no further publication of "The Evening and The Morning Star." The office was destroyed; part of the printing material was thrown into the Missouri river; the Mormon leaders were stripped, tarred and feathered. And when the agreement to leave Jackson county was broken the expulsion followed. Describing the exodus, as he gathered the information from old settlers, Holcombe, the historian, said:

"Affrighted and almost terror-stricken, the Mormons crossed the river and sought safety in Clay county. November 7, the crossing began. There was great discomfort and misery among the fugitives; the weather was cold and rainy; and the plundered, half clad women and children suffered severely. But the people of Clay county received the newcomers kindly. They allowed them to remain, rented them houses, furnished them provisions, and gave numbers employment. For this the Clay county people were long intensely hated by their Jackson county neighbors. Some of the Mormons fled to Cass county (then Van Buren), but were again driven and compelled to flee."

When Cass and Jackson counties, in the Civil war, were depopulated by Ewing's Order No. 11, the Mormons declared it a Divine judgment on those counties for the persecution of the saints thirty years before.

Much was made by the Gentiles of the threats, or alleged threats, by some of the Mormons that possession of the land was to come about by force and bloodshed. The leaders of the Mormons disclaimed any such purpose. In July, 1833, the elders put out a warning against such policy. In their instructions to the churches outside of Missouri they printed the following:

"But to suppose that we can come up here and take possession of this land by the shedding of blood would be setting at naught the law of the glorious Gospel and also the word of our great Redeemer. And to suppose that we can take possession of this country without making regular purchases of the same according to the laws of our

nation, would be reproaching this great Republic in which the most of us were born, and under whose auspices we all have protection."

This declaration was published in the same month that the Gentiles met in mass meeting and put forth their statement of objections to the Mormons and their demand that they leave Jackson county.

**The State Government Acts.**

There was a strong disposition manifested at Jefferson City to secure for the Mormons payment by the Jackson county people on account of damage inflicted in the loss of property. The attorney-general wrote to the lawyers employed that in case the Mormons desired to be reinstated in Jackson county there was no doubt the governor would send them military aid. He even suggested the Mormons might organize a force and receive arms from the state for their defense. Some scattered settlements of Mormons remained in Jackson county after the first general exodus but before the end of the year they were driven out.

Encouraged by the position of the state administration the lawyers for the Mormons started suits in Jackson county. Mormon witnesses were summoned. They were met at the ferry by the Liberty Blues under command of Captain Atchison and escorted to Independence. Attorney-General Ira W. Willis was there to investigate in behalf of the governor and to conduct prosecutions. After consultation it was decided that nothing could be done in the way of criminal prosecutions. The Mormon witnesses were intimidated. Public sentiment in Jackson county was overwhelmingly against them. The judge discharged the proceedings. Captain Atchison and the Blues escorting the witnesses marched away to the Missouri river, the fifers and drummers playing Yankee Doodle.

In April, 1834, the Mormons sent a memorial to the President of the United States, setting forth their treatment in Jackson county. The secretary of war, Lewis Cass, declined to interfere. Governor Dunklin wrote that the arms that had been taken from the Mormons in November, 1833, must be returned. About that time a large body of Mormons prepared to move from Ohio to Missouri. This encouraged those who had been driven out of Jackson county to believe they might return and defend themselves with force. In June Governor Dunklin wrote a letter declaring that the Mormons had a clear and indisputable right to return to Jackson county and live on their lands. He said, "If they cannot be persuaded as a matter of policy to give up that right, or to qualify it, my course as the chief executive officer of the state is a plain one." In conclusion the governor suggested and advocated a compromise by which the non-Mormons in Jackson county should pay the Mormons for the lands taken. The governor issued another order for the return of the arms. In the meantime the Mormons from Ohio, with a number from Michigan, arrived at Salt river, Missouri, on their way to the western part of the state. They numbered 205 men, were organized, armed and drilled.

**The Ferry Tragedy.**

Judge John F. Ryland went to Liberty and met the elders of the Mormons and the citizens of Clay county on the 16th of June. A committee of citizens

came from Jackson county. The meeting was attended by nearly one thousand men. A proposition was presented that Jackson county people purchase the lands and improvements of the Mormons, the value to be determined by arbitrators. While this was being discussed it developed that there was bitter feeling against the Mormons in Clay county. Rev. M. Riley, a Baptist minister, made a speech in which he said "the Mormons had lived long enough in Clay county and must either clear out or be cleared out." The chairman, Mr. Turnham, replied, "Let us be republicans, let us honor our country and not disgrace it like Jackson county. For God's sake don't disfranchise or drive away the Mormons. They are better citizens than many of the old inhabitants." General Doniphan endorsed this position. Suddenly a fracas started outside the courthouse door. A man named Calbert stabbed a man named Wales. That broke up the meeting. The Mormons withdrew, stating that they would return an answer in a few days. They pledged themselves that the army headed by Joseph Smith which was on the way from Salt river, Missouri, should not invade Jackson county. Five days after the meeting the Mormons made answer declining the proposition of pay for their Jackson county farms. At the same time they said there would be no invasion. The Jackson county delegation started home by way of the Missouri river ferry. About a dozen men and as many horses were taken aboard. Near the middle of the river the boat suddenly filled and went down. Several of the men were drowned. S. V. Nolan could not swim but he caught the tail of his horse and was hauled safely to the Jackson county side. Samuel C. Owens floated down the river a mile, landed on a sand bar, took off all his clothes except his shirt and got ashore. He found a cow path and walked to Independence four miles. Smallwood Nolan nearly reached the Clay county side and caught a tree which had fallen into the river. Others who had succeeded in getting ashore built a fire and encouraged Nolan to hold on till morning. When daylight came and the men went out to rescue him they found the water was only waist deep. Nolan could have waded ashore with ease if he had known it.

The rumor was that the Mormons had bored holes in the boat above the water mark so that when loaded it would sink to the holes and then fill. No evidence was found to support this. One of the men drowned was James Campbell. He had been bitter in his speech against the Mormons and was quoted as having said he intended to kill Joseph Smith and "give his body to the buzzards." Campbell's body floated down the river and when found it had been disfigured by buzzards. Joseph Smith used the incident. He said that Campbell had brought on his fate by threats against "the prophet of the Lord."

**Arrival of the Mormon Army.**

Joseph Smith and his army reached Richmond on the 19th of June. They camped between the branches of Fishing river. There they were informed that non-Mormons from Ray, Clay and Jackson counties were to meet and attack them. If there was any such plan it was frustrated by a terrific wind and rain storm which raised the creeks and flooded the bottoms. The next day the Mormon army moved out on higher ground and camped. Three men of Ray county headed by Colonel Sconce came to learn their intentions. Joseph Smith answered that they were there to help their brethren in the way of supplies and clothing and to reinstate them in their rights but without any intention to molest other people.

The sheriff of Clay county, Cornelius Gilliam, was the next visitor in the Mormon camp. He called on Joseph Smith and gave him advice to avoid trouble. On the 23d of June the Mormon army started toward Liberty. Smith was met by Gen. Atchison and others six miles out of town and told of the excitement against them. On the advice of the general the army turned to the left and camped on the bank of Rush creek where a Mormon named Burghardt had a farm. There the negotiations for a settlement of the Jackson county trouble were resumed. Another proposition was made that the damages incurred by the expulsion should be paid by the Jackson county people. On the 25th of June Joseph Smith divided the army into small squads and scattered them among the Mormon residents. He told General Doniphan, General Atchison and Colonel Thornton what he had done and pledged himself to "follow a course that would in any wise be required of them by disinterested men of republican principles." It will be remembered that "republican principles" in those days did not mean the belief of the Republican party formed twenty years later. The elders sent a long letter to Governor Dunklin representing the situation in Clay county and telling of visits to the houses of a number of their members in that county. They said guns had been taken during the absence of the men folks and the women had been threatened. The proposal to settle with Jackson county made by the Mormons was rejected. Cholera broke out in a party of sixty-eight on Rush creek and thirteen died. Sheriff Gilliam published in the Enquirer on the 1st of July, 1834, an account of his visit to the Mormon camp and gave this as the declaration made by the Mormons:

"We wish to become permanent citizens of this state, and bear our proportion in support of the government and to be protected by its laws. If the above propositions are complied with, we are willing to give security on our part, and we shall want the same of the people of Jackson county, for the performance of this agreement. We do not wish to settle down in a body, except where we can purchase the land with money; for to take possession by conquest or the shedding of blood is entirely foreign to our feelings. The shedding of blood we shall not be guilty of, until all just and honorable means among men prove insufficient to restore peace."

**A Period of Peace and Prosperity.**

This declaration was signed by Joseph Smith and other leading men among the Mormons. About the same time an appeal to the people of the United States was printed and sent broadcast. Some time afterwards leading men with the Mormons went to Richmond and asked whether citizens would be willing for them to settle in that part of Missouri. They received no definite answer. Assuming that silence gave consent they formed settlements in Clay, Ray and Daviess counties. One of their centers of population was at Far West; another was on Grand river in Daviess county. The Mormons gave that place the name of Adam-on-Di-Amon. They claimed it was the grave of Adam.

Smith went back to Ohio and did not return to Missouri for three years. Before he left he publicly advised his followers to make no violent attempt to recover the New Jerusalem, to which he assured them the church would be restored "in God's good time."

The spread of the Mormons in the Grand river country was phenomenal. These people did not hesitate to take the prairie claims which up to that time

were rather avoided by other settlers who preferred the lands along the creeks and in the woods. Gentiles held that the prairies were "fit only for Indians and Mormons." This sentiment gave the Mormons their opportunity. In three years the saints had spread in Clay, Ray, Daviess, Carroll, Livingston and Caldwell counties. In the summer of 1838 it was said there were 5,000 settlers in Caldwell, of whom 4,900 were Mormons. The county seat was Far West. The Mormons called Far West "the second Jerusalem."

**Doniphan's Plan of Segregation.**

Segregation was proposed as a remedy for the Mormon troubles in Missouri. In 1836 Alexander W. Doniphan, who had been attorney for these people in some of their troubles, introduced a bill in the legislature by which Caldwell county was to be organized. It was understood that the Mormons would be permitted to move in and organize the new county. The bill passed. The Mormons left the other counties and took possession of Caldwell. They were to have their own county government and a representative in the legislature. They were not to settle in any other county except by permission of two-thirds of the residents of the township in which they desired to locate. This seemed to be a compromise that satisfied both sides. Many non-Mormons who had already settled in Caldwell sold to the Mormons. Far West was laid out for the capital. In the center was the site of the temple to be erected. There were four great thoroughfares 132 feet wide. The other streets were 82½ feet wide. Excavation was begun for the foundations of the temple. Court was established. The Mormons organized a well-drilled and well-armed body of militia under the laws of the state and the officers obtained commissions from the governor. The officers of the Mormon regiment were given queer titles by the faithful. Colonel Hinkle was known as "The Thunderbolt." Colonel Wright was referred to as "The Intrepid."

General Doniphan not only drew the bill which created Caldwell and Daviess counties but he chose the names. The father of the general was a member of a famous company of Kentucky scouts and Indian fighters commanded by a Captain Caldwell. The father said so much about the bravery of the captain that it made a strong impression on the son. It occurred to the general when he was drafting the bill that there was a good opportunity for Missouri to honor the old Indian fighter. Kentucky had a Caldwell county named in honor of the same Captain Caldwell. Daviess was named for Colonel Joseph H. Daviess who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe and who was a personal friend of the elder Doniphan.

But when it seemed as if peace had been obtained, there arose friction in new places. All of the Mormons did not leave the other counties. Several families went to De Witt in Carroll county and settled there to obtain a Missouri river landing for Far West. Carroll county people held meetings and served notice to leave. A force of 150 armed Mormons under Colonel Hinkle marched to De Witt to protect those who had been threatened. Several hundred citizens assembled, organized a regiment and got ready to attack. Two prominent men of Howard county, James Earrickson and William F. Dunnica, came forward with a compromise. The De Witt Mormons received back what they had paid for land, loaded their household goods into wagons and marched away to Far West.

The settlements were called "stakes." Occasionally there was a dispute between a Mormon and a non-Mormon but there were no general troubles. Some cases were taken into court. It was claimed that the judgments were influenced by the officers of the courts, some of whom were Mormons and others non-Mormons. Bitterness increased.

**Dissensions in the Church.**

As the church flourished dissension occurred among the members. In June, 1838, Sidney Rigdon preached a sermon in which he denounced vigorously those Mormons who disagreed with the elders. At the same time he attacked the non-Mormons generally. This sermon caused wide excitement and was considered by many to mean war. On the Fourth of July, 1838, Rigdon delivered an oration in Far West. He announced that if a mob came and disturbed the Mormons it would be a war of extermination "for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled or they will have to exterminate us for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed."

A man named Avard tried to organize what he called "The Danites," to wreak vengeance on the Gentiles whenever trouble came. This movement represented a radical militant faction. There were other differences among the leaders at Far West. Whitmer, Cowdery, and Harris, who had been active in the foundation of the church, were expelled. They withdrew from Far West and moved to Richmond where Cowdery died in 1850. Whitmer lived until 1887.

**The War Renewed.**

After three years absence in Ohio, Joseph Smith came back to Missouri and tried to stop the troubles in and out of the church. He adopted a conciliatory policy but was too late. Election day at Gallatin in August, 1838, Mormons tried to vote. The Gentiles opposed them. There was fighting in which two Gentiles were killed. Half a dozen participants were wounded. A body of two hundred marched from Far West into Daviess county to investigate the trouble. They put the justice, Adam Black, under oath not to molest the Mormons. Other disturbances followed in rapid succession. Major-General Atchison at the head of a thousand men of the third division of militia went to Daviess county. He found the citizens and Mormons assembled, armed and ready for a fight. He dispersed both sides and reported to the governor that no further depredations were probable but almost immediately there were uprisings in Carroll and Caldwell counties, the citizens being determined to drive the Mormons out of the state. Some prisoners were taken and held as hostages. The legislature appointed a committee to investigate the Mormon troubles. General Atchison and General Doniphan and General H. G. Parks went from place to place as reports reached them. They obtained the release of hostages and quieted both sides but only temporarily. The Mormons sold out in Carroll county and left. Atchison reported on the continued troubles saying, "Nothing in my opinion but the strongest measures within the power of the executive will put down this spirit of mobocracy." A month before this, Atchison had written from Liberty to the governor: "I have no doubt your excellency has been deceived by the exag-

gerated statements of designing or half crazy men. I have found there is no cause for alarm on account of the Mormons; they are not to be feared; they are very much alarmed."

Urgent petitions were sent from Livingston and Daviess counties to Jefferson City demanding the removal of the Mormons from the state.

**The Battle of Crooked Creek.**

In Ray county Captain Samuel Bogart took the field with "the patrols," went through the townships hunting up the Mormons and sending them over into Caldwell. Word reached Far West that Bogart's company intended to march against Far West. Captain "Fear Not" Patton with fifty of the "destroying angels" went down to repel the invasion. The patrols were camped on Crooked creek in the northwestern part of Ray county. The Mormons marched at night and at daybreak charged the camp. Patton wearing a white blanket-overcoat was in front. After the manner of the Jews he shouted "The sword of the Lord and Gideon," and then "Charge, Danites, charge!" Bogart's patrols were driven back but not until Captain "Fear Not" had been mortally wounded. Two other Mormons were killed and several were wounded. The fight was hand to hand. The Mormons used corn knives for swords. In the confusion and darkness two of the Danites fought with each other and were badly cut. One of Bogart's company was killed and six were wounded. Samuel Tarwater was horribly hacked with corn knives. His head was cut so that the brain was exposed. A slash across the face severed the jaw bone and struck out the upper teeth. Tarwater also received a severe gash in the neck but after six months he partially recovered and lived many years. He received the only Mormon war pension voted by the legislature. The monthly stipend was $8.50. One prisoner, Wyatt Craven, was taken by the Danites. On the way back to Far West, his captors told Craven to go home. As the patrol walked away, Parley P. Pratt, one of the "Twelve Apostles," took deliberate aim and shot him in the back. Craven was left for dead but recovered. Captain "Fear Not" was given a great funeral at Far West.

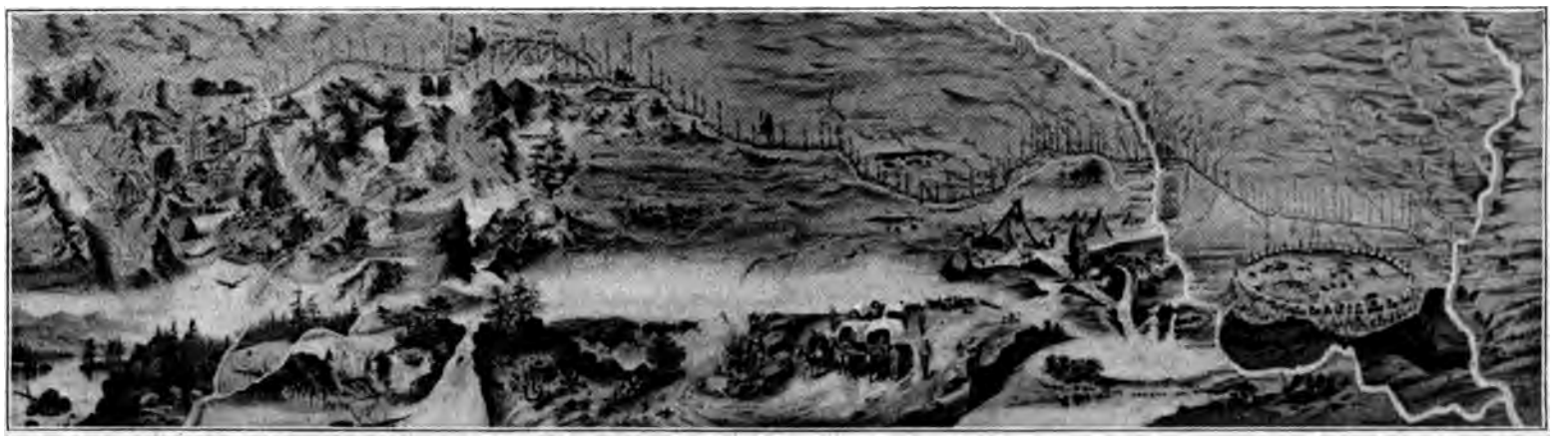
**Extermination or Exodus.**

The battle of Crooked creek opened the last chapter and crisis of the Mormon war. Stating that he had "information of the most appalling character," Governor Boggs called out four hundred men from each of the first, fourth, fifth, sixth and twelfth divisions of militia under Doniphan, Atchison, Clark and other generals. He directed that the forces converge on Far West, the Mormon capital, and said in his letter of instructions "Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated, or driven from the state, if necessary for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description." The instructions set forth that the Mormons were now "in the attitude of an open and armed defiance of the laws and of having made war upon the people of the state."

**The March on Far West.**

Doniphan's brigade composed of Clay, Clinton and Platte Purchase militia was ordered out by Atchison and started for Far West. Lucas, whose division was south of the Missouri river, called out Graham's brigade in Lafayette and

OFFICIAL EMBLEM OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS



**THE MORMON EXODUS FROM NAUVOO TO SALT LAKE**

Route along the Missouri-Iowa line, across Nebraska and Colorado and through the Rocky Mountains into Utah. This was the faction led by Brigham Young

Jackson counties. The two bodies of troops met at the Log Creek crossing between Richmond and Far West. They numbered 1,800 men. Atchison left the army and went home. One report was that he refused to be a party to the governor's policy because he considered it inhuman. Lucas took command. On the 30th of October the army moved on to Goose creek, a mile south of Far West and found the Mormons well protected by breast works. The sun was about an hour high. Parks' and Wilson's brigades had joined the army en route. Other detachments were arriving. It was decided to postpone the fighting until morning. Among the troops was Gilliam's company from the Platte Purchase, painted and dressed as Indians. They called themselves "the Delaware Amarujans"; they whooped and danced and acted the part. Gilliam was dressed as a Delaware chief. Among other commands were Odell's Tigers and the Jackson County Rangers. On the morning of the 31st, General Lucas had a force of 2,500 or 3,000 militia. Colonel Hinkle, the Mormon commander, a Kentuckian and a man of acknowledged bravery, worthy of his title "The Thunderbolt," sent a message asking for a conference. Lucas agreed and at two o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by Generals Doniphan, Wilson and Graham, went to a hill where Hinkle had raised a white flag. The Mormon leader asked if a compromise was possible. He was outnumbered five to one. A battle would mean wholesale slaughter of his men. Lucas read the governor's orders.

**Terms of the "Treaty."**

These orders of Governor Boggs are referred to in official records and correspondence as the "treaty" made with the Mormons. They read:

"1. The Mormons to give up Joseph Smith and the leaders of the church to be tried and punished.

"2. To make an appropriation of the property of all who had taken up arms to the payment of their debts, and to make indemnity for the damages they had done or occasioned (which latter claim was held to mean that the Mormons should pay all of the expenses of the war against them).

"3. To give up their arms of every description to be receipted for.

"4. All those not held for trial or legal process to leave the state and be protected out by the military; but to be permitted where they were, under protection, until further orders were received from the commander-in-chief."

**The Execution Averted.**

Hinkle accepted the terms but asked time until morning to make the formal answer. Lucas agreed to this but demanded that Joseph Smith and other leaders should be surrendered as hostages. Hinkle went back to Far West and induced Smith and the leaders to go to the Gentile camp, telling them that General Lucas wanted to confer with them. Lucas disposed his troops and was ready to attack when the Mormon leaders carrying a white flag came out to meet him. He made them prisoners and marched his troops back to camp at Goose creek. That night a council of the principal officers was held and it was the sentiment of the majority that the prisoners should be shot the next morning. About midnight Lucas sent Doniphan this order:

"Brigadier-General Doniphan.—Sir: You will take Joseph Smith and the other prisoners to the public square of Far West and shoot them at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

"SAMUEL D. LUCAS,
"Major-General Commanding."

Doniphan immediately sent the reply:

"It is cold blooded murder. I will not obey your order. My brigade shall march for Liberty tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock; and if you execute those men I will hold you personally responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God."

There was no execution although for several hours the prisoners believed they were passing their last night alive and devoted the time to prayer.

In 1874, thirty-six years later, General Doniphan was in Salt Lake City and was received with demonstrations of gratitude by the Mormons for his act of humanity at Far West.

**The Mormon Surrender.**

Smith and his associates proposed to General Lucas that they would accept the governor's terms and would send word to their followers to surrender their arms. This plan was carried out. On the morning of November 1 the army proceeded to Far West and formed as if to attack. Hinkle raised the white flag, marched out the Mormon regiment and formed a hollow square. He rode to General Lucas, saluted and delivered his sword and pistols. Returning to the regiment he said, with tears rolling down his cheeks, "Boys, it's all over; it had to be done." The arms were surrendered, about 630 guns. The men were held as prisoners. "In order to gratify the army," as he afterwards reported, General Lucas marched around and through the town.

Official records of Missouri show that it was due largely to Doniphan and Clark that the Mormon war ended without more bloodshed and suffering than it caused. General Lucas who issued the order for the shooting of the leaders at Far West was one of the secretaries of the organization formed at Independence to expel the Mormons from Jackson county. As to the number who would have been shot but for Doniphan's pointblank refusal to carry out the order there is no definite information. One report seems to show that the number of Mormons who had been taken into custody at that time was no fewer than eighty. Governor Boggs was in Independence at the time of the expulsion from Jackson county. He was at that time editor of the non-Mormon paper. He succeeded Dunklin as governor. Doniphan told Holcombe that the instructions of Governor Boggs on which Lucas based the "treaty" and the order for the shooting of the prisoners were in a letter received the 30th of October. "The letter was very denunciatory of the Mormons and declared among other things, that they must all be driven from the state or exterminated."

**Gen. John B. Clark's Advice.**

On the 4th of November Major-General John B. Clark, who commanded the first militia district, arrived under orders from Governor Boggs to take charge of the situation. He had 2,000 men. For several days he held the Mormon people prisoners in Far West. Then he massed them in the public square and announced that the orders of the governor were that they should be exterminated unless they left the state.

"The orders to me were that you should be exterminated, or not allowed to continue in the state; and had your leaders not been given up, and the treaty complied with before this, you and your families would have been destroyed, and your houses in ashes. There

is discretionary power vested in my hands which I shall try to exercise for a season. I do not say that you shall go now; but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops, for the moment you do the citizens will be upon you. I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and, oh! that I could invoke the spirit of the unknown God to rest upon you, and deliver you from that awful chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism with which you are bound. I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize with bishops, presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people, and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come down upon you. You have always been the aggressors, you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected, and not being subject to rule. And my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events, you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin."

**Holcombe's Historical Work.**

Missouri history owes a debt to Return I. Holcombe. A native of Ohio, the boy of five years was brought to Scotland county, Missouri, by his parents in 1851. When the Civil war came, young Holcombe enlisted as a drummer boy in the Union army. According to an autobiographical note, Holcombe, after the war, "published Democratic newspapers in Iowa for ten years, taking no part in politics except to skirmish with the enemy in barrooms and on drygoods boxes." He returned to Missouri in 1880, and for ten years delved in local history. The results were embalmed in scores of newspaper articles and in several voluminous county histories of thirty-odd years ago, now out of print and hard to find, save in the collections of historical societies.

In 1885, while engaged on the county histories of Caldwell and Livingston counties, Major Holcombe made an exhaustive investigation of the circumstances attending the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri. In a private letter, written from Chillicothe he said he had prepared "A complete account of the Mormon war—the longest, toughest job I ever struck." He described himself as a "Democrat of the Old Bourbon states right strict construction type." He also spoke of having served three and one-half years in the Union army. Major Holcombe took up his residence in Minnesota about 1890 and was engaged in historical work there until his death a few years ago.

Although it had been nearly fifty years since the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, Holcombe found many old settlers still living, with vivid recollections of the "war." He was entertained at the home of the widow of the Confederate general, W. Y. Slack, who was killed at Pea Ridge. General Slack had been a writer of history and an authority on the Grand river country. Holcombe saw and talked with Doniphan and with others who had been active participants in the campaign. He met some of the dissenters from the Mormons who had been allowed to remain in the state. He had exceptional opportunities to obtain information. And when he had completed his work of months of careful investigation he felt justified in saying:

"In the hope of assisting future historians as well as of interesting and informing the present citizens of Caldwell county, the writer has been at great pains and considerable expense to compile the account herein presented, and offers it as the most complete, elaborate and authentic narrative of the Mormon war ever published."

It is interesting to note that the Missouri legislature, at the time of the state's chief activities against the Mormons, prohibited the publication of "the orders,

letters, evidences, and other documents relating to the Mormon disturbances." The legislature further forbade the secretary of state from "furnishing or permitting to be taken copies of the same for any purpose whatsoever." But two years later the ban on publicity was lifted.

Commenting on the so-called "treaty" with the Mormons, Holcombe said:

"What authority General Lucas had to make such a 'treaty' and to impose such conditions is not clear. It would seem that he regarded the Mormons as composing a foreign nation, or, at least, as forming an army with belligerent rights, and with proper treaty contracting powers. The truth was they were and had not ceased to be citizens of Missouri, amenable to and under the jurisdiction of the laws. If they had committed any crime they ought to have been punished, just the same as other criminals. There was no authority for taking their arms from them, except that they were proved to be militia in a state of insubordination. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to pay the expenses of the war. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to leave the state. It was monstrously illegal and unjust to punish them for offenses for which they had not been tried and convicted. It would be a reasonable conclusion that in making his so-called 'treaty' General Lucas was guilty of illegal extortion, unwarranted assumption of power, usurpation of authority, and flagrant violation of the rights of man."

**The Haun's Mill Battle.**

The Mormon war was not to end without serious bloodshed. On the 30th of October, the day that the Gentile army arrived at Goose creek, occurred "the Haun's Mill Massacre." Mormon families living at the mill on Shoal creek had decided to remain there rather than take the advice of Joseph Smith and move to Far West. These Mormons had organized a company under David Evans, a Danite. They had maintained a guard several days but had entered into a truce with one of the Livingston county companies and felt safe. Under the agreement Evans was to disband his company. He did not do so but did withdraw a picket post. The Mormons had planned to use the blacksmith shop for a fort. The attack came suddenly about four o'clock in the afternoon. Evans rallied his company in the blacksmith shop and returned the fire. The Mormons wounded three of the Livingston county militia. There were large cracks between the logs of the blacksmith shop. Through these the Gentiles fired upon the Mormons huddled together. Seventeen were killed.

A sworn report of the battle of Haun's Mill was made by Joseph Young, a brother of Brigham Young, after the Mormons reached Illinois. It is preserved in the church records at Salt Lake City.

"On Sunday, the 28th of October, we arrived about twelve o'clock at Haun's Mill, where we found a number of our friends collected together, who were holding a council and deliberating upon the best course for them to pursue to defend themselves against the mob, who were collecting in the neighborhood under the command of Col. Jennings, of Livingston, and threatening them with house burning and killing. The decision of the council was that our friends should place themselves in an attitude of self-defense. Accordingly about twenty-eight of our men armed themselves and were in constant readiness for an attack of any small body of men that might come down upon them.

"The same evening, for some reason best known to themselves, the mob sent one of their number to enter into a treaty with our friends, which was accepted, on the condition of mutual forbearance on both sides, and that each party, as far as their influence extended, should exert themselves to prevent any further hostilities upon either party. At this time, however, there was another mob collecting on Grand river, at William Mann's, who were threatening us, consequently we remained under arms.

"Monday passed away without molestation from any quarter. On Tuesday, the 30th, that bloody tragedy was acted, the scenes of which I shall never forget. More than three-fourths of the day had passed in tranquillity, as smiling as the preceding one. I think there was no individual of our company that was apprised of the sudden and awful fate that hung over our heads like an overwhelming torrent, which was to change the prospect, the feelings and circumstances of about thirty families. The banks of Shoal creek on either side teemed with children sporting and playing, while their mothers were engaged in domestic employments, and their fathers employed in guarding the mills and other property, while others were engaged in gathering in their crops for the winter consumption. The weather was very pleasant, the sun shone clear, all was tranquil and no one expressed any apprehension of the awful crisis that was near us—even at our doors.

"It was about four o'clock, while sitting in my cabin with my babe in my arms, and my wife standing by my side, the door being opened, I cast my eyes on the opposite bank of Shoal creek, and saw a large company of armed men, on horses, directing their course towards the mills with all possible speed. As they advanced through the scattering trees that stood on the edge of the prairie they seemed to form themselves into a three square position, forming a vanguard in front.

"At this moment, David Evans, seeing the superiority of their number, there being 240 of them according to their own account, swung his hat and cried for 'peace.' This not being heard, they continued to advance, and their leader, Nehemiah Comstock, fired a gun, which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds, when all at once, they discharged about 100 rifles, aiming at a blacksmith's shop into which our friends had fled for safety. They charged up to the shop, the cracks between the logs of which were sufficiently large to enable them to aim directly at the bodies of those who had there fled for refuge from the fire of their murderers. There were several families tented in the rear of the shop, whose lives were exposed, and who, amidst a shower of bullets, fled to the woods in different directions.

"After standing and gazing on this bloody scene for a few minutes, and finding myself in the uttermost danger, the bullets having reached the house where I was living, I committed my family to the protection of heaven, and leaving the house on the opposite side, I took a path which led up the hill, following in the trail of three of my brethren that had fled from the shop. While ascending the hill, we were discovered by the mob, who immediately fired at us, and continued so to do till we reached the summit. In descending the hill, I secreted myself in a thicket of bushes, where I lay till eight o'clock in the evening, at which time I heard a female voice calling my name in an undertone, telling me that the mob was gone and there was no danger. I immediately left the thicket and went to the house of Benjamin Lewis, where I found my family, who had fled there, in safety, and two of my friends mortally wounded, one of whom died before morning. Here we passed the painful night in deep and awful reflections on the scenes of the previous evening.

"After daylight appeared some four or five men, with myself, who had escaped with our lives from the horrible massacre, repaired as soon as possible to the mills to learn the conditions of our friends, whose fate we had too truly anticipated. When we arrived at the house of Mr. Haun we found Mr. Merrick's body lying in rear of the house. Mr. McBride's in front was literally mangled from head to foot. We were informed by Miss Rebecca Judd, who was an eye witness, that he was shot with his own gun after he had given it up, and then cut to pieces with a corn cutter. Mr. York's body we found in the house. After viewing these corpses we immediately went to the blacksmith's shop, where we found nine of our friends, eight of whom were already dead, the other, Mr. Cox, of Indiana, struggling in the agonies of death, who expired. We immediately prepared and carried them to the place of interment. This last office of kindness, due to the relics of departed friends, was not attended with the customary ceremonies or decency, for we were in jeopardy every moment, expecting to be fired upon by the mob, who we supposed were lying in ambush waiting for the first opportunity to dispatch the remaining few who were providentially preserved from the slaughter of the previous day.

"However, we accomplished without molestation this painful task. The place of burying was a vault in the ground, formerly intended for a well, into which we threw the bodies of our friends promiscuously. Among those slain I will mention Sardius Smith, son of Warren

Smith, about 12 years old, who, through fear, had crawled under the bellows in the shop, where he remained till the massacre was over, when he was discovered by a man who presented his rifle near the boy's head and literally blew off the upper part of it. The number killed and mortally wounded in this wanton slaughter was eighteen or nineteen."

**Exiled from Missouri.**

The exodus was begun in December. It continued all winter. Many families walked from Far West to Illinois. Those who could exchanged their farms for wagons and teams. One Mormon traded his home for a blind mare and a clock. Good land in Kidder township was sold for fifty cents an acre. In Daviess county some who did not start promptly had their houses burned and were turned out in deep snow. The number who moved was said to be 12,000. Farms and other property which could not be moved were sold for what they would bring. In long wagon trains the Mormons moved through the northern part of Missouri, crossed the Mississippi and settled at Nauvoo.

With very little trouble General Clark disbanded the Mormon army, taking away the arms. Joseph Smith and the other leaders were held as prisoners. General Lucas took them to Independence. Thence they were sent to Richmond. Indictments for treason, murder, robbery, receiving stolen goods, resisting legal process and various other offenses were found. Not a conviction was had. One after another the prisoners "escaped." When the Mormons reorganized in Illinois they turned on Hinkle and charged him with having betrayed them at Far West. Cut off from the church, the once "Thunderbolt" moved to Iowa and died there. In the final official report the casualties of the Mormon war were stated: "The whole number of Mormons killed through the whole difficulty, as far as I can ascertain, are about forty, and several wounded. There has been one citizen killed and several wounded."

**A Protest Against the Persecution.**

Sentiment, even in Western Missouri, revolted against the treatment of the Mormons. To the Clay county members of the general assembly M. Arthur, of Liberty, addressed a memorial urging that the state stop the persecution by lawless bands and provide protection for "that unfortunate race of beings called the Mormons" until they could leave Missouri. The memorial continued:

"They are now receiving treatment from those demons that makes humanity shudder, and the cold chills run over any man not entirely destitute of any feeling of humanity. The demons are now constantly strolling up and down Caldwell county, in small companies armed, insulting the women in every way and plundering the poor devils of all the means of subsistence (scanty as it was) left them, and driving off their horses, cattle, hogs, etc., and rifling their houses and farms of everything therein, taking beds, bedding, wardrobe, and all such things as they see they want, leaving the poor Mormons in a starving and naked condition.

"These are facts I have on authority that cannot be questioned, and can be maintained and substantiated at any time. There is now a petition afloat in our town, signed by the citizens of all parties and grades, which will be sent to you in a few days, praying the legislature to make some speedy enactment applicable to their case. They are entirely willing to leave our state as soon as this inclement season is over, and a number have already left, and are leaving daily, scattering themselves to the four winds of the earth."

**Attempted Assassination of Governor Boggs.**

A sequel to the Mormon war was the attempted assassination of Governor Boggs. Some time after the exodus a man who called himself Porter appeared at Independence and sought work. He was employed by several citizens and remained in the vicinity until quite well acquainted. One day he said he was leaving but would be back. A few days later Governor Boggs was shot in the head and badly wounded. The man who did the shooting escaped on horseback and crossed the Missouri river. Some time later Orrin P. Rockwell, a rather prominent Mormon, was arrested in St. Louis on suspicion of being concerned in the shooting. He was taken to Independence and identified as "Porter." But while awaiting trial in the jail he sawed the shackles from his ankles and escaped. He was caught and returned to jail. A change of venue was taken. When Rockwell's case came up for trial, there was no prosecution. In later years Rockwell was a handy man for Brigham Young in Utah.

**Gen. John B. Clark's Narrative.**

Years after the Mormon war General Clark gave the writer this narrative of his part in it:

"Governor Boggs ordered out the militia and he appointed me to take command. The instructions he gave me were peculiar. They were to 'expel the Mormons from the state or exterminate them.' Those were the words he used. There had been trouble and the Mormons had committed outrages, but the situation did not warrant any wholesale butchery. I was laid up with rheumatism when the order came, and they had to lift me on my horse. It was in November. Snow fell a foot. I rode to Keytesville and started the troops that night for Far West. The Mormons had been driven from Jackson county previously, and they had also been run out of Carroll. Far West was their stronghold. There they had built their temple and declared they would never leave. They must have numbered a thousand men; had their forts built and their cannon mounted. At one time I thought we'd have a battle. Smith refused to give up at first, the troops paraded and were ready to fire when Smith finally surrendered. Smith, Rigdon and twenty others of the leaders were made prisoners. King, who afterwards became governor, was then judge at Richmond. We made a contract with the prisoners that they were to leave the state in April or I would proceed to carry out the governor's order of extermination. I had an understanding with King that they were to be put in prison, but were not to be guarded too closely, and if they got away and left the state, they would be allowed to go. Most of them did break jail. An attempt was made to impeach Boggs for that order, but the articles were rejected. I made a report showing not a life lost on the side of the militia.

"I was the youngest general of militia in point of rank, and when Governor Boggs directed me to take command I thought there might be a political scheme in it. I was a Whig, and of course opposed to Boggs. If the campaign turned out wrong, Boggs wanted to lay the blame on the Whig party. That was the way it looked to me. So I wrote to Judge Earrickson, who was state treasurer, to be my adjutant. I got Alfred Morrison to be quartermaster. In short I appointed my whole staff from Jackson men, all but one, Morrow. Atchison, who was really older as a general than I was, attempted to direct things. I issued an order for him to retire. He took exception to Boggs' order. Atchison was a member of the legislature at the time, and he went down there and made quite a fuss over it, but I had the legal position. Boggs was a man of ordinary ability, and was too decided, too fast. Afterward Rockwell attempted to assassinate Boggs and shot him in the head but didn't kill him. I told Boggs afterward: 'That Mormon didn't know you as well as I do. He didn't know you had no brains, or he wouldn't have shot you up there.' While we were on that campaign at Far West I saw Mrs. Morgan, the widow of the abducted Mason there was so much stir about. She had joined the Mormons.

She came to my headquarters several times. Her appearance was rather striking. She was of more than ordinary size, resolute in her manner and good looking."

**The Mormon Prohibitionists.**

The Mormons in the thirties and forties were not only abolitionist but they were among the pioneer prohibitionists. The council at Far West, composed of the first presidency, the high council and the Bishop's court, including all of the highest officials of the church in Missouri, adopted the following resolution:

"That we use our influence to put a stop to the selling of liquors in the city of Far West, or in our midst, that our midst may not be filled with drunkenness."

To this temperance resolution was added: "And that we use our influence to bring down the cost of provisions."

After being driven from Missouri, the Mormons went even farther in temperance reform. They astounded popular sentiment in Illinois by securing from the Illinois legislature an act of incorporation for a hotel at Nauvoo which contained this provision:

"Section 9. It is moreover established as a perpetual rule of said house, to be observed by all persons who may keep or occupy the same, that spirituous liquors of every description are prohibited, and that such liquor shall never be vended as a beverage, or introduced into common use in said house."

Probably, the first temperance ordinance passed by a city council in Illinois was that adopted at Nauvoo February 15, 1841. This ordinance forbade the giving as well as the selling of liquor in small quantity.

"That all persons and establishments whatever, in this city, are prohibited from vending whiskey in a less quantity than a gallon, or other spirituous liquors in less than a quart, to any person whatever, excepting on the recommendation of a physician duly accredited in writing by the 'chancellor and regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo;' and any person guilty of any act contrary to the prohibition contained in this ordinance shall, on conviction thereof before the mayor or municipal court, be fined in any sum not exceeding twenty-five dollars, at the discretion of said mayor or court; and any person who shall attempt to evade this ordinance by giving away liquor, or by any other means, shall be considered alike amenable, and fined as aforesaid."

When this ordinance was under discussion by the city council of Nauvoo, Joseph Smith, the founder of the church, "spoke at great length on the use of liquors, and showed that it was unnecessary, and operates as a poison in the stomach, and that roots and herbs can be found to effect all necessary purposes."

The Mormons who remained in Ohio had at even earlier date, put in operation temperance regulations, adopting at Kirtland a resolution "that we discountenance the use of ardent spirits, in any way, to sell, or to be brought into this place for sale or use."

The Mormon church in those early days, went far in imposing regulations of life on the saints. The "covenants and commandment" set forth these rules for what the church conceived to be proper habits for the faithful:

"That inasmuch as any man drinketh wine or strong drink among you, behold it is not good, neither meet in the sight of your Father, only in assembling yourselves together, to offer up your sacraments before him.

"Tobacco is not for the body, neither for the belly, and is not good for man, but is an herb for all bruises, and all sick cattle, to be used with judgment and skill.

"Yea, flesh also, of beasts and of the fowls of the air, I, the Lord, hath ordained for the use of man, with thanksgiving. Nevertheless they are to be used sparingly; and it is pleasing unto me that they should not be used only in times of winter, or cold, or famine.

"All grain is ordained for the use of man and of beasts, to be the staff of life, not only for man, but for the beasts of the field and the fowls of heaven, and all wild animals that run or creep on the earth."

**Pioneer Abolitionists in Illinois.**

After they had re-established themselves at Nauvoo the Mormons became outspoken in their position as abolitionists. In a public address, the founder of the church, Joseph Smith declared:

"In the United States, the people are the government; and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule; the only power that should be obeyed; and the only gentleman that should be honored at home and abroad, on the land and on the sea. Wherefore, were I the President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honor the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom; I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious patriots who carried the ark of the government upon their shoulders with an eye single to the glory of the people, and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave states, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted, and give liberty to the captive; by giving the southern gentleman a reasonable equivalent for his property, that the whole nation might be free indeed!"

The Mormon leader further outlined his plan for compensation of the slaveholders. He said:

"Petition also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave states, your legislature to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame. Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress. Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire them to labor like other human beings; for 'an hour of virtuous liberty on earth, is worth a whole eternity of bondage!'"

These utterances were delivered at Nauvoo on the 15th of May, 1844. In the following month, on the 27th of June, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were shot to death by a mob at Carthage, the county seat of the county in which Nauvoo is situated.

**Brigham Young's Usurpation.**

The United States circuit court for the western district of Missouri decided that the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was the original church founded by Joseph Smith, the martyr. Judge John F. Philips rendered this decision in 1913. He said: "There can be no question that Brigham Young's assumed presidency was a bold and bald usurpation."

Judge Philips found that Brigham Young, "a man of intellectual power, shrewd and aggressive, if not audacious," introduced polygamy after leading his followers from Nauvoo to Utah. "Its first appearance as a dogma of the church," the judge said, "was in the Utah church in 1852." The Mormons who did not follow Young continued to reaffirm after his departure, in their Book of Doctrine and Covenants "We believe that one man should have but one wife, and

one woman one husband." This declaration, the court pointed out was in the edition of 1856, and was continued in the reorganized church.

"The Utah church further departed from the principles and doctrines of the original church by changing in their teaching the first statement in the Article of Faith, which was, 'We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost,' and in lieu thereof taught the doctrine of 'Adam-God worship,' which as announced in the Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young is as follows:

"'When our father Adam came into the Garden of Eden, he came into it with a celestial body, and brought Eve, one of his wives with him. He helped to make and organize this world. He is Michael, the Archangel, the Ancient of Days, about whom holy men have written and spoken—He is our Father and God, and the only God with whom we have to do.'

"It has introduced societies of a secret order, and established secret oaths and covenants, contrary to the book of teachings of the old church. It has changed the duties of the President, and of the Twelve, and established the doctrine to 'Obey Counsel,' and has changed the order of 'Seventy, or Evangelists.'"

Judge Philips further pointed out that Brigham Young, before his usurpation was only president of the "twelve" a traveling council.

"The book clearly taught that the succession should descend lineally and go to the firstborn. Joseph Smith so taught and, before his taking off, publicly proclaimed his son Joseph, the present head of the complainant church, his successor, and he was so annointed."

The year that Brigham Young announced polygamy at Salt Lake City the saints who had refused to follow him and who had looked to Joseph Smith, the son of the founder, as their head, reorganized at Beloit, Wisconsin. One of the early utterances of the reorganized church was: "Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death when either is at liberty to marry again."

John F. Philips could speak from personal acquaintance as well as legal knowledge on these Mormon issues. He was a child when the Mormon war occurred, but he studied law in the office of John B. Clark to whom Governor Boggs entrusted his policy of extermination or expulsion from Missouri. Living in Jackson county in later years, after the Civil war, Judge Philips had witnessed the return of the Latter Day Saints to Missouri. He understood the distinction to be drawn between these Missouri Mormons who had kept the faith and forms of the founder, and those who had gone to Utah to be misled by Brigham Young into polygamy and other false doctrines, invented to further the ambitions of the would-be "American Mahomet." Judge Philips' decision is to be read in the light of his personal acquaintance with the Latter Day Saints and thereby historical significance is added to its legal weight.

**Latter Day Sentiment.**

Public sentiment has undergone revolution. Nowhere is this more marked than in Jackson county, scene of the first persecutions eighty-seven years ago When Joseph Smith, son of the martyr, died at Independence, December 10 1914, the Kansas City Journal said:

"But in the death of the late venerable head of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints the country loses an interesting and useful citizen. Joseph Smith was considerably more than a powerful churchman into whose keeping has been committed the destinies of one of the great denominations of the world.

"Those who ignorantly confounded the Reorganized Church with Mormonism, in the objectionable acceptation of that term, will not appreciate the theological distinctions between the two nor understand that nothing was more hateful to Joseph Smith than the doctrines of Brigham Young, with their polygamous teachings and all the other features which make Utah Mormonism obnoxious in the eyes of the average American.

"He was the prophet, but first of all he was the Christian gentleman and the good citizen. As such he lived, as such he died, as such he will be remembered by all outside the household of his faith. * * *

"Kindly, cheerful, loyal to his own creed, tolerant of those of others, standing for modesty, simplicity, good citizenship, embodying in his private and public life all the virtues which adorn a character worthy of emulation—such is the revelation which Joseph Smith leaves to the world, as the real interpretation of an ecclesiastical message translated into terms of human character."

Mrs. Carrie Westlake Whitney, in her excellent History of Kansas City, gives further evidence of the judgment the present generation of Jackson county passes on the treatment of the Mormons in the thirties:

"The original settlers of Jackson did not like their prosperous Mormon neighbors, and trouble followed. They made many charges against the Mormons, the principal one of which was that they were abolitionists. The editor of 'The Evening and The Morning Star,' organ of the 'kings and priests of the most high God,' were mobbed, tarred, feathered and beaten for condemning slavery and for maligning and threatening Gentiles."

**The Creed Today.**

The present creed of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is given officially as follows:

**We Believe—**

In God the Eternal Father, Creator of the heavens and the earth.

In the divine Sonship of Jesus Christ the Savior of all men who obey his gospel.

In the Holy Ghost, whose function it is to guide all men unto the truth.

In the gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation.

In the six fundamental doctrinal principles of the gospel: Faith; repentance; baptism by immersion in water, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the laying on of hands for the healing of the sick, conferring of the Holy Ghost, ordination, and blessing of children; the resurrection of the dead; and the eternal judgment.

In the justice of God, who will reward or punish every man according to his works, and not solely according to his profession.

In the same kind of organization that existed in the primitive church: Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, elders, bishops, seventies, etc.

In the word of God contained in the Bible, so far as it is correctly translated.

In the willingness and ability of God to continue the revelation of his will to men until the end of time.

In the powers and gifts of the gospel: Faith, discernment of spirits, prophecy, revelation, healing, visions, tongues and their interpretation, wisdom, charity, temperance, brotherly love, etc.

In marriage as instituted and ordained of God, whose law provides for but one companion in wedlock, for either man or woman, excepting in case of death or when the marriage contract is broken by transgression.

In the Book of Mormon declaration: "There shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none."

Four periodicals are issued by the publishing house of the Latter Day Saints. Many books are printed. One of these, "The Higher Powers of Man," by President Frederick M. Smith, recently from this press, has received widespread attention by reason of the research shown and of the original and forceful conclusions presented as to possibilities in education and religion. The wife of the head of the Church of Latter Day Saints is a lady of high culture and known nationally as a brilliant lecturer.

**The Latter Day Saints in 1920.**

"The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." Missouri's centennial finds the Latter Day Saints firmly established in Jackson county. The return to Zion began in 1867, within two years after the issue of slavery had been buried forever by the Civil war. In 1920 there are in and about Independence 5,000 of the followers of Joseph Smith, with Frederick M. Smith, grandson of the founder, in the presidency. The great stone church fronting on the "Temple Lot," has capacity for 3,000 worshipers. In the spacious grounds is a lofty wireless tower for communication with the publishing house, the college, the home for the aged and other institutions of the church at Lamoni in Iowa, for many years headquarters after the breakup at Nauvoo. A moving picture outfit with accommodations for 5,000 people is part of the equipment at Independence. The offices of the church fill to overflowing one of the notable old mansions of Jackson county. There, in fireproof vaults, are the title deeds to more than twelve hundred churches owned by the saints. There are the records showing membership of more than 100,000. From these offices are being carried on missionary activities in many parts of the world. Tithing is still a cardinal principle, as in the beginning,—one-tenth to the Lord. And that inculcation of religious doctrine has wrought its influence in making the saints average high in material thrift. A directory of Jackson county business and professional activities shows the presence of the Latter Day Saints in large numbers.

MARBLE STATUE OF JEFFERSON IN MEMORIAL ARCH AT ST. LOUIS
Unveiled by descendant of Thomas Jefferson, April 30, 1913

## CHAPTER XXXIV

## MISSOURI AND THE WHITE HOUSE

*The First Electors in 1820—A Hot Protest and a Compromise—Lehmann on Missouri's Anomalous Position—The Casting Vote in 1824—Missouri Elected a President—Eccentric but Highly Popular John Scott—Atchison's One Day Presidency—Benton's Chance in 1848—John B. Clark, a National Figure—The Fight Against John Sherman—Democratic Split at Charleston—Missouri, the Balance of Power—Close Relations of Lincoln and Blair—Border States Policy Born—Gradual Emancipation—Bates in the 1860 Convention—A Missouri Movement Against Lincoln in 1864—The Radicals at Baltimore—A Stormy Convention Scene—Blair and the "Jacobins"—Blair at the End of the War—The Broadhead Letter of 1868—Liberal Republican Movement—B. Gratz Brown at Cincinnati in 1872—Missouri Confederates in the Tilden-Hayes Contest of 1876—The Striking Down of Bland—Suppression of a Telegram—Secret Influences—Blaine's Boy Stanard—The Cockrell Opportunity in 1900—Champ Clark at Baltimore in 1912—Nine Times the Choice of the Majority—William J. Bryan's Desperate Tactics—A Slander Challenged—William J. Stone as a Campaign Manager—Sinister Origin of the Two-Thirds Rule—Benton on Calhoun's Undemocratic Scheme—When a Missourian Entertained a Tired President—Patronage Stories—How Certain Cabinet Selections Came About—Vest's Contribution to History.*

**If it should at any time appear that my candidacy is an obstruction to the nomination of any candidate who is acceptable to the free coinage delegation, or one more acceptable than myself, I wish my name at once withdrawn from further consideration. Put the cause above men.**—*Richard P. Bland's Telegram to the Missouri Delegation at Chicago in 1896.*

In February, 1821, Missouri was still waiting on Congress for admission. The state government was running. Presidential electors had been chosen in 1820. Missouri's electoral vote was presented in Washington when the Senate and House met in joint session to canvass the returns. What should be done about it? Fortunately, whatever was the decision, Missouri's electoral vote would not affect the result. It was proposed that the president of the Senate should announce the total vote cast for President as a certain number if Missouri was counted and a certain other number if Missouri was not counted. But when the harmless program was about to be completed a member called out:

"I object to receiving any votes for President and Vice-President from Missouri, because Missouri is not a state in this Union."

This started trouble. Many members tried to be heard. The senators arose and filed out leaving the House in parliamentary turmoil. After some time a request was sent to the senators to come back. The program was carried out with protests. Monroe and Tompkins were declared elected President and Vice-President.

Addressing the Missouri Historical Society in 1914, Frederick W. Lehmann told of the extraordinary part Missouri had in a Presidential election before

her admission as a state. He was reviewing the long drawn out contest in Congress over the Missouri Compromise:

"It is a singular circumstance that at this very time of bitter and heated controversy over the slavery question, there should occur what never happened before or since, excepting in the case of Washington, a unanimous election to the Presidency. Every Presidential elector chosen in 1820 was pledged to Monroe and all voted for him excepting Plumer of New Hampshire, who voted for John Quincy Adams for the sentimental reason that only Washington was entitled to the honor of a unanimous election. When the time came to count the electoral vote, the question of the status of Missouri necessarily arose. Was she a state or was she not a state? It was at last agreed that if objection was made to counting the Missouri vote the announcement should be, 'Were the votes of Missouri to be counted the result would be for James Monroe for President of the United States, 231 votes; if not counted, for James Monroe for President of the United States, 228 votes; but in either case James Monroe is elected President of the United States.' A like formula was prepared for the Vice-President. But even this simple and non-committal program was not carried through without great tumult and disorder."

**When Missouri Elected the President.**

Missouri's opportunity to elect a President came about in 1824. The electoral vote gave Jackson 99; Adams, 84; W. H. Crawford, 41 and Clay, 37. John Quincy Adams received only about one-third of the popular vote. The election of President went to the House, each state having one vote. Missouri had but a single representative. John Scott was an admirer of Henry Clay and a close friend of Senator Barton. Missourians quite generally urged that the state's vote be given to Jackson. They brought the greatest possible pressure to bear on John Scott. Some of the most intimate friends of the Missourian urged him to respect the sentiment of the state. Scott uniformly replied that he considered it dangerous to put a soldier in the White House. He voted for Adams and never held public office after that. At the next general election Edward Bates was elected the representative of Missouri.

As delegate and representative, Scott was in Congress eleven years. He was a Virginian by birth, educated at Princeton. With Barton and Benton he formed the political triumvirate of Missouri. When he ran for delegate to Congress in 1816 he led Rufus Easton by fifteen votes. Easton charged fraud and the seat was declared vacant by Congress. The next election gave Scott a large majority. It passed into history as one of the most exciting in that generation. The soldiers came down from Fort Bellefontaine. They paraded the streets and escorted voters to the polling place with fife and drum. Near the polls was a shed under which were tables with whiskey, bread and meat for those who supported "the true Republican nominee," as Scott was called. Easton men resented the activities of the soldiers. Clubs and knives were used. But Scott, although living in a rival community, carried St. Louis county by 150 majority. He was re-elected four times.

A newspaper writer described John Scott as "a logical and impressive speaker, and a man of quick perception and unbounded resources, which he could always command in a sudden emergency. He was of a very nervous temperament, quick and active in his movements, and very rapid in his enunciation. He was much given to profanity, the presence of ladies not affecting him in the least, and was very eccentric in his dress and manners. He always wore pantaloons four or

five sizes too large for him, a little black cloth cap pulled down over his eyes, and invariably carried a big, green bag, in which he kept his books and papers, like the English lawyers in olden times. No matter where he went, that green bag went with him. He was also in the habit of carrying an assortment of pistols and knives, in order to be prepared for an emergency, and if occasion required he did not hesitate to use them, for he was a man of great courage. With all his eccentricities, he was endowed with the most generous and noble impulses, and the people of Ste. Genevieve idolized him."

John Scott died at the age of eighty in June, 1861, just after the beginning of the Civil war. He was uncompromisingly against secession. It is said that near his end he called for a pistol and that his last words were, "Show me the traitor that wants to destroy this great government." When shortly before his death John Scott was urged to seek religion his answer was, "I have served the devil all my life and it wouldn't be right to desert him now."

**Missouri Whigs for Harrison.**

Friendly as Missouri whigs had been to the fortunes of Henry Clay who owned a Missouri farm, they were for William Henry Harrison in 1840. They took the lead so aggressively in the preliminary campaign that Missouri was credited with much influence in bringing about the nomination. The St. Louis Bulletin was the first metropolitan paper to come out for Harrison. Most of the whig papers favored Clay. What made the Bulletin the more conspicuous in the pre-convention campaign was the fact that the writer of the vigorous editorials, which attracted the attention of the country, was a Kentuckian—Samuel Bullitt Churchill, born and brought up near Louisville. Churchill was a young man who had come to St. Louis to practice law and had taken up journalism. He was a personal friend and an admirer of Clay but held the position that Harrison was the man with whom the whigs could win. During his residence in St. Louis, Churchill was a conspicuous figure in Missouri politics. He held the office of postmaster and was a member of the legislature. In 1861 he opposed secession but held to the belief that the border states should preserve neutrality between the North and the South and try to prevent war. When this policy failed, Churchill went back to Kentucky. A feature of the preliminary campaign in Missouri was the organization of "the whig vigilance committee" to bring about the nomination of Harrison. A prominent member of the committee was John B. Sarpy, whose home, occupying a quarter of a block at Sixth and Olive streets, was the rendezvous of whig leaders while visiting St. Louis.

A Missourian, Alexis Mudd, wrote some of the most popular campaign songs for the Harrison whigs. He was a merchant at the time, a member of a family which was to become widely known. What was esteemed the best effort of Mr. Mudd was the "Log Cabin Raising." At the beginning of the Civil war, Alexis Mudd became major of "the Lyon regiment," as the Nineteenth Missouri was popularly known.

**A Missourian President for a Day.**

An eastern periodical of high standing printed, in 1918, this interesting contribution to presidential history:

"In the list of presidents of the United States the name of David R. Atchison does not appear. Yet in the opinion of many authorities on constitutional law Atchison was certainly the incumbent of the high office for one day only. That day was March 4, 1849. It fell on a Sunday, and Gen. Taylor, the president-elect, refused to be inaugurated on the Sabbath. In those days the president pro tem of the United States senate was in line for the presidency in succession to the vice president and president.

"David R. Atchison, senator from Missouri, after whom the city of Atchison, Kans., was named, was then the presiding officer of the senate, and hence, by this circumstance, became president of the United States from noon of March 4, 1849, to noon of the following day, when Gen. Taylor took the oath of office. President Atchison was born in Frogtown, Ky., and died in 1866."

**Benton in 1848.**

Champ Clark once speculated on what might have been tremendous consequences if Benton could have obtained the rank of lieutenant-general for the Mexican war, a rank which up to that time had been held only by Washington. The bill reviving the rank passed the House but was lost in the Senate by three votes. The defeat, Mr. Clark said, was attributed to the opposition of three members of Polk's cabinet,—all of whom had presidential aspirations. If the rank had been created and given to Benton, as was the understanding, Benton would have come out of the Mexican war a military hero. Champ Clark said that would have made Benton President in 1849, because the election of Zachary Taylor, the whig candidate, was successful only through the defection of Martin Van Buren. Taylor defeated Cass. Van Buren helped to defeat Cass as revenge for the action of Cass in defeating him for the nomination at Baltimore in 1844 by one ballot. Van Buren was the friend of Benton and would have supported him and would have made his election certain. If Benton had been elected President in 1848, Champ Clark reasoned, "he would have been reelected in 1852, for any democrat could have been elected in 1852. A stronger Union man than Col. Benton never lived. He was more Jacksonian than Jackson himself. Had he been President from 1849 to 1857, there would never have been any Kansas question to vex mankind, the Civil war would have been postponed for years, perhaps forever."

**John B. Clark's Fight Against Sherman.**

A Missourian whose name was put forward by newspaper mention for the Presidential nomination before the Civil war was John B. Clark of Fayette. General Clark's prominence as a national figure at that time, in 1858, grew out of the active part he took in the deadlock over the organization of the House of Representatives. In a reminiscent talk at his home, not long before his death, the aged soldier and statesman told the writer how this mention by the press was inspired:

"It was about the time I made a hard fight against the election of John Sherman as Speaker. Helper, a North Carolina man, had written a book called 'The Impending Crisis.' He argued that slavery must soon come to an end. John Sherman wrote a letter, and it was put in the book, recommending the circulation of it as a good work, embodying true principles. I was delayed in getting to Washington until Monday, the day of opening, by a railroad accident. Our caucuses were held then on the Sunday before the opening day and I had missed them. Sherman had been nominated for Speaker by the republicans. The

democrats had selected Bocock, and the twenty-eight know nothings had agreed upon old Pennington of New Jersey. The know nothings, or the American party as they called themselves, wouldn't vote with either the democrats or the republicans. I ran up to the Capitol just as soon as I got to Washington, and found the House swearing in the members. As soon as I learned what had been done, I sat down and wrote out a resolution declaring that 'no one who recommends the circulation of the Helper book is fit for Speaker of this House.'

"We fought on it for sixty-four days, putting off the organization of the House and the transaction of business all that time. I made several speeches. I would read that portion of the book justifying the killing of masters by negroes, and then I'd read Sherman's recommendation. If there was any weakening, that would brace 'em up. Nearly every night I would get a hatfull of letters threatening to kill me if I didn't withdraw the resolution and let the House organize. There was no way of getting appropriations, you see, and a good many were feeling the need of money. My wife was scared, but I paid no attention to the threats."

General Clark stopped for a few moments. When he resumed his narrative it was not to recall the mention of him as a Presidential possibility but to tell the origin of a story which afterwards became a political and legal classic even beyond the borders of Missouri. Colonel D. P. Dyer used the illustration most effectively in one of his speeches during his prosecution of the whiskey ring in St. Louis in 1875 and 1876.

"So it went on. One time in a speech I alluded to the know nothings and said I'd smoke 'em out before I got through—make 'em come over and support the democratic nominee. Finally the fight came to an end by the republicans going over to the know nothing candidate, Pennington, and electing him by a majority of five. Just before it was done I knew something was coming. Judge Morehead, of Pennsylvania, got up and said: 'I wonder what the gentleman from Missouri will think now about his smoking-out process. We expect today to elect a Speaker and organize the House.'

"They went on and organized, and while they were doing it Tom Corwin, of Ohio, came over and sat by me. My seat was close by Sherman. He asked me what I was going to say in reply to Morehead's mean attack. I said I didn't see that there was anything to say. He thought I must say something. So I got up and spoke: 'I said I would smoke 'em out, and I have done it. The know nothings and the republicans have joined and organized the House, which they might have done a month ago; but they have all virtually agreed to my resolution, which they should have done at first. Look at Sherman,' I said, turning to where he sat, near me, long-legged and pale-faced. 'He recommended the circulation of a book which was full of assassination and murder. He recommended that book to the country, and then wanted to be Speaker. Instead of being Speaker he ought to be hung. Gentlemen, I feel like a hunter did out in my country, who went out in the woods and brought down a big long-legged turkey. The bird fell from the tree and the hunter laid down his gun and ran up towards it. But the turkey was only winged. He bobbed under some brush, then into a patch of briers, with the hunter after him. Finally, after a hard chase, the turkey got the start. The hunter stopped on the top of a hill and looked after the turkey which was half way to the bottom. "Darn ye!" said the hunter to the turkey, "you kin go, but ye'll have to roost low the balance of yer life."'

"When I got through speaking Corwin said to me: 'Clark, where was you raised?' 'Out in Missouri,' I told him. 'Where did you hear that story?' he asked. 'Nowhere,' said I, 'but you told me I had to say something and that seemed to fit the case.' It was after this fight against Sherman that some of the papers began to talk about me for the Presidency."

**Missouri's Part in the Charleston Split.**

General James Craig of St. Joseph once told of the important part John B. Clark performed in the democratic convention at Charleston in 1860. He said

that the committee on platform was so evenly divided that "Old Bustamente," as he called Clark, had the casting vote. The party split. The northern Democrats held another convention at Baltimore and nominated Douglas. Speaking of the Charleston convention, General Clark said to the writer:

"Governor Bradley was on the committee, William W. Avery, H. B. Payne and others, I don't remember all of them now. Each state had one member of the committee. I was chosen for Missouri. The committee was divided into Douglas and Davis men. The Davis men wanted a platform which pledged the United States government to sustain slaveholding in the territories with bayonets if necessary. The Douglas men wanted the question left to the territories to settle for themselves—'squatter sovereignty.' We were in session trying to agree upon a platform two or three days. Our room was crowded and there were a great many speeches made. Whether the committee was equally divided on the question I can't say. My impression is that it was not. There was a great deal of feeling shown in the discussion."

"Were there any personal difficulties?"

"Yes, I remember one in particular. What was the name of that man they called the 'spoon thief?' Yes, Butler. Ben Butler was the Massachusetts member of the committee. His position was a peculiar one. He was anti-Douglas, and he really sided with the Davis men, and advocated secession. I had letters from him afterwards and kept them until my trouble came on, and I was unable to take care of my papers. He explained that the reason he took the stand he did at Charleston was that he wanted to see slavery broken up, and he thought that would be the result if the southern states seceded. There was a man in the convention from California named Smith, a son of General Extra Billy Smith, of Virginia, you've heard about. He created a good deal of excitement one night by slapping Butler's jaws. The offense was a speech that Butler had made in the committee room about California. We had been in session two or three days trying to agree on a platform, and Butler had made a speech in which he said California had been making more fuss than she had any business to. He said California hadn't any right to be heard. She hadn't been admitted in a legal manner as a state; she was a bastard. Smith heard the language and crossed over to where Butler was and slapped him. At the same time he said: 'If it wasn't for your bald head I'd cut your throat.'

"I don't recollect," General Clark went on, after a short pause, "about the different resolutions. There were a great many resolutions before the committee. The rule of the convention was that all resolutions should go to us without debate. We finally found it impossible to agree on a report, and made two. The convention rejected the Davis resolutions and several of the southern states withdrew from the convention. We adjourned to Baltimore and I was late getting there. I had to attend to some business in Washington, but I recollect I was a Douglas man there, and made a speech pledging myself to support him."

### Benton and the Republican Nomination.

Benton once refused the nomination of Vice-President, preferring the Missouri senatorship. At another time he declined the appointment of chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. In the spring of 1856 there were Missourians who thought of Benton for national leadership, notwithstanding the futile efforts to elect him United States senator and notwithstanding his defeat in 1854 for Congress. Out of the wreck of the whig party and between the free-soil and proslavery wings of the democratic party it seemed possible to form a new national party. The educated German patriots were especially alert for the new party alignment. Alexander Kayser, the St. Louis lawyer, representative of the best German thought and tendencies in the West, sought from Benton

an expression whether he would accept the Presidential nomination from the new party—the republican party that was to be. Benton wrote back from Washington on the 12th of March, 1856, telling of his literary plans and concluding: "This work is enough for me and of more dignity (to say nothing of anything else) than acting a part in the slavery agitation, which is now the work of both parties and which, in my opinion, is to end disastrously for the Union, let which side will prevail. A new man unconnected with the agitation is what the country wants."

**Fremont in 1856.**

When Fremont set out on the expedition which resulted in the acquisition of California, Jessie Benton Fremont remained in St. Louis. The secretary of war was James A. Porter, a Pennsylvanian. It was Mrs. Fremont's business to forward mail from St. Louis to Fremont at Leavenworth where the expedition was preparing to leave. Secretary Porter sent an order directing the lieutenant not to take a howitzer. Mrs. Fremont held the order at St. Louis. Fremont took the cannon and went on to the conquest of California. The moral effect of the cannon was very great. Fremont came back to St. Louis a national character, to bear through the rest of his life the title of "The Pathfinder," to be chosen the first republican nominee for President of the United States. He made great use of the opportunity to explore, but that opportunity came about through a conversation between President Tyler and Dr. Silas Reed, then surveyor general of Missouri. The President was trying to organize his Tyler party. Henry Clay would have none of it. Dr. Reed suggested to President Tyler that he might conciliate Senator Benton and obtain his support in the senate by doing something for Lieutenant John Charles Fremont. Although the young army officer had run away with the daughter, Dr. Reed argued that the senator would be pleased if Fremont was sent to explore the Rocky Mountains.

**Lincoln and Blair.**

As early as the spring of 1857, six months after the election of Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln and Francis P. Blair were planning. Herndon, the law partner of Lincoln, wrote from Springfield, Illinois, to Theodore Parker of Boston, abolitionist, on the 8th of April, 1857:

"I had a most entertaining conversation on yesterday with one of the leading emancipationists of Missouri, and one of the leading republicans of this state. Do not ask who they are—will tell you about it ere long. This is the substance of it; The Missouri Democrat is to open and bloom for republicanism in 1860. The Louisville Journal is to follow, and some paper in Virginia is to fall into the trail, all of which is, as it were, to happen accidentally. The Democrat is simply to suggest; the Journal is to suggest still stronger, and at last all are to open wide for republicanism. As these two men said, 'We are to see the devil in these border states in 1860.' These two men are more than ordinary men; the conversation was in my office, and was confidential; therefore I keep dark and request you to do so on the Missouri man's account—don't care for the Illinois man. You know the Illinois man."

The two men to whom Herndon referred were Lincoln and Blair. Benton heard of the planning.

"I wish you to get the St. Louis Democrat—change its name and character—for no useful paper can now ever be made of it. I will be in St. Louis in April and assist you. The paper is given up to the slavery subject, agitating state emancipation against my established and known policy."

Thus Benton wrote from Washington to one of his wealthy and influential friends in St. Louis in 1857. Back of this letter of "the old Roman" is a story of journalism and politics with Abraham Lincoln as one of the principals. Between the law office in Springfield and the printing office in St. Louis was growing a relationship which was of far reaching influence. Benton realized that new forces were at work. He failed to measure them. Bentonism was waning rapidly. A new master hand in the making of public sentiment was in the field. Benton in his third of a century of political success had never minimized the importance of newspaper support. Lincoln had Benton's respect for the power of the press and more than Benton's facility for making use of it to form public sentiment as the political and newspaper evolution at St. Louis showed.

Not all of Benton's remarkable letter on the subject of the Missouri Democrat has been given. The demand that the paper be obtained and changed was preceded by this:

"My friends told me that these persons would turn out for abolition in the state as soon as the election was over but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the state, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended to do is the greatest outrage I have experienced. Those who have done it have never communicated one word to me in justification or explanation of their conduct; for it is something they can neither explain nor justify."

Benton's protest was of no avail. The next year, 1858, the Missouri Democrat was openly fighting the battle of Lincoln against Douglas in Illinois. The files of 1857 show adroit editorial steering. B. Gratz Brown continued to combat vigorously the charges of other papers that the Missouri Democrat stood for abolition of slavery. But, at the same time, the editorials, as was Lincoln's policy, committed the paper against slavery in the territories, especially Kansas. And no occasion was missed to proclaim, "the Union must be preserved."

**Gradual Emancipation the Political Doctrine.**

The time was most opportune for Lincoln and Blair, the latter with his Missouri emancipation following, to get together. Lincoln and Blair were in close agreement on the slavery question. Each in his state had taken pronounced stand against extension of slavery. Both believed that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Neither was an abolitionist. Neither was strongly anti-slavery in the moral sense that inspired many northerners. But, viewing the issue as the great political and economic issue which must be settled peaceably, both of them looked to Missouri and the other border states as the field in which to work out the solution. About the time that Lincoln and Blair were holding their earliest conferences Mrs. Lincoln wrote to her sister in Kentucky: "Although Mr. Lincoln is, or was, a Fremont man, you must not include him with so many

HOME OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, SR.
Main and Market streets, on lot given to him by his mother

RESIDENCE ON MAIN STREET WHICH PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., SOLD FOR $37,000 WHEN HE MOVED TO NEW YORK
A record price for residence realty in St. Louis about 1850

of those who belong to that party, an abolitionist. In principle he is far from it. All he desires is that slavery shall not be extended. Let it remain where it is."

And about the time of these Lincoln-Blair conferences there appeared in Missouri an authorized biographical sketch of Blair, when he was a candidate for Congress, which defined his position on slavery:

"He is no believer in the unholy and disgusting tenets advocated by abolition fanaticism but advocates the gradual abolition of slavery in the Union, and the colonization of the slaves emancipated in Central America, which climate appears to be happily adapted to their constitutional idiosyncrasies."

**Consolidating the Border.**

Missouri was an encouraging field to start the propaganda which Lincoln and Blair thought might consolidate the border in the next Presidential campaign,—that of 1860. In the first place, the slave population of Missouri was comparatively small,—114,935 slaves of a total census of 1,182,912, about one in ten. In the second place, most of the Missouri slaves were in the old settled, contiguous counties along the Missouri river. Gradual emancipation became a growing issue in Missouri. Blair and the other emancipation leaders made much of the economic argument. They insisted that slave labor was holding back the development of the state. Blair went over into Illinois to help Lincoln in the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858 for the senatorship. At Springfield and Jacksonville, Lincoln and Blair rode in the same carriage, and, according to the Missouri Democrat's correspondence, were given a reception "cordial and magnificent." Significant were the impressions which were conveyed in the Missouri Democrat's correspondence as Blair rode through Central Illinois on this political visit.

"No resident of a slave state could pass through the splendid farms of Sangamon and Morgan," the letter ran, "without permitting an envious sigh to escape him at the evident superiority of free labor. In the slave states, it would seem, the man and the soil which he cultivates are enemies. It would seem that he must extort its products as the tax gatherer extorts tribute from a conquered but hostile people. In the free states, on the contrary, the soil seems to shower its wealth upon the cultivator with a most generous and royal bounty. It brings forth kindly all abundance and smiles upon him in all four seasons. The dumb earth itself seems to wear a cheerless aspect, and to yield its wealth charily and reluctantly to slave labor."

**Lincoln and Missouri.**

From the time of the Illinois senatorial campaign of 1858, Lincoln's relations with the Missouri emancipationists grew closer, and the Missouri Democrat's campaign against slavery on economic grounds was continuous and persistent. The Democrat's correspondent at Springfield was John Hay, then a young law student, afterwards secretary of state at Washington. John G. Nicolay, then a country editor, afterwards Mr. Lincoln's secretary at Washington and still later marshal of the United States Supreme Court, was the Democrat's traveling correspondent. Hay's correspondence with the Missouri Democrat was sent direct from Lincoln's office. It was inspired by Mr. Lincoln. One of the newspaper traditions is that Lincoln wrote some of the political correspondence which Hay

sent to St. Louis. Lincoln had the same strong appreciation for close press relations that characterized Thomas H. Benton. At different periods he had written much for the Springfield Journal.

In Missouri the emancipationists were doing their part. Peter L. Foy, who in later days would have been classed as a staff correspondent, wrote for the Missouri Democrat a telling series of special articles on the unfair competition of black labor with white labor. White labor was aroused. When Lincoln became President he made Foy postmaster of St. Louis. B. Gratz Brown was elected to the legislature at the time the Missouri Democrat, under his editorship was carrying on this campaign against slavery on economic grounds. He signalized his presence at Jefferson City with an emancipation speech which caused state-wide commotion. Henry A. Clover and S. H. Gardner supported Brown's argument. In the municipal election of 1858, St. Louis went emancipation. But there was much more than the mayoralty in this Missouri movement. Editorials, newspaper specials, speeches and local elections were incidents in the formation and evolution of a border states policy which was to sway the national convention of a new party and which was to make a president. Missourians were to have no small part in this. Blair, Brown and other young men were in the foreground carrying the banners and crying the shibboleths of free soil, free democracy, gradual emancipation, white labor, negro colonization. In the background, counseling and encouraging, were some of the older Missourians who had been whig leaders.

**Edward Bates in 1860.**

A statesman of Missouri in 1850-60, one of the clearest-sighted of them all, was Edward Bates. He had seen the whig party go to pieces. He was in thorough sympathy with the work of party construction which Lincoln was doing in Illinois. He was not active in the Lincoln movement but he was a wise adviser. There was but very little of the republican party in Missouri outside of St. Louis. And in the city the interest centered at the Missouri Democrat office. When the time came to send a delegation to the Chicago convention of 1860, the delegation went committed to Edward Bates, but, as Mr. Bates explained, not with the expectation that he would be nominated. The purpose was to hold the delegation away from an eastern candidate. Lincoln was the first choice of the Missourians and the vote was to be given him when it would do the most good. The border states plan, which Blair and his fellow emancipationists had been organizing was not to be uncovered prematurely by publicly committing Missouri to Lincoln.

**The Border States Surprise.**

In the collections of the Illinois Historical Society, at Springfield, is preserved the evidence showing in what manner the tide was turned toward Lincoln and the part Missouri and the other border states had in it. When the delegates came together it appeared that Seward had the organization. New York came with much shouting and drum beating. The delegates were accompanied by a small army of Seward men who marched and countermarched, headed by John C. Heenan, "the Benicia Boy," champion American pugilist of that day. Some other

states had favorite sons but made little impression on the uninstructed delegates. Delegates were about equally divided in sentiment as to policy. The easterners were for a grand moral campaign against slavery and for the rapid ending of the evil. This element seemed to turn toward Seward as its logical candidate. The other element was determined to prevent the spread of slavery but was willing to leave it within existing limits to preserve the Union and to take time to work out some means or method of gradual emancipation. Such was the situation when Blair and the border states men sprang the surprise.

**The Voice of the Border.**

The story was well told by A. G. Proctor of the Kansas delegation, said to have been the youngest delegate in the convention:

"At this juncture there came to the front, from sources not before taken into consideration, a movement led by the men of the border states. This body of resolute men from Maryland, from the mountains of Virginia, from Eastern Tennessee, from Kentucky, from all over Missouri, had organized and selected Cassius M. Clay as leader and spokesman. They were a group of men as earnest as I have ever met. They asked for a conference with us, which we arranged without delay. The Kansas delegation was the first to receive them. It may have occurred to them that Kansas was awake to what was coming, and would more likely appreciate the full force of their logic. The company completely filled our room. There was something about the atmosphere of that room which seemed to mean business. Mr. Clay was a man of strong personality. He had all the mannerisms of a real Kentucky 'colonel'—very courtly, very earnest, very eloquent in address.

"'Gentlemen,' he said in beginning, 'we are on the verge of a great civil war.'

"One of our Kansas delegates said, 'Mr. Clay, we have heard that before.'

"Clay straightened himself and, with a real oratorical pose, exclaimed, 'Sir, you undoubtedly have heard that before. But, sir, you will soon have it flashed to you in a tone that will carry certain conviction. He went on: 'We are from the South. We know our people well. I say to you the South is getting ready for war. In that great strip of border land, reaching from the eastern shore of Maryland to the western border of Missouri, stands a body of resolute men, determined that this Union shall not be destroyed without resistance. We are not pro-slavery men. We are not anti-slavery men, but Union republicans, ready to take up arms for the defense of the border. We are intensely in earnest. It means very much—what you do here—to you and to us. Our homes and all we possess are in peril. We want to hold this Union strength for a Union army. We want to work with you for a nomination which will give us courage and confidence. We want you to nominate Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln was born among us and we believe in him. Give us Lincoln for a leader and I promise you we will push back the disloyal hordes of secession and transfer the line of border warfare from the Ohio to the regions beyond the Tennessee, where it belongs. We will make war upon the enemies of our country at home and join you in driving secession to its lair. Do this for us and let us go home and prepare for the conflict.'

"No one could give a satisfactory report of that appeal. It was the most impressive talk that I had ever listened to. That delegation of border men, headed by Mr. Clay, made this appeal to most of the delegations of the different states. The effect was instantly felt. There was getting together of those who felt the Lincoln sentiment all along the line. This movement formed the group around which the earnest Lincoln men rallied and organized. I honestly believe that this was the movement which gave Mr. Lincoln his nomination. It was the turning point. It awoke all to a realization of what was before us and compelled recognition of a new element on which might rest great results for good or evil. In short, this action of the border men set us thinking."

**Edward Bates on Lincoln.**

Lincoln was nominated. One of the earliest and most effective indorsements of the nomination came from Edward Bates. In a letter to O. H. Browning, of Illinois, Mr. Bates not only declared for Lincoln but he pointed out in his convincing way the peculiar fitness of Mr. Lincoln for the conditions confronting the country. He considered Mr. Lincoln stronger than the platform. He wrote:

"As to the platform, I have little to say, because whether good or bad, that will not constitute the ground of my support of Mr. Lincoln.

"I consider Mr. Lincoln a sound, safe, national man. He could not be sectional if he tried. Hir birth, the habits of his life and his geographical position compel him to be national. All his feelings and interests are identified with the great valley of the Mississippi, near whose center he has spent his whole life. That valley is not a section, but conspicuously the body of the nation, and, large as it is, it is not capable of being divided into sections, for the great river cannot be divided. It is one and indivisible and the North and the South are alike necessary to its comfort and prosperity. Its people, too, in all their interests and affections, are as broad and generous as the regions they inhabit. They are emigrants, a mixed multitude, coming from every state in the Union, and from most countries in Europe. They are unwilling, therefore, to submit to any one petty local standard. They love the nation as a whole, and they love all its parts, for they are bound to them all, not only by a feeling of common interest and mutual dependence, but also by the recollections of childhood and youth, by blood and friendship, and by all those social and domestic charities which sweeten life, and make this world worth living in. The valley is beginning to feel its power, and will soon be strong enough to dictate the law of the land. Whenever that state of things shall come to pass, it will be most fortunate for the nation to find the powers of the government lodged in the hands of men whose habits of thought, whose position and surrounding circumstances constrain them to use those powers for general and not sectional ends."

With such broad and statesmanlike views of the situation, Mr. Bates led up to his personal and intimate estimate of Mr. Lincoln:

"I have known Mr. Lincoln for more than twenty years, and therefore have a right to speak of him with some confidence. As an individual he has earned a high reputation for truth, courage, candor, morals and amiability, so that as a man he is most trustworthy. And in this particular he is more entitled to our esteem than some other men, his equals, who had far better opportunities and aids in early life. His talents and the will to use them to the best advantage are unquestionable; and the proof is found in the fact that, in every position in life, from his humble beginning to his present well earned elevation, he has more than fulfilled the best hopes of his friends. And now in the full vigor of his manhood and in the honest pride of having made himself what he is, he is the peer of the first men of the nation, well able to sustain himself and advance his cause against any adversary, and in any field where mind and knowledge are the weapons used. In politics he has acted out the principles of his own moral and intellectual character. He has not concealed his thoughts or hidden his light under a bushel. With the boldness of conscious rectitude and the frankness of downright honesty, he has not failed to avow his opinions of public officers upon all fitting occasions. I give my opinion freely in favor of Mr. Lincoln and I hope that for the good of the whole country he may be elected."

**Far-reaching Results of the Border Policy.**

Lincoln was elected. Missouri gave him only 17,028 votes out of more than 165,000 cast. But Missouri divided hopelessly the bulk of her votes in large sections among three other Presidential tickets. The effect of the agitation which the gradual emancipationists carried on in Missouri after the Lincoln and Blair

conferences beginning as early as 1857 was not to be judged by the Lincoln vote of 17,028. Its effect was to be traced in the disintegration of the great majority into helpless factions. Nearly the entire voting strength was brought to the polls by the intense interest. Douglas carried the state but by only one-third of the vote cast. He led the constitutional union party by fewer than 600 votes. The disturbing influence of the gradual emancipation movement had shattered party lines. It had broken the democratic organization.

Mr. Lincoln quickly showed what estimate he put upon the Missouri movement. Edward Bates had declined a place in the Fillmore cabinet a few years before. He accepted the appointment of attorney general from Lincoln, so much concerned was he about the national situation. Montgomery Blair, brother of Francis P. Blair, was made postmaster general. This was equivalent to giving Missouri two of the seven places in the cabinet, for Montgomery Blair had lived fifteen years in Missouri and had moved to Washington only a short time before.

Between the election in November and the departure of Mr. Lincoln for Washington in February, Blair was in Springfield for further conference with the President-elect. He kept Mr. Lincoln informed of every step in that game which was going on for the possession of the St. Louis arsenal with its 60,000 muskets and other munitions of war, more than there was in all of the other slave states. He told Mr. Lincoln that if the southern rights administration of Missouri gained control of the arsenal and its contents, the state would be carried into the Confederacy, and with Missouri gone, the other border states would be lost. Blair was in Springfield the latter part of February, and from there he hurried to Washington to report the rumor that the Missouri secessionists would attempt to seize the arsenal on the day of Lincoln's inauguration. He went to urge President Buchanan to put Captain Lyon in charge of the arsenal. The St. Louis Minute Men allowed the 4th of March to pass without the intended attack. Nine days later President Lincoln gave Lyon command of the arsenal and the opportunity of the state government was lost.

**The Missouri Anti-Lincoln Movement of 1864.**

In 1864 Frank Blair was fighting Missouri Confederates in the field and Missouri "Jacobins," as he called them, in Congress. In the House Mr. Blair, on the 24th of February, 1864, arraigned Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, demanding an investigation. He charged Mr. Chase with intriguing to defeat Mr. Lincoln for a second term. He charged that the radicals of Missouri, the jacobins, were in the plot to prevent Mr. Lincoln's renomination. He defended the President's border states policy:

"Things have occurred in Missouri and the other border states not so easily understood by those who come from happier regions, unvisited by the calamities of war. In Missouri, at the outbreak of the war, and for a long time afterwards, the state was a prey to the worst disorders, the country was ravaged and destroyed, and a feeling of bitterness has been engendered which is almost without parallel. Upon this spirit of exasperation, retaliation and revenge the radicals of my state have undertaken to build up a party. Is this a fit foundation for any party to rest upon? Can peace, prosperity and tranquillity be expected from those who act upon such motives? Can any secure or enduring principles of government be based upon such sentiments? It may be that it is impossible for men to free themselves from the passion of revenge, and the desire for retaliation on those who

may have inflicted injuries on them or on their friends and neighbors. It may be utterly impossible to expect that men can free themselves entirely from such influences. But, on the other hand, is it natural, proper, or wise that the President and the great statesmen who are directing the affairs of the government, and whose duty it is to educe peace and good will out of these scenes of anarchy and disorder, should be actuated by the feelings of bitterness which have grown up among the parties to this strife. Such passions are in some degree excusable in those who have suffered injury; but with what face does a man set himself up as a statesman or party leader, who will fan such passions; who will contribute to the public exasperation; who will rekindle these smouldering fires; and who seeks even to drag into them and destroy the chief magistrate of the country, when he declines to be the instrument of such malignant passions. Yet this is the position of the jacobin leaders of Missouri and their confederate jacobins in Maryland. They appeal to the Union men of other states to support them in their strife in states in which the rebellion has been put down, instead of fighting to put down the rebellion where it still exists. They appeal to the Union men of other states against the President's policy of amnesty, by which the armies of the rebels are being demoralized and depleted, because they desire to glut their vengeance and their lust for spoils. They seek to make a direct issue with the President, to defeat his re-election, in order that they may enjoy the license of another French Revolution under some chief as malignant as themselves."

Blair was right in his forecast of the purpose of "the jacobins" to defeat the renomination of Lincoln. Shortly after he made this speech in Congress, a call was issued for a national convention to meet in Cleveland in May. Radical Union men in Missouri were active in the movement. Blair's cousin, B. Gratz Brown, was one of the signers of the call. The convention was attended by 350 delegates who did not believe that Mr. Lincoln was aggressive enough in his policies. Wendell Phillips and Fred Douglass made speeches. Three planks in a very radical platform were as follows:

"That the one-term policy for the presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis and should be maintained by constitutional amendment.

"That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

"That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice."

The convention nominated General John C. Fremont for President and Gen. John Cochrane for Vice-President. The candidates withdrew in September.

The call for the regular republican convention in 1864 omitted the word "republican." It designated the assemblage as the "Union National Convention."

When Missouri was reached in the call of the roll of states for the nomination of President, the chairman of the delegation, John F. Hume, arose and said:

"It is a matter of regret that we now differ from the convention which has been so kind to the radicals of Missouri; but we came here instructed. We represent those who are behind us at home, and we recognize the right of instruction, and we intend to obey our instruction. But in doing so we declare emphatically that we are with the Union party of this nation, and we intend to fight the battle through with it, and assist in carrying its banner to victory in the end, and we will support your nominees, be they whom they may. I will read the resolution adopted by the convention which sent us here:

"'That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the soldiers of Missouri, who have been, and are now baring their breasts to the storm of battle for the preservation of our free institutions. That we hail them as the practical radicals of the nation whose arguments

are invincible, and whose policy for putting down the rebellion is first in importance and effectiveness.'

"Mr. President, in the spirit of that resolution, I cast the twenty-two votes of Missouri for the man who stands at the head of the fighting radicals of the nation, Ulysses S. Grant."

Before the final vote was announced Mr. Hume changed the vote of Missouri from Grant to Lincoln and moved that the nomination of Lincoln be made unanimous.

Young as republicanism was in the state, Missouri sent one set of delegates to the Cleveland convention in 1864, and two other sets to the Baltimore convention. The Missouri republicans who went to Cleveland helped to nominate John C. Fremont, and did all they could to damage the prospects of Lincoln for a renomination. The two sets which went to Baltimore contested for the seats with as much vigor as if the nomination depended upon which set got in. All the time it was a foregone conclusion that Lincoln would be renominated, and the committee on credentials besought the Missourians to patch up their differences and go in together on half representation. One set of the Missouri delegates was headed by John F. Hume and came with certificates from a republican state convention, probably the second gathering of that name ever held in the state. The other delegation was headed by Congressman Tom Price; it had been made up at a meeting in St. Louis by the men who had control of the Federal patronage in the state. The Hume delegates flatly refused to accept a half-loaf as better than none, and in the end were admitted to the floor as entitled to represent the state. Some of the rejected set afterwards turned up at Chicago seeking admission to the democratic convention which nominated McClellan.

**A Delegate's Recollections.**

McClurg and Widdicombe were members of the Hume delegation. They represented the Jefferson City district. Widdicombe was from Boonville. His connection with the republican party of Missouri dated back to 1861, when there were just nine "Radicals," as they were called then, in Boonville, and when the nine used to stumble upstairs in the dark and meet by the light of a tallow candle in a third-story room. In 1887 Captain Widdicombe recalled the part the Missourians took in the Baltimore convention:

"We had caucused and agreed upon our program but not a word was allowed to slip about it. Lincoln's name was the only one formally presented to the convention, and as the roll was called each state announced its vote for him amid much enthusiasm. At length Missouri was reached. John F. Hume got up slowly and cast the vote of Missouri for U. S. Grant. Such a storm of disapproval was never started in any convention that I ever attended. Delegates and lookers-on howled and howled. I can remember how I felt. I think my hair stood right up on end. After Hume announced the vote he sat down, and there we were, as solemn and determined as men could look with the mob all around us demanding that the vote should be changed. I hadn't any doubt for a few moments but what we would be picked up, every man of us, and thrown out into the street.

"Finally, old Jim Lane, of Kansas, got the attention of the convention. I suppose they quieted down out of curiosity to know what sort of a fate he would propose for us. Lane went on to say that we were neighbors of his. We had come to the convention with proper credentials, and had been admitted as delegates. That being the case, we had a right to vote for whom we pleased, and it was not republicanism to try to prevent us. This coming from Jim Lane and Kansas had a good effect. As soon as he sat down

Governor Stone, of Iowa, another good republican state, jumped up. He was a man more like Sam Cox than anybody I ever saw. He said we were neighbors of his, too, and he didn't like to see us treated that way. He urged the convention to show fair play.

"That partially quieted the storm, and the roll-call proceeded, but with some grumbling. The last state was reached, and announced its vote as all the others had done, except, ours, for Lincoln. Then Mr. Hume got up, before any declaration of the result could be made, and stated that Missouri wished to change her vote from Grant to Lincoln and to move that Mr. Lincoln's nomination be made unanimous. By that time the convention saw what we were up to, and how everybody did shout! After the convention adjourned our delegation came over to Washington and marched up to the White House headed by Gen. John B. Henderson, who was then in the Senate. General Henderson presented us and Mr. Lincoln got off some funny remarks about our course in the convention. But after we went back home we never had any further occasion to complain about the control of the Federal patronage in Missouri so long as Mr. Lincoln lived."

## Blair and the Broadhead Letter.

In the Presidential campaign of 1868 a former Missourian headed one ticket —Grant and Colfax! A Missourian held the second place on the other side— Seymour and Blair. For that campaign Francis P. Blair furnished the issue in what became historic as "the Broadhead letter":

"WASHINGTON, June 20, 1868.

"COLONEL JAMES O. BROADHEAD:

"Dear Colonel: In reply to your inquiries I beg to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the democratic convention, and to submit the following as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest:

"The reconstruction policy of the radicals will be complete before the next election; the states, so long excluded, will have been admitted; negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the democrats should elect their President, and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the radical plan of reconstruction by congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can be overthrown only by the authority of the Executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

"If the President, elected by the democracy, enforces or permits others to enforce the reconstruction acts, the radicals, by the accession of twenty spurious senators and fifty representatives will control both branches of Congress and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

"There is but one way to restore the government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpation at the South, disperse the carpet-bag state governments, allow the white people to organize their own governments and elect senators and representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of democrats from the North, and they will admit the representatives elected by the white people of the South, and with the cooperation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed, on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

"I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us. Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, green-

THE OLD RUSSELL FARM
About Ninth Street and Russell Avenue, residence of Thomas Allen

SUGAR TREE IN SMITHTON
Where first term of Boone circuit court was held in 1821

backs, gold, the public faith and the public credit. What can a democratic President do in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenues and resources of the government and destroy credit—make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the convention upon this issue, for it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle.

"Your friend,
"FRANK P. BLAIR."

"There is no item of that letter that I take back," Blair said afterwards, in 1871, when he was a candidate for United States senator from Missouri. His action in regard to the taking of Camp Jackson was another matter upon which Blair had no apologies to make. Blair and Frost were guests at a dinner in the Florissant valley some years after the close of the war. The Camp Jackson incident was mentioned. Blair, addressing Frost, said: "If we had not taken you, you would have taken us in two weeks more."

**Blair's Opportunity.**

Champ Clark said of Blair's course: "When he came out of the army, with his splendid military and civil record, it may be doubted whether there was any official position, however exalted, beyond his reach if he had remained with the republicans. I have always believed, and do now believe, that by severing his connection with them he probably threw away the Vice-Presidency—possibly the Presidency itself—a position for which most statesmen pant even as the hart panteth for the waterbrook. During his long, stormy and vicissitudinous career he always did what he thought was right for right's sake, leaving the consequences to take care of themselves. That he was ambitious of political preferment there can be no question; but office had no charms for him if it involved sacrifice of principle or compromise of conscience.

"This great man, for great he was beyond even the shadow of a doubt, enjoyed the distinction, unique among statesmen, of being hated and loved in turn by all Missourians, of changing his political affiliations violently twice, long after he had passed the formative and effervescent period of youth, and, while spending nearly his entire life in the hurly-burly of politics, of dying at last mourned by every man and woman in the state whose good opinion was worth possessing. Born a democrat, he served in the House as a republican, in the Senate as a democrat, and died finally in the faith of his fathers.

"Believing sincerely that human slavery was wrong per se and that it was of most evil to the states where it existed, he fought it tooth and nail, not from sympathy for the negroes so much as from affection for the whites, and created the republican party of Missouri before the Civil war—a most hazardous performance in that day and latitude. At its close, when, in his judgment, his party associates had become the oppressors of the people and the enemies of liberty, he left them, and lifting in his mighty arms the Democracy, which lay bleeding and swooning in the dust, he breathed into its nostrils the breath of life—another performance of extraordinary hazard.

"This man was of the stuff out of which martyrs are made, and he would have gone grimly, undauntedly, unflinchingly and defiantly to the scaffold or the stake in defense of

any cause which he considered just. Though he was imperious, tempestuous, dogmatic and impetuous, though no danger could swerve him from the path of duty, though he gave tremendous blows to his antagonists and received many of the same kind, he had infinite compassion for the helpless and the weak, and to the end his heart remained tender as a little child's."

## Blair in 1868 and After.

Of the Broadhead letter and of the passing of Blair, William Hyde said:

"Probably no politician's record contains so striking a contrast as his in its wide and divergent range. Denounced as an abolitionist in 1852, as an organizer of the 'black jaegers' in 1861, and later as a military satrap sending his old neighbors into exile, behold him in 1868 as the democratic nominee for Vice-President on a platform arraigning the party supporting Grant for its 'unparalleled oppression and tyranny,' and for subjecting ten of the states to 'military despotism and negro supremacy!' The war over, General Blair was no longer a republican. His canvass of the state in 1866, at a time when Missouri was ruled as with a rod of iron by Drake and Loan, and the most radical influences, was a rare exhibition of manly daring. At places where he had appointments to speak, notably at Warrensburg, Louisiana and Osceola, armed ruffians were on hand to intimidate him, yet not only was he not frightened from his purpose, but in the most contemptuous as well as the coolest manner he hurled defiance in their teeth, as he bravely spoke of the test-oath and the vigorous methods of disfranchisement in vogue. And as intimidation cowered before Blair's well-directed blows, the democratic feeling, which had been crushed into the very ground, began to be revivified, to strengthen and to grow.

"What has been said in relation to General Blair's propensity for strokes of policy was illustrated in his famous letter to Col. James O. Broadhead in 1868, just previous to the meeting of the democratic national convention in New York. In this letter he spoke of the reconstruction acts of Congress, and actually declared that the democratic President to be elected should nullify those acts, compel the army at the South to undo its usurpations, and 'disperse the carpet-bag state governments.' Otherwise, he said, there would be no stopping the organization of idle negroes into political clubs, to 'protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot.' This was the issue General Blair desired to stand upon before the convention; but, although he was nominated for the second place on the ticket with Seymour, the party came far short in their platform of going to that length.

"Blair had reason to feel no love for at least that part of Congress which sits in the north wing of the Capitol. President Johnson had appointed him collector of internal revenue at St. Louis, and the Senate had rejected his name. He was afterward nominated for the Austrian mission, with the same result. Five years later, in 1871, he was elected by a legislature of which he had become a member to a seat among the senators, to fill the unexpired term (two years) of Charles D. Drake, who had accepted Grant's appointment as judge of the court of claims. Among his official vicissitudes he had been beaten for the legislature by a man named Branscombe, who had been a United States mail agent, or something of that sort, and he had held the office of state superintendent of insurance and United States Pacific Railroad commissioner."

## Senator Henderson Against Impeachment.

John B. Henderson's political career ended with his vote against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. He joined the few republicans who voted with the democrats. The chief articles of impeachment were based on speeches which the President had made. Senator Henderson set forth his position in few words, defensive of the right to make even foolish speeches in the United States:

"The Constitution provides that Congress 'shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.' The President, like other persons, is protected under this clause.

He, too, has the right to make foolish speeches. I do not say that there is no limit to the enjoyment of this right or that it might not be so much abused by a President as to demand his impeachment and removal from office. But, in this case, the offense is not of so heinous a character as to demand punishment, in the absence of a law defining the right and providing specific penalties, and also in the face of a constitutional provision declaring that freedom of speech cannot be abridged by law."

**The Liberal Republican Movement.**

B. Gratz Brown was very early identified with the German immigration as a champion of that element in the population of Missouri. His early free soil sympathies probably had much to do with this leadership of the freedom loving Germans. He had the distinction of making the first speech in behalf of emancipation as a member of a states' rights legislature. It was thought at the time that he delivered the speech at the peril of his life in Jefferson City, and that he sacrificed all hope of a political future. He was denounced and proscribed but the Germans rallied solidly to his support and sent him back to the legislature before the war. Opposition and proscription only spurred B. Gratz Brown to greater efforts along the lines of his convictions. With Fred Muench and Emil Preetorius, Brown was very active in getting up the call for the first republican convention in a slave state. He became a United States senator after serving in the army, largely through the sturdy support of the Germans of St. Louis.

Encouraged by their complete success of 1870 in Missouri, the liberal republicans and the democrats under inspiration from the St. Louis leaders attempted in 1872 the same policy on a national scale. The liberal republicans, with the Twentieth Century coterie and the Westliche Post following, started the movement. The Missouri Republican advocated a passive policy by the national democratic organization. Opposition to Grant and to reconstruction measures furnished the platform. For months St. Louis was the center of political interest to the whole country.

The movement gained great headway among liberal republicans, and especially among the Germans throughout the country. The state convention at Jefferson City, which elected delegates to the liberal republican convention at Cincinnati, was conducted practically by representatives of the Westliche Post. Joseph B. McCullagh reported the convention for the Missouri Democrat. He called it the "Bill and Joe Convention." "Bill and Joe" were William M. Grosvenor and Joseph Pulitzer.

**Missouri at Cincinnati in 1872.**

Missouri was conspicuously represented in the liberal republican convention at Cincinnati. Carl Schurz was made the permanent president. Joseph Pulitzer was one of the secretaries. William M. Grosvenor, as chairman of the executive committee, called the delegates to order. The vice-president for Missouri was Isaiah Forbes. When the states were called to name candidates for President of the United States, before the result was announced, Governor B. Gratz Brown came upon the platform amid much cheering and said:

"Although a delegate to this convention, it has not been possible for me to meet with you until today, as I have been detained at home by official business. Now when I come in for the first time I find myself in an embarrassing position. Some of my good friends

from my own state, and many from other states, have done me the honor to cast their votes for me for the highest office in the gift of this nation. Now, I don't disguise it from myself that this is a worthy pride and ambition for any man on the broad face of the globe; but I also recognize the fact that it requires abilities, culture, experience, age and many other qualities which my modesty forbids me to believe and which my judgment convinces me I do not possess. I therefore, after tendering to you, gentlemen, my thanks for the compliment which you have given me, desire to say, in brief, that I came to this convention with no personal end; that I am animated sincerely and solely by a desire for victory in this great contest, and that I want a man nominated who will carry the largest republican vote in the nation, in defiance of the regular Grant organization; and in my judgment that man is Horace Greeley."

The first ballot gave Brown 95 votes; Charles Francis Adams received 203; Lyman Trumbull, 110; Horace Greeley, 160. B. Gratz Brown was fourth; he received votes from Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon and Tennessee. Greeley was nominated on the fifth ballot. Brown led on the first ballot for Vice-President and was nominated on the second. A fatal mistake was made by the democratic national convention in failing to carry out the policy. The Baltimore convention of the democratic party in 1872 took positive action on the ticket, instead of adopting the passive course, which had been pursued by the democratic party of Missouri so successfully two years before. The result of the action at Baltimore was to antagonize the liberal republicans and many of the German voters. The Greeley and Brown ticket failed of the support expected for it from elements in the republican party opposed to Grant and the reconstruction measures in the South.

**Missouri in the Tilden-Hayes Contest, 1876.**

In the winter of 1877, Missouri ex-Confederates took a position toward the Hayes-Tilden contest for the Presidency which was of national influence. As the months went by with no settlement, conditions grew more threatening. Henry Watterson announced that there would be 100,000 Kentuckians in Washington on the 4th of March to see that the right man was inaugurated. Charges and counter charges of fraud in the elections of several southern states were under investigation. The electoral commission was sitting but there was apprehension that the Senate and House, one republican, the other democratic, might refuse to abide by the commission's finding. In that event the country might be plunged in civil war. In such a situation General Joe Shelby gave an interview to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in which he declared his intention to stand by President Grant in whatever course he might take regarding the contest. He deprecated the talk of violence. In the event that there was a failure to decide the election in a lawful and constitutional manner and President Grant determined to exercise the power of the chief executive in favor of the one he regarded as duly elected, he proposed to support the President in his action whether that action be favorable to Tilden or Hayes.

Shelby's interview was published far and wide. The next day Colonel Alonzo W. Slayback and Colonel Clay King, both Missouri ex-Confederates of distinguished records, came out in indorsement of Shelby's position. Other southerners quickly fell in line with the Missourians. The talk of organization to seat Tilden

Yours Truly
R. P. Bland

THE MISSOURI COMMONER

by force, if necessary, quieted down. Slayback's interview was especially severe on the northern democrats. He said:

"They encouraged the Confederate war. They led the southern people to believe that Lincoln's call for volunteers and his armed invasion of the South would be resisted by them. They not only falsified these pledges but wore the blue, and came on to the work of ravage and bloodshed with that rash zeal which is ever the mark of new converts, trying to prove their fidelity to their newly adopted loyalty by acts more cruel, and military orders more brutal, than any that emanated from lifelong Abolitionists. All during the war they fed the South on vain hopes that either by riots in New York or the release of prisoners in the Northwest, or by assassination of leaders in Washington City, or by a general uprising of sympathizers all over the northern states, the government would be forced to suspend hostilities, and grant the South honorable terms of peace, on the basis of states' rights and the old constitutional safeguards for slave property.

"These flatteries were all delusions. They left the South to starve and bleed and die, and sent, as the flower of the Yankee army, the young democrats who had been promised as recruits for the southern army. They talked loudly all the time of what they would do, but when it came to performance they were terribly afraid to commit any overt act of treason, as they glibly learned to call it, and were desperately anxious to commit some overt act of loyalty when there was no occasion for it.

"The men who are talking loudest about fight now, won't fight if there should be a war, and their braggadocio might as well stop, and let honest people attend to their business."

**The Missouri Brother of a President.**

A Missourian who did not put on airs because his brother lived in the White House was Scott Harrison of Kansas City. He didn't stop calling him "Ben" after this brother became President. The Missouri Harrison was a democrat. He was not accused of trying to exert any influence with the republican administration except on one occasion. That was when his personal friend, Dr. Nofsinger, a republican, was appointed postmaster. The exercise of influence consisted of telling the President that Nofsinger was "a good fellow." When Scott Harrison was in Washington, he registered at a modest hotel, and went up to see "the folks." As he was leaving Mrs. Harrison invited him to remain all night. Scott said no, he guessed he'd better go back to the hotel. Mrs. Harrison pressed the inivitation, and Scott, thinking he must give some plausible excuse, said he had left his grip—that was what he called it—down to the hotel, and if he didn't go back he couldn't have any night shirt.

"Take one of Ben's," Mrs. Harrison said promptly.

"I'm afraid it would be too big for me," said Scott, with equal promptness and a queer smile. Mrs. Harrison smiled, too. Scott went back to his hotel, rode up to the fifth floor and slept the sleep of a self-satisfied Kansas City democrat.

**The Defeat of Bland in 1896.**

The striking down of Richard P. Bland at Chicago was worse than a political blunder. It was a political crime. Standing beside Mr. Bland at Chamois on his trip through Missouri, Mr. Bryan said:

"If this nomination had gone by merits it would have gone to the man who for twenty years has worked to keep alive the silver cause and in the hour of victory will be entitled to more credit than any other man living. Circumstances, not credit, have decided this nomination."

These circumstances gradually became public. "Bland is the man entitled to this nomination," Boies of Iowa said, sitting in his library at Waterloo, with the first ballot before him. He wrote a telegram directing his representatives in the convention to withdraw his name and to transfer the Iowa delegation and as many more of his sixty-seven votes as they could to Bland on the next ballot. The telegram did not reach the coliseum. That was one of the "circumstances."

Some who caught at only the surface results of the convention were surprised when they learned that Bryan, in the regular balloting, never reached the vote which Bland did. He was not the sober choice of as many delegates as Bland was. The official roll calls showed that Bland had 291 votes at the end of the third ballot. Bryan at the end of the fourth ballot had 276. Yet from that point the conspirators carried through the stampede to Bryan. And when the stampede had ended with the conclusion of the fifth and last ballot Bryan had 535 votes. To nominate required 512. The margin was enough, but it was only twenty-three. There sat not voting 158 delegates. Had these voted it would have required 618 to nominate. Bryan was forced upon the ticket by the influences which were not for him personally. One of these influences was that anti-Catholic sentiment which prompted the hissing when Senator Vest put Bland's name before the convention. Officers of the convention, assistant sergeants-at-arms, went among the delegates distributing cards reading: "If you want to see a confessional in the White House, vote for Bland."

This was done while the balloting was in progress. For the first time anti-Catholic influence was shown openly in the national convention. Alone it might not have been strong enough to defeat Bland for the nomination, but combined with other influences it was potent. This was another of the "circumstances."

The stampede to Bryan was described and was looked upon by many as a spontaneous movement of the majority of the convention. It was spontaneous on the part of perhaps an emotional third, including the young and inexperienced delegates who had been intoxicated by the brilliant speech of the day before. But underneath these were at work influences which made use of Bryan to accomplish the purposes of conspirators.

Bland had 235 votes on the first ballot; 281 on the second; 291 on the third. On the fourth ballot Bryan passed him, and then three or four states which had been giving complimentary votes to prevent Bland's nomination went to Bryan. One of these was Bland's native state. The little group that defeated Bland did so because they did not believe they could influence him.

The best work done by any Missourian for Bland before the Chicago convention was by Champ Clark. The Pike county orator was peculiarly happy in character sketching. He reverenced the sterling honesty of Bland. At the Peoria convention to elect the Illinois delegation to Chicago, Champ Clark appeared and spoke in Bland's interest. The effect was electrical. The tabernacle was swept as with a whirlwind of enthusiasm, and from that moment Illinois was practically committed to Bland. Those who have heard Champ Clark many times estimate that Peoria speech for Bland as the most effective thing he ever did. It was apparent to Bland's friends that Champ Clark was the man to place him before the Chicago convention. Clark was only too willing. Had the duty

been given to him, he would have created a scene that would have been memorable in convention history. He believed that Bland was the man to be nominated, but Vest, weakened by the long session and lost in that great mob, was brought from Washington to make one of the most unsatisfactory efforts of his brilliant oratorical career. Years after the convention, Judge C. C. Bland wrote:

"The influences which compassed the defeat of my brother at the Chicago convention were outside of, and beyond the control of, the Missouri delegation. In my judgment, formed at the time, and still retained, based upon the platform adopted, and from what I heard at the convention from influential and reliable sources, my brother was defeated because he was an honest, uncompromising Jeffersonian democrat, not sufficiently imbued with populistic vagaries to command the support of the then large voting population which at that time dwelt in a political zone lying outside of either of the two great political parties. To secure that vote, I thought then, and still think, the convention sowed to the wind. The democratic party has reaped the whirlwind."

**Blaine's Boy.**

Mention of Edwin O. Stanard, of St. Louis, in the list of eligibles for the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1900 had something more serious than mere gossip for its inspiration. The availability of Mr. Stanard with half a dozen others was discussed earnestly. That Mr. Stanard was from a state which had been casting its electoral vote for the democratic ticket with discouraging regularity was not considered a bar. The truth was that Mr. Stanard was estimated as more than a Missourian. He was recognized as a national figure by the leaders of the republican party, and was so treated in the measuring of Vice-Presidential timber. Mr. Stanard made a debut in Congress which was not forgotten by men with memories. "Blaine's boy," he was called at the time, and if his home had been in a state not so consistently democratic as Missouri still higher political honors would have been laid at his feet. In the brief service he saw in the House of Representatives Mr. Stanard showed great promise. He aroused the interest of Mr. Blaine, so much so that that open admiration which the man from Maine showed in the St. Louisan prompted the nickname of "Blaine's boy." One of the most notable achievements of a new member of Congress was Mr. Stanard's successful championship of the first bill for the improvement of the Mississippi river. The East dominated then in halls of legislation, and when the youthful-looking giant from out of the West brought forward his measure there was manifest inclination to sit down on him. But Stanard was splendid in his presence, good humored and zealous.

Mr. Blaine encouraged him with timely parliamentary suggestions. Stanard fought until he saw his bill passed by a House that had been anything but predisposed in its favor at the beginning. This was one of the incidents which Mr. Blaine liked to recall in after years. When he met St. Louisans he inquired about Stanard. He repeatedly expressed regret that his friend of the Forty-third Congress turned his back upon a political career, saying he had met few men whose qualities promised more in public life. And years afterwards, in the search for a republican who would be an ideal mate for Mr. McKinley, the name of Edwin O. Stanard of Missouri was included with half a dozen others. And it was the only name thus mentioned from a democratic state.

**The Opportunity for Cockrell.**

In 1900 some Missourians were awakened to the fact that if Senator Cockrell had been put forward as a candidate at the right time he would have swept the field, receiving the unanimous support of the eastern democrats, not only for the nomination, but for the campaign following. When too late it became clear to these Missourians that with Cockrell at the head of the ticket and an eastern man for second place, a former Union soldier or a Spanish war hero, the democratic party would have presented a ticket hundreds of thousands of votes stronger than Bryan. One of the shrewdest republican senators, a far-seeing politician, suggested the strength of Cockrell and the opportunity presented to the democrats. He said that it was cause for marvel to him that the democrats had not seen that Cockrell was their strongest possible candidate for that campaign. It is true that the idea of Cockrell never occurred to the Missourians until eastern democrats went to them and told them how strong the senator would be and offered to support him in the convention if Missouri would bring him out.

**Bryan's Attack on Clark.**

At Chicago in 1896 one Missourian who personified the issue of his party was defeated by a clique of half a dozen leaders because he was not pliant. At Baltimore in 1912 another Missourian was deprived of the Presidential nomination through a false issue raised by one man. Speaker Champ Clark had received on the first ballot 440½ votes. His strength had increased to 556, considerably more than a majority, but not the two-thirds required by democratic usage. With Mr. Clark forging toward the nomination, William J. Bryan arose and assailed him because he was receiving the vote of the New York delegation. He said:

"When we were instructed for Mr. Clark, the democratic voters who instructed us did so with the distinct understanding that Mr. Clark stood for progressive democracy. Mr. Clark's representatives appealed for support on no other ground. They contended that Mr. Clark was more progressive than Mr. Wilson and indignantly denied that there was any collusion between Mr. Clark and the reactionary element of the party. On no other conditions could Mr. Clark have received a plurality of the democratic votes of Nebraska. The thirteen delegates for whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions under which they were given.

"Some of the delegates will not participate in the nomination of any man—I cannot say for how many I can speak, for I have not had a chance to take a poll—but some of these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any whose nomination depends on the vote of the New York delegation.

"Speaking for myself and for any of the delegates who may decide to support me, I withhold my vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him. And the position that I take in regard to Mr. Clark I will take in regard to any other candidate, whose name is now or may be before the convention."

**The Speaker's Reply to Bryan.**

That night Champ Clark replied to Mr. Bryan with this statement:

"Today in the national convention an outrageous aspersion was cast on me, and through me upon the democratic party, by one who of all men ought to be the last man to besmirch

JOHN W. NOBLE
Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Benjamin Harrison

EDWIN O. STANARD
Known as "Blaine's Boy" while a member of Congress

ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK
Secretary of the Interior in the cabinets of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt

or betray his friends or his party. So far as I am personally concerned, it is enough to say that the charge which reflects upon my personal or party integrity is utterly and absolutely false. I might afford to forget myself, but I am, by the choice of the democratic majority of the House of Representatives, the ranking official democrat in national public life. I cannot be false or corrupt without reflecting upon my party in the most serious way.

"Any man who would enter into an alliance with any selfish interest or privileged class of this country to gain the nomination for the Presidency is unworthy of the Presidency and of the Speakership of the House. If I have not entered into such an alliance then the democrat, however distinguished, who wantonly charges me with this act is a traitor to the democratic party and to his professed friendship to me.

"I am not here to plead for a nomination or to attempt to influence any man's political action. Let every man proceed in this convention according to his convictions and the expressed will of constituents. I ask no undue consideration from any man, be he friend or foe, but I demand exact justice from every democrat either in this convention or throughout the nation. With William J. Bryan and his charge in the convention today the issue is proof or retraction. I shall expect him to meet that issue.

"CHAMP CLARK."

**The Position of Clark's Supporters.**

Clark was the foremost candidate until the thirtieth ballot. Regarding the candidate's moral claim to the nomination Senator Stone, who was leading his support, said in a letter addressed to Mr. Clark:

"As a result of conferences of a large number of your supporters for the democratic nomination for President I am directed by their unanimous voice to address to you the following communication:

"It is a first principle of democracy that the will of the majority shall prevail. The two-thirds rule observed by the democratic party in national convention, adopted originally in connection with the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President, was abrogated by practice long ago. Whenever, during the past sixty years, a candidate has received the majority of votes, his title to the nomination has been recognized and has been ratified immediately by the addition of a sufficient number to meet the technical requirements of two-thirds.

"The precedent thus maintained during all these years has become a party law, as binding in morals and in equity as if it were a written statute. No fair minded man can deny that; but for this fact, the two-thirds rule would have been definitely abolished years ago. Nor can anyone, in reason or in right, question the declaration that it is a point of honor with the party and the party's representative to sustain this tradition.

"Even though a bare majority of the delegates had voted for you but once, the obligation of the party's representatives to designate you as the nominee would have been established. But the fact is that you held a clear majority on eight successive ballots, thus proving conclusively that the expression of the majority was in no sense tentative, but was deliberate and definite. From every point of view, therefore, your title to the democratic nomination for President is clear and unmistakable.

"In view of these circumstances, we insist that you owe it to the democratic party, to your supporters in the convention and to your own honor to continue as a candidate before the convention until two-thirds of the delegates shall meet the technical requirement to confirm the nomination, which, in all fairness, justice and morals, has already been conferred upon you by a majority of the delegates representing thirty-six states and territories of the Union.

"Upon receipt of assurance from you that, under no circumstances, will you permit your name to be withdrawn, we hereby pledge ourselves to vote for you on every ballot that shall hereafter be taken in the convention."

**The Speaker's Comment on the Result.**

Wilson was nominated on the 46th ballot. Following the result Speaker Clark made this statement:

"No set of men ever made a better or braver fight for any man in this world than my friends all over the country made for me. They have my heartfelt thanks. We never had money enough even to pay for an adequate supply of postage stamps and literature. I was tied down here by my duties of the Speakership. I could, therefore, aid my friends very little. They made the fight, gave me 200,000 majority in the states where Governor Wilson and I competed in the primaries, and caused me to lead on thirty ballots in the convention, in nine of which I had a clear majority. Nevertheless, the nomination was bestowed on Governor Wilson. I never scratched a democratic ticket or bolted a democratic nominee in my life. I shall not change the democratic habit now. I am too seasoned a soldier not to accept cheerfully the fortunes of war.

"I will support Governor Wilson with whatever power I possess, and hope he will be elected.

"I lost the nomination solely through the vile and malicious slanders of Col. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. True, these slanders were by innuendo and insinuation, but they were no less deadly for that reason

"CHAMP CLARK."

**Senator Stone as a Campaign Manager.**

Of the beginning of his campaign for the Presidential nomination, and of the close relation of William J. Stone to that campaign, Champ Clark has given this reminiscence:

"It will be remembered that in the early spring of 1911 newspapers began to mention me for the democratic Presidential nomination. The mentioning grew in volume and frequency until by November it was universally discussed in the public press and in private conversation. Senator Stone and I had never been enemies, but we had not been intimate friends. It will also be remembered that the public press was also mentioning Governor Joseph W. Folk very frequently. A more or less active argument was in progress between my supporters and his, as to which of us should have the Missouri delegation.

"In the meantime, Senator Stone spoke no word, gave no sign as to which of us he favored,—if either. It happened that in the last part of November Dr. Bartholdt's friends gave him a banquet at the Southern hotel, which he deserved and which he was anxious I should attend,—which I did. That afternoon I was out at the home of Judge Virgil Rule, one of my old pupils, three or four miles from the business center of St. Louis. The judge had invited about a dozen of my friends to be present to consult about starting my campaign. Unexpectedly, Senator Stone walked in.

"The other gentlemen, taking it for granted that he had come to see me, after shaking hands with him, adjourned to another room. So soon as they had disappeared this brief dialogue ensued:

"Senator Stone said, 'Mr. Speaker, I came out to ask you just one question for my own guidance. Are you a candidate for President?'

"I replied, 'Senator, men do not announce for President as they do for constable.' '

"He answered, 'Tell that. to the marines. I want to know. I have seen it in the papers. I have seen men who assert you are a candidate, but I never saw a man who said you had told him. I desire to know definitely.'

"I said, 'Yes, Senator, I am a candidate.'

"Without another word, he picked up his hat, cane, gloves and overcoat and went down stairs. Immediately headquarters were engaged and the fight was on.

"From that hour until the announcement was made that Governor Woodrow Wilson was nominated, Senator Stone could not have worked harder for me if he had been my father, brother and son rolled into one.

"He was a delicate looking man in those days, but the amount of work he did was amazing. I formed a deep affection for the man which will abide with me so long as life lasts. To speak of him is to me a labor of love."

**Benton on the Two-thirds Rule.**

Benton condemned the two-thirds rule in national conventions as undemocratic. As to the origin and purpose of this two-thirds rule, H. B. Branch, of St. Joseph, quoted Mr. Benton in a speech at Savannah, Mo., many years ago:

"He said that it was a favorite policy of Mr. Calhoun to hold the South solid, and to use the patronage of the government to debauch enough northern electoral votes to keep possession of the government. That to aid them in this object they devised the two-thirds rule for our national conventions, which was a contrivance to enable the minority to worry the majority into a compliance with their views. That this two-thirds rule was a direct assault upon the right of the majority to control, and therefore undemocratic."

**A White House Incident.**

"I have introduced a thousand men to President McKinley," said Senator Stephen B. Elkins, "and I never before got so much satisfaction out of one of those presentations as I did when I took in John T. Crisp of Missouri." Fortunately, the introduction occurred upon one of Colonel Crisp's "cat-gut days." There are times when the strings of the violin snap under ordinary tension, and when the master hand fails with them. There are other times when the strings will stretch and stretch and make beautiful music almost by themselves. Colonel Crisp went to the White House on what he called "one of my cat-gut days." Elkins and Crisp were students together at the University of Missouri. Crisp had made ready to go to the University of Virginia. A personal letter from Elkins, who had preceded him to the Missouri institution, changed his mind. No one was more welcome at the White House under the McKinley administration, than Senator Elkins. The time and manner of Colonel Crisp's introduction were auspicious. The President was just at the end of one of those wearying sieges from the long string of callers, each with his own more or less important plea about patronage. He had tried to fix his mind on this petty business, while all of the time the great overshadowing question of the relations with Spain was weighing him down. He was leaning back in his chair, limp from the strain, with a look on the face that commanded sympathy, when Elkins and Crisp entered. Elkins explained, and Crisp uttered the commonplace, but in no commonplace manner, about simply wishing to pay his respects to the head of the nation. "I want to say something to the President," said Crisp, turning to Elkins with an inquiring look. The senator nodded, and Crisp began.

"I have never in all my experience heard such conversation," said Senator Elkins, in recalling the scene. The President leaned back in his chair and listened. The color came back in his face. The features lost the look of strain and assumed that of interest. The fire came into the eyes. Once he raised his hand, stayed the flow of Crisp's speech, and, turning to Senator Elkins, said: "I want to thank you for bringing Colonel Crisp here. This is doing me more good than you know." Then, turning back to Crisp, he said: "Go on, Colonel; excuse me for interrupting." The visit lasted an hour, and when Crisp retired it was with a hearty grip of the President's hand such as no other visitor received that day. Of what did the Missourian talk? He told the President what the people at home were saying and thinking. He told him that he must not think the men who came to him, who surrounded him, who wanted this and that, and

who tried to make it appear that they were the medium of communication between people and President, were really that. He likened the would-be dispensers of the patronage to the tapeworm of politics, devouring substance and doing the body no good. "I want to say to you, Mr. President, that the people believe in you. Outside of all political differences and considerations, they feel that you are a sincere man, an American and a gentleman. They feel that you are of the same kind." And then he told a story of how, two or three years ago, he came home from a political meeting and found his son just back from another meeting. The young man had been to hear McKinley. "Was it a great meeting?" the father asked. "There were so many people you couldn't see across them," the son replied. "What impressed you most?" asked the father. "Father," said the son, "when Mr. McKinley was speaking I felt here is a man who is one of the same people that I am. If he is nominated for President I believe he will be elected. I never felt about any of the Presidents as I do about this man." "Mr. President," said Colonel Crisp, when he had told the story, "that is the impression you made upon a young man born and reared a democrat. I want to say to you that I am a democrat, but in the recognition of your sincerity and of your character as an honest and honorable American gentleman, I am a republican; and all of the people—I mean the people who are at home, who do not come here and talk to you about the offices, whose hearts are filled with love of their country, whose patriotism is not tainted with selfishness—feel just that way and they want you to know it. You are to them what no other President since Lincoln has been. They are with you in whatever may come, and they want you to know it. They hope you feel it, and may not judge of their sentiment by what you may hear from some who claim to represent them, but whose motives are unworthy." And so the talk went on, pathos, sarcasm, philosophy, in quick succession, quaintly spoken. John T. Crisp talked for one hour in the White House library. A private citizen never had such an audience—the President of the United States and a United States senator, silent and interested.

**Of Missouri Coinage.**

"Something equally as good" became classic in the Harrison administration. The phrase was used many times in Washington. With every list of appointments sent to the Senate those who failed to get what they sought scattered and scurried for other places. And so went on unceasingly the hunt for "something equally as good." The phrase was a taking one. It lived long. The origin is not generally known. St. Louis had a solid republican delegation when Harrison took office. There was in progress the usual quadrennial distribution of the offices. The three St. Louis Congressmen met and agreed upon certain recommendations. The slate contained the name of Chauncey I. Filley. A letter was drafted containing the names of candidates and the places desired for them. It was sent to President Harrison. In it was the following line: "Chauncey I. Filley, for consul to Hankow, or something equally as good."

Within a week the phrase had been caught up and was traveling. It was not allowed to rest for years. The credit for the coinage was a triple affair. The three names signed to the letter were Nathan Frank, F. G. Niedringhaus and W. M. Kinsey. When Mr. Frank saw how much that phrase was doing to pro-

note the gaiety of politicians he smiled in a Mephistophelian way, but said nothing to deprive either of his colleagues of their share in the production of a good thing.

**How Missouri Secured a Secretaryship.**

Several days after Mr. Cleveland's first inauguration in 1885, Senator Vest went into the library at the White House. He was in no amiable frame of mind. The Spanish mission had been filled, but not by the selection of ex-Governor Reynolds, of Missouri. The German mission had been disposed of and Sir Charles Gibson, of Missouri, had not been remembered. Other big appointments were going to the Senate every day and Missourians were not on the list. The senator protested.

"We have received nothing, absolutely nothing," he said. And then after a rapid review of particulars in which Missouri had been ignored, Senator Vest added: "Even the little office of commissioner of agriculture, which we have asked for a citizen of our state who has been indorsed by agricultural interests all over the country, is not given to us."

That was before the commissionership of agriculture had been elevated to the dignity of a cabinet position. As the senator spoke, rapidly and rather vehemently, Mr. Cleveland listened thoughtfully. When Mr. Vest made his closing reference to the commissionership of agriculture, Mr. Cleveland looked down on his desk. There lay the nomination paper of George W. Glick, of Kansas, to be commissioner of agriculture. It awaited only the signature of the President before being sent to the Senate. After pondering on the grievance of the Missouri senator for a few minutes the President laid aside the intended nomination of Glick and directed that a fresh paper be made out with Norman J. Colman, of Missouri, as the nominee. That was the way Missouri beat Kansas out of a cabinet place. It was a fine illustration of the word in political season fitly spoken.

When Norman J. Colman learned that he had been selected by President Cleveland to head the department of agriculture he took it very modestly. He didn't begin to forecast policies in the new position but exclaimed: "What shall I do with my colts? They're just about ready to break."

"Bring 'em on and break 'em here, Governor," somebody unacquainted with Mr. Colman's extensive interests in Missouri suggested.

"What?" said Mr. Colman, "there are forty-one of them, all promising trotting stock."

The esteem in which secretary of agriculture Norman J. Colman was held by those who served under him in the first Cleveland administration was well illustrated by a letter he received from a Kansas woman, Carrie Blair Thompson, of political faith different from the secretary's:

"I lay down my duties as a clerk in government employ to assume a station to which every woman looks forward with happy anticipation, and under such circumstances words of regret must indeed seem strange, yet I only express my feelings when I say that it is with a keen sense of that emotion that I sign my name to a document which is to close our official relations.

"Your kindness at all times, your forbearance, your wisdom and your sympathy for all womankind, expressed in so many delicate ways, has made the department one united and happy household and has endeared you in the hearts of your subordinates. In leaving here

I feel as though going out from a happy family, and I resign duties which, because of your assistance, your counsel and your indulgence at all times, have been more than pleasant. My heart is full of gratitude to you for all your kindly acts, and though henceforth our paths in life are to be apart, I shall always revere your memory and look back with pleasure upon the happy days and hours which your noble heart has made possible. May health and prosperity be with you always."

**A Story on John W. Noble.**

Several months before the Harrison administration began Gen. John W. Noble wrote a letter to Major Warner, then a representative in Congress, stating that he thought Missouri was entitled to a place in the cabinet, and asking Warner if he would not like to have such a position. The latter replied that he had decided to retire from public life, in order to devote himself to his law practice. He also said that it would probably be best to adhere to this determination. Noble then wrote another letter to Warner, stating that no doubt the latter was right in refusing to accept a public position. Afterwards Mr. Noble, unexpectedly to himself, was made secretary of the interior. When he recalled the correspondence with Warner, he at once sat down and wrote to the major as follows:

"When I said you were perfectly right in keeping away from the house, I had no idea of courting the girl."

**Francis and the Cabinet.**

Few men have been boosted into cabinet place by active influences but many men have had good chances for appointment killed by the opposition of politicians. A President so independent as Mr. Cleveland showed that he was susceptible to that kind of negative pressure. He had made up his mind to appoint as secretary of the interior at the beginning of his administration David R. Francis. A telegraphed protest from three prominent Missouri democrats caused Mr. Cleveland to rub Mr. Francis' name off the slate. The time came when the President found among those most hostile to him in his party the three Missourians who had caused the rejection of Mr. Francis. Three years later, in the summer of 1896, Mr. Francis was asked to take the secretaryship of the interior. His term of office was not quite one year, but in that time he added millions of acres to the forest reserves and instituted reforms in the service which were ratified and continued in the McKinley administration.

**How Hitchcock Broke the Precedents.**

Ethan A. Hitchcock was one of the notable surprises of his generation in public life. In November, 1896, a group of Missouri Congressmen en route to Washington stopped over at Canton. Mr. McKinley was President-elect. Missouri democrats had, two years previously, in 1894, like Peter, "gone a-fishing." The congressional delegation was largely republican. These representatives from Missouri were on their way to Washington to serve the short session of what was for most of them their only term in Congress. They stopped at Canton to pay their respects to the President-elect. "Pay their respects," has covered more political devilment than any other phrase in the English language. Collectively the party asked Mr. McKinley to choose from Missouri a member for his cabinet, and individually the party blushed modestly. Mr. McKinley was kind. He talked pleasantly, as he always did, and encouragingly as he did not

always mean to do. But when the conversation reached particulars the President suddenly asked:

"Gentlemen! How would Mr. Hitchcock do?"

The Congressmen went on to Washington and immediately confided to a newspaper correspondent that Mr. McKinley was "considering Henry Hitchcock for a place in the cabinet." And the correspondent promptly wired to his paper. The next day came reflection. Henry Hitchcock had been during the Harrison administration very close to an appointment on the United States Supreme bench—so close in fact that for some days the Presidential mind had hesitated between the Missouri lawyer and another man. Decision in favor of the latter had been made only for the reason that he was a Federal judge and was from a republican state. It did not seem probable that Henry Hitchcock, whose tastes and qualifications so eminently fitted him for the Supreme bench, would be under consideration for a cabinet appointment. The members of the Missouri group who had called at Canton were seen and catechised. They were asked to repeat exactly what Mr. McKinley had said. They agreed that he had asked them:—

"How would Mr. Hitchcock do?"

Did the President-elect say Mr. Henry Hitchcock? No; they were quite sure he did not. Did he mention Mr. Hitchcock's first name at any time during the conversation? No; they could not recall that he did. But who else could he have had in mind but Henry Hitchcock? So questioned the Congressmen.

It was no special test of memory to recall that when Mr. McKinley, as chairman of the ways and means committee, was framing his famous tariff bill a few years before, he had sought information and advice from Ethan A. Hitchcock upon certain schedules. It was remembered that Mr. Hitchcock had spent some time in Washington helping Mr. McKinley, and that Mr. McKinley had expressed strongly his admiration of Mr. Hitchcock's clear-headed, business-like ways. Therefore the Washington dispatches a day later withdrew Mr. Henry Hitchcock from the cabinet possibility and substituted Mr. Ethan A. Hitchcock. Not until the correctness of this was confirmed from Canton did the Missouri Congressmen admit their misunderstanding.

But in the abundance of advice Mr. McKinley laid aside his earliest impressions and intentions which were his best. He constructed a cabinet from motives of political expediency, and it speedily fell to pieces. Mr. Ethan A. Hitchcock went to Russia as ambassador only to be recalled and put at the head of the department of the interior, when Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss, after a few months' trial of the duties, had given up in disgust.

Phenomenal is the word that describes the career of Mr. Hitchcock as a cabinet minister. He was secretary of the interior to two Presidents as dissimilar as any two men who have occupied the White House. He won the unreserved confidence and the unstinted commendation of both of them. He held one of the hardest places to fill in the Cabinet. He held it longer than any predecessor since the department was established.

**Switzler's Record.**

One of the notably successful officials in the first Cleveland administration was William F. Switzler of Missouri. He filled the position of chief of the bureau

of statistics. His predecessor, Mr. Nimmo, was retired because of what in those days was called "offensive partisanship." The Missourian made no such mistake.

Scores and scores of letters, asking information, came to the bureau during the campaign.

"Please send me the best figures you've got to sustain the democratic party on this question," was the way editors and orators wrote to Colonel Switzler, never doubting, apparently, that this campaign thunder would be forthcoming to order.

Colonel Switzler answered all of these letters scrupulously, but the form was the same.

"This bureau," he wrote, "has neither democratic nor republican statistics. The multiplication table is non-partisan."

President Cleveland's historic tariff reform message and Colonel Switzler's exhaustive report on the wool industry appeared almost simultaneously. This created much talk. The colonel had been at work and had had his agents at work for several months upon the investigation. He had made a wonderful collection of statistics and facts about wool-growing in the United States. He had traced analytically the relations between the tariff and the growth of this industry. The results he launched upon the public, as fortune would have it, just as the President confronted his condition and declared for free wool.

"I suppose hundreds of people have asked me if my wool industry report conflicts with the President's position," said the old statistician one day. "My answer to them is that I don't know whether it does or not. It is not my province to say. I am not here to draw deductions from, or build arguments upon, the statistics I collate. 'Hew to the line, and let the chips fall where they may' is the principle upon which I gather figures."

"Statisticians are born, not made," the gray-haired Missourian continued. "This work calls for peculiar aptitude. Some of the ablest men in Congress couldn't administer the business of this bureau. I don't suppose Senator Vest could fill my place three hours, and I expect he would tell you so if you asked him. Why? Simply because his mind does not run to figures and their meaning. The work doesn't call for ability so much as for a peculiar kind of mental action. To me figures are a delight, and always have been. I can see poetry in a statistical table which covers the broadside of a page. I go down and up columns of figures with the absorbing interest a philosopher pores over a treatise on his specialty. There is no novel so fascinating to me as a statistical report. I love figures."

**A Missourian and Parcel Post.**

In the first Cleveland administration, a Missourian put into effect a new feature of the postal system which was of far-reaching consequence. Nicholas M. Bell was superintendent of foreign mails. He was a guest at the White House on Thanksgiving day, 1886. Postmaster General Vilas was there. It was a gathering of three. Following the dinner President Cleveland made conversation by asking the Missourian, "How are matters going with you, Mr. Bell?" The administration was only a year and a half old. If the Missourian had been the usual courtier, he would have answered in the usual congratulatory words; but he said, after the frank Missouri manner, "Everything would move off well, if only

this administration had a postmaster general who was worth the powder it would take to blow him up." The President looked interested. The Missourian's boss looked amused as he turned the matter aside with, "Why, what is the matter, Nick? Have you still got that Mexican parcel post on your mind?"

The President put in an inquiry for information. And the Missourian told a story, a true story. He had been promoting the plan of making the North American continent one postal territory to the extent that two cents should carry a letter between all points in the United States, Mexico and Canada. In obtaining ratification of the necessary treaty, he had visited the City of Mexico. There was little or no difficulty about arranging this international agreement on letter mail. But on the way home, Mr. Bell had stopped off at Chihuahua where a Mr. Shepherd had shown him some courtesies; and when the Missourian had asked if there wasn't something he could do for him in the states, this Mr. Shepherd had said that if it wasn't too much trouble he would like to have Mr. Bell send him a Stetson hat. Of course the Missourian said he would. But when it came to sending the hat, Mr. Bell discovered that such were the tariff and other regulations of international commerce between the two countries, it would cost $20 to get the five dollar hat on Mr. Shepherd's head. Superintendent Bell went to the then Mexican minister, Mr. Romero, who at once agreed that a parcel post treaty between the two countries was highly desirable. And with the promise of Mr. Romero's co-operation, Mr. Bell set to work on the preparation of the treaty and kept at it two months. But when the finished treaty was laid before the postmaster general it stopped there, not through any special objection to it but because other matters seemed more important, probably.

President Cleveland heard the story through and then asked Mr. Vilas what objection there was to the treaty. "As a matter of fact," said the postmaster general, "I have never had the treaty adequately explained to me before." "Bring the draft of the treaty to the White House tomorrow," said the President. Approval was prompt, so that on the 4th of April, 1887, mail order trade between the United States and Mexico was opened. Before the downfall of the Diaz regime in Mexico, that trade by parcel post with Mexico was estimated to be worth $1,000,000 a year to St. Louis alone. The Missourian's word in season at the White House that Thanksgiving day started the series of parcel post treaties which today enables the United States to carry on trade by parcel post with pretty much all of the rest of the world.

**Missouri Etiquette.**

"Don't bring in any more cards," said Comptroller Mansur to the colored messenger at the door of his office in the Treasury. "If people want to see me tell 'em to come right in. That's what I'm here for."

And having introduced Missouri etiquette in one corridor of the big financial hive the burly ex-Congressman entered upon his duties.

The latch-string was always out. Sometimes visitors found the second comptroller in his shirt-sleeves, and sometimes they found him with his coat on, but under all circumstances he was accessible without formalities.

**Vest on the Hampton Roads Conference.**

One of the most impressive utterances by Senator Vest was made near the close of his career. It was based upon the personal information of Mr. Vest and it put to rest a story of the Civil war which has had much circulation. Senator Tillman of South Carolina had repeated in the Senate this account of the historic conference at Hampton Roads in 1864 when President Lincoln, accompanied by Secretary Seward, met several high representatives of the Confederate government. According to the story which Senator Tillman revived, Mr. Lincoln wrote on a piece of paper the words "Save the Union" and handed the paper to Alexander H. Stephens, vice-president of the Confederate government, saying, "Alexander, take this paper and fill up for yourselves the conditions of peace." This story Senator Vest told the Senate he knew to be without foundation. He said: "If true it would place the government and officers of the Confederate states in the category of criminals, because it offered the Confederacy all it ever demanded in the wildest hope of the most extreme partisans of that cause if they would only return to the Union. If true, it would mean that the Confederates could have placed on that sheet of paper the perpetual establishment of slavery and the right of secession, the most extreme demand that had ever taken locality even in the dream of any Confederate."

Senator Vest went on to tell the Senate what took place at the conference as he had received the particulars from Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hunter after their return to Richmond.

"I am today," Senator Vest said, "the only surviving one of the twenty-six gentlemen who acted as Confederate senators."

Mr. Lincoln, Senator Vest said, opened the conference by asking: "In the first place, gentlemen, I desire to know what are your powers and instructions from the Richmond government." Mr. Hunter told Senator Vest that Mr. Lincoln avoided the expression "Confederate states." Mr. Hunter replied to President Lincoln, "Mr. President, we are instructed to consider no proposition that does not involve the independence of the Confederate States of America."

Mr. Lincoln ended the conference by saying: "Then the interview had as well terminate now, for I must say to you gentlemen frankly and honestly that nothing will be accepted from the government at Richmond except absolute and unconditional surrender."

As the Confederates retired, President Lincoln said to Mr. Stephens, as Senator Vest was told, "Stephens, you are making a great mistake. Your government is a failure, and when the crash comes as it soon must come, there will be chaos and disasters which we cannot now foresee, which must come to your people."

Senator Vest said "this account of that interview, substantially and almost word for word as I have given it, came to me from Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hunter."

Senator Vest said he made this statement to the Senate from a sense of duty, that history might not be falsified. If Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hunter, the senator added, "had refused what was said to have been tendered to them by the President, they would have been accessories to the murder of every man who fell from that time in defense of the Confederate cause, and they would have given the

lie to the intentions which they professed when they risked everything that is held dear among men in defense of the Confederate cause." With the close attention of every member of the Senate present, Vest concluded:

"It may be but a very short time until I shall join the twenty-five colleagues I had in the Confederate Senate, and I did not want this statement to go into the record of this country without my statement of these facts and my solemn denial that there is a shadow of truth in this assertion which has been going the rounds of the newspapers of the country for the last few years."

**Missouri's Two Cabinet Places in 1920.**

When the cabinet was enlarged by the addition of a secretary of commerce and labor, President Taft called a Missourian to organize and make efficient the new department. The idea of an independent department of the government devoted to commerce was not new. It had been advocated years earlier by Nathan Frank, of Missouri, as the conclusion drawn from his experience in Congress and in commercial law. Before Secretary Nagel had completed his four years in the Taft cabinet he realized that a national organization of the commercial interests of the country was highly advisable to make the department all that it should be for the country. Going to Boston on an invitation to address the chamber of commerce of that city, Secretary Nagel presented his plan for a national chamber of commerce. There had been previous efforts, not eminently successful, at national trade organization but the Nagel plan aimed directly at cooperation between the national body he proposed and the departments of the government, especially the one which he was building up. He showed the Boston business men by illustrations the opportunity which was open for such an organization holding close relations with the government at Washington. As the plan was made plain to them the members of the Boston chamber arose and waved their napkins and cheered with enthusiasm. Secretary Nagel received such encouragement that in April, 1912, he called a meeting out of which was organized the national chamber of commerce, which became a great force for good in the years of the World war.

Under President Wilson, Missouri had the distinction of contributing two members of the cabinet. At the opening of Mr. Wilson's first term, Dr. David F. Houston, chancellor of Washington University, was made secretary of agriculture, becoming later secretary of the treasury. Near the close of his second term, President Wilson called to the cabinet, Joshua W. Alexander, of Missouri, to be secretary of commerce. Mr. Alexander at the time was serving in the House of Representatives from the Third Missouri district and had made a notable record as the chairman of a committee having to do largely with legislation along commercial lines. Six months before the end of his second term he appointed as secretary of state, Bainbridge Colby, born and educated in Missouri, but later a citizen of New York.

## CHAPTER XXXV

## MISSOURI IN CONGRESS

*Benton Line and Barton Line—Nullification Issue—High Places in Benton's Career—Defense of Jackson—Expunging Resolution—The Great Salt Speech—Conservation Policies—Clay's Conversion—The Feud with Webster—A Political Suicide—Galusha Grow on Benton—Linn, Father of Oregon and Model Senator—Geyer's Senatorial Career—Atchison's Difficult Position—Blair's First Term—Barrett-Blair Contest—Thirty-Nine Days for Shields—Bland and "the Crime of '73"—Champion of the People—Byars' Estimate of the Missouri Commoner—Missouri and the Speakership—Why Phelps was Put Aside—Admission of Oregon—Hatch Denied the Solid Delegation—Champ Clark's Distinction—The Patronage Certificate of 1885—"Pub. Docs."—Champ Clark and the New Member—Vest's Scathing Rebuke of Presidential Interference—Martin L. Clardy's Discovery—Advice to Young Men—Drafts on a Congressman—Morgan's Tariff Problem—The Lead and Zinc Issue—Vest on Missouri Industries—The Cockrell Brothers—Missouri's Tidal Wave of 1894—Dockery's Monument—Bartholdt's Exceptional Career—The Torrey Act—Cockrell's Arraignment of Cleveland—Cobb, a Favorite at the White House—Tarsney and the Lobbyist—Reed and Missouri Precedents—Stone's Public Life without Parallel—"The Unfortunate Senatorial Line."*

**From that time his life was in the public eye and the bare enumeration of the measures of which he was the author and the prime mover would be almost a history of Congress legislation. The enumeration is unnecessary here, the long list is known throughout the length and breadth of the land—repeated with the familiarity of household words from the great cities on the seaboard to the lonely cabins on the frontier—and studied by the little boys, who feel an honorable ambition beginning to stir within their bosoms and a laudable desire to learn something of the history of their country.—*Benton in His Autobiographical Notes on His Own Career.***

Missouri has had only twenty-six United States senators and Missouri is closing the tenth decade of her statehood. Several historical facts distinguish Missouri in the United States Senate. Missouri was the first state to send a senator five terms in succession. A generation later, Francis Marion Cockrell duplicated this extraordinary service. At the memorial exercises for William J. Stone, Speaker Clark said: "An examination of the dates at which Missourians entered and left the Senate will disclose two curious facts in Missouri history. She is the first state that elected two men for five full consecutive terms to the Senate of the United States—'six Roman lustrums,' as Benton was wont to boast in his pompous way. These were Benton and Cockrell. The only other state to do that was Maine, Missouri's twin." Cockrell was in what Champ Clark called "The Benton Line" of Missouri senators.

The Barton Line began with the two terms of David Barton. Then in succession came Alexander Buckner, Lewis F. Linn, David R. Atchison, James S.

Green, Waldo P. Johnson, Robert Wilson, B. Gratz Brown, Charles D. Drake, Daniel R. Jewett, Francis P. Blair, Lewis V. Bogy, David H. Armstrong, James Shields, George G. Vest, William J. Stone, Xenophon P. Wilfley, Selden P. Spencer—18.

In the Benton line only eight Missourians have been elected—Thomas H. Benton, Henry S. Geyer, Trusten Polk, John B. Henderson, Carl Schurz, Francis Marion Cockrell, William Warner and James A. Reed.

Politically the Missouri senators divide as sixteen democrats, one whig and seven republicans. The years of senatorial service have been six for the whigs, thirty for the republicans and 160½ for the democrats. During eighteen months in the fifties Missouri had only one senator, owing to the deadlock in the general assembly.

The succession to Barton came to be known in Missouri political history as "the unfortunate senatorial line." That was because for a long time the successive holders of it were limited to short periods compared with Benton's thirty years. Vest broke the record in respect to service in this line. Stone followed with a hold on the line broken only by his death. He was one of only two Missouri governors who, after serving the state at Jefferson City, reached the United States Senate. The other was Trusten Polk; but, in the case of the latter, election to the Senate followed quickly on inauguration as governor. In Stone's case there was a gap of sixty years between the term at Jefferson City and the senatorship. Stone was the only Missourian to serve in both branches of Congress and also as governor.

**Benton's Early Prominence.**

Senator Benton became almost immediately a national figure. He took position on the Oregon question, arguing that the United States should occupy and hold all of the territory in dispute. He was for war if necessary to establish the boundary where the United States claimed it belonged. He offered to take 10,000 Missourians and settle the trouble in sixty days.

Benton was the original conservationist of the West. He wanted the great Indian reservations cut down and the land opened to white settlement. Under the prevailing policy of the government, public lands were sold to the highest bidder and were passing into possession of speculators. To Benton's influence was due largely the change in policy which provided that the land be sold at $1.25 an acre to actual settlers.

Missouri was deeply interested in trade over the Santa Fe trail. Benton pushed through the act which made the trail a national highway and committed the government to the defense of it with soldiers.

Benton pushed his bills to change the land laws in the interest of the actual settler in Congress after Congress. He not only made speeches in the Senate, but he had those speeches printed in newspapers throughout the West. He went on the stump to advocate his land policy. States which had public lands adopted Benton's ideas. President Jackson and President Van Buren recommended in their messages the legislation Benton championed. Gradually step by step were brought about the pre-emption and the homestead privileges for which Benton pioneered the way.

DAVID H. ARMSTRONG
United States senator

ERASTUS WELLS
Member of Congress

TRUSTEN POLK
United States senator

**The High Places in Benton's Career.**

Senator Vest, who studied Benton as perhaps no other public man has done, said:

"In 1828 came a great parliamentary contest in which Benton bore conspicuous part. Mr. Calhoun then advanced his idea of nullification by a state of Federal legislation when the people of that state believed the enactment of such legislation was absolutely destructive of their best interests. Slavery was not involved in that contest. It was a quesion of tariff taxation. Calhoun argued with great ability that a state could remain in the Union and yet nullify an act of the Federal Congress which even the Supreme Court decided to be constitutional.

"I have always regarded Mr. Calhoun as one of the greatest analytical disputants this or any other country has ever produced. I have studied his works; but I was never able to appreciate his argument in favor of nullification. Jackson, who was then President, looked upon it as absolute treason, and declared that if Calhoun attempted to carry it out he would hang him as high as Haman. Clay and Webster stood by the side of Benton in defending the position taken by Jackson, and although there was a compromise without armed conflict between South Carolina and the general government, I have no doubt that the nullification contest of 1828 influenced all the subsequent career of Colonel Benton, and the opinions he then formed were responsible for his final political overthrow in Missouri.

"Colonel Benton, above all men—I will not say above all men, but certainly without any superior in the regard I am about to mention—loved the Union. It colored and influenced all his life, and he firmly believed that Mr. Calhoun was a traitor and had then inaugurated or attempted to inaugurate a scheme to establish a southern confederacy based upon the institution of African slavery. Notwithstanding many acrimonious debates, he renewed his friendship with Webster and Clay, but never forgave Mr. Calhoun. I heard him in 1856, when a candidate for governor of Missouri, declare emphatically in a public address that if he had been President in 1828, instead of threatening to hang Calhoun, he would have hanged him on the eastern exposure of the Capitol, and appealed to the people of the United States to vindicate his action."

**The Expunging Resolution.**

"A few years after the nullification struggle came the great conflict over the old United States bank, when Jackson, with his usual impetuosity and self-will, took the institution out of the hands of Nicholas Biddle and removed the deposits. Whether he had a right to do that, or not, which I do not care to discuss, because it is ancient history, Jackson believed that he was doing his duty, and the people of the United States by a large majority vindicated his action. Clay, Calhoun and Webster attacked the Administration on account of the removal of the bank deposits, and Benton, single-handed and alone, fought that great triumvirate day after day in the Senate of the United States until the resolution of censure was passed against Jackson.

"Ordinary men would then have given up the conflict, but not so with Thomas H. Benton. With him the battle had just commenced. After a short pause he introduced his resolution to expunge the resolution of censure from the records of the Senate. The last night of the terrible struggle, the most remarkable in our parliamentary history, and which took place in what is now the room of the Supreme Court, was signalized by many dramatic incidents. Benton said, and I have no doubt believed, that he was to be assassinated upon that night from the gallery, and he stood in the chamber throwing open his coat and vest, and daring the bank robbers to attack him.

"Then, as now, the Senate of the United States had no previous question, and the matter could be determined only by a war of exhaustion physically. Benton stocked the committee rooms with provisions and liquors so that starvation might not weaken his forces. And, singularly enough, after succeeding in expunging the hated resolution, Benton regarded that as the great triumph of his life. He never spoke afterwards before the people of Missouri without declaring that, single-handed and alone, Benton put this ball in motion. As a matter of practical and material legislation it amounted to nothing. As a personal triumph Colonel Benton regarded it as the crowning glory of his long and able public career."

**Benton's Great Salt Speech.**

Very early, salt became an issue in Missouri. Benton's "salt speech" was his first great hit with his constituents. He made open war in the Senate upon the salt tax. The government had imposed a duty of twenty cents on a bushel of fifty-six pounds. This was to encourage an eastern industry. Benton investigated, after his thorough-going habit, the manufacture of salt. He told all about it. He assailed the tax as fostering a monopoly largely at the expense of his constituents. He kept up the fight until in 1846 salt was put on the free list. Elihu H. Shepard, in his early History of St. Louis and Missouri tells at length of the importance which was attached to this speech of Benton:

"The year 1830 was rendered remarkable for the general enlightenment of the people of Missouri in regard to the quality of the different kinds of salt they were in the daily use of, and the immense burden that they and all the people of the western and southern states had long been subject to, without understanding the disadvantages under which they labored or knowing the weight of the burden they bore.

"In the settlement of the western states, the first and great desideratum was a supply of good, wholesome salt, and necessity compelled them at an early day to manufacture it from fountains, more or less impregnated with other deleterious substances, and to use it for a long period before a good article could be procured elsewhere.

"At length, with the improvements of the age, the article became plentiful at our great seaports, but covetous rulers had watched its charms, and had seized it as one of the most available objects from which to collect a large revenue, and imposed a tax on it of over two hundred per centum on its cost, and continued it fifteen years in time of peace, until the people had despaired of relief and nearly forgotten the burden they bore, when they were entirely relieved of it by one of their senators. Missouri now, only in the tenth year of her age, had become celebrated by the wisdom and perseverance of her senators, who were, at that early day, listened to as oracles in the Senate, and one indeed seemed at a later period to have been inspired; and the people had become enlightened as to the weight of the burdens they bore. But as to the qualities and cost of the salt they then used, experiments, science and interest had but partially informed them of the disadvantages under which they were then laboring, and from which there seemed little prospect of relief.

"The products of the western states were then just beginning to make their appearance in the markets of the world, and their qualities were examined and their defects exposed in all their bearings. The immense swine crops of the western states required such a vast amount of salt for their preservation that its importance as a subject of taxation could not escape the observation of all whose duty it was to frame laws for the people; and that it should have been permitted to burden the pioneers and settlers of the infant states such a length of time under the eyes of such men as then controlled the tariff is one of those inexplicable blunders from which posterity may profit by avoiding, but will gain nothing by discussing at this late day or charging upon the selfish actions of those who permitted it.

"The speech of Senator Benton on the salt tax, however, forms a part of the history of Missouri, although delivered in the senate chamber at Washington, as it enlightened the people of Missouri in regard to the quality, value and uses of the different kinds of salt in our markets, and added much to that knowledge which has elevated the character of Missouri meats in all markets where they are exposed for sale."

**Benton's Land Policy.**

Upon the subject of disposal of public lands, Senator Benton once said:

"The example of all nations, ancient and modern, republican and monarchial, is in favor of giving lands in parcels suitable to their wants to meritorious cultivators. There

is not an instance upon earth, except that of our Federal government, which made merchandise of land to its own citizens, exacted the highest price it could obtain, and refused to suffer the country to be settled until it could be paid for. The promised land was divided among the children of Israel. All the Atlantic states, when British colonies, were settled upon gratuitous donations or nominal sales. Kentucky and Tennessee were chiefly settled in the same way. The two Floridas and Upper and Lower Louisiana were gratuitously distributed by the kings of Spain to settlers, in quantities adapted to their means of cultivation, and with the whole vacant domain to select from, according to their pleasure. Mr. Burke, in his great argument in the British parliament upon the sale of the crown lands, said he considered the revenue derived from the sale of such lands as a trifle of no account compared to the amount of revenue derivable from the same lands through their settlement and cultivation."

**Benton's Persuasiveness in Argument.**

The United States Democratic Review for 1858 quoted a United States senator on the effectiveness of Benton's speeches. A subject of considerable interest had been under discussion by the Senate several days. At the commencement of the debate, Senator Clay spoke against the proposition. Near the close of the discussion, Senator Benton took the floor and held it nearly an hour. He devoted most of his argument to answering Clay. When the vote was taken Mr. Clay surprised the Senate by voting for the bill against which he had spoken, and secured its passage. He stated frankly that he had changed his mind and had voted against his previous position because he "could not help it." He explained that Benton's speech had convinced him he was wrong in his original view of the question, adding he had received an impression from what Benton had said that he could hardly explain. The effect was not so much the reasoning of Benton as the effect produced by Benton's convincing manner of presenting the subject. Clay did not venture to analyze this peculiar influence but said that he felt it to the degree that it changed his first intention to vote against the bill.

Congressman James T. Lloyd of Missouri, who unearthed this singular reminiscence, said that Webster was on record as having spoken in a like manner of the effect of Benton's speeches upon him. Mr. Lloyd has given another view of Benton which is very interesting:

"Mr. Webster is reported in Harvey's Reminiscences and Anecdotes to have said that Colonel Benton and he never spoke to each other for several years, but that he came to him one day and told him, with tears in his eyes, of being on board the Princeton in the very best position to see the experiment of discharging her guns. Some one in the great throng touched him and caused him to move his position. Shortly after the explosion occurred and the man was killed who stood where he had. Colonel Benton said that it seemed to him that the touch was the hand of the Almighty stretched down to draw him away from the place of instantaneous death. This circumstance changed the whole current of his life. He was now a different man and wanted to be at peace with every one, and for that purpose he visited Webster. He said, 'Let us bury the hatchet.' Webster accepted the offer and they were ever afterwards the best of friends.

**The John Wilson Incident.**

"John Wilson, of Missouri, came to see Mr. Webster on a matter of business at his home in Washington. Mr. Wilson was a lawyer of extensive practice and of good talent, a man of violent prejudices and temper, who was ever in open opposition to the course of Colonel Benton. It was notorious that when Colonel Benton went on the stump John

Wilson would be there to meet him and to abuse him in the strongest terms. Mr. Benton would return the fire.

"Mr. Webster had not seen Mr. Wilson for many years, but he came to him now prematurely old, with fortune wrecked, and told him of his desire to emigrate to California for his family's sake. As far as he was concerned, poverty mattered not, but on account of those dear to him he wished to try to mend his fortunes. He therefore desired a letter to some one in California which would say that Webster knew him to be a respectable person worthy of confidence. Webster said he knew no one in California.

"Mr. Wilson insisted that this would make no difference, as everybody would know him and that therefore a certificate from him would be the most valuable testimonial he could have. Mr. Webster said he would write one with pleasure, but suggested that Colonel Benton, 'who almost owns California,' could give a letter to Fremont and others that would be of great benefit to him. Wilson looked at Webster in astonishment and said he would not speak to Benton, 'No, not if it were to save the life of every member of my family,' that the thought of it made him shudder; that he felt indignant at its mention, since Webster knew that they were unfriendly. Mr. Webster replied that he understood the situation, and, turning to his desk, wrote the following note to Mr. Benton:

"'Dear sir: I am well aware of the disputes, personal and political, which have taken place between yourself and the bearer of this note, Mr. John Wilson. But he is now old and is going to California and needs a letter of recommendation. You know everybody and a letter from you would do him good. I have assured Mr. Wilson that it would give you more pleasure to forget what has passed between you and him and to give him a letter which would do him good than it will him to receive it. I am going to persuade him to carry you this note.'

"Webster then read the note to Wilson who promptly refused to carry it. After long and determined persistence on Webster's part, Wilson softened down and agreed to leave the letter at the door. He told Webster afterwards that he took the note and delivered it, with his card, to Benton's servant at the door, and rushed to his apartments. To his great astonishment, in a very few moments a note arrived from Colonel Benton acknowledging the receipt of the card and note, and stating that Mrs. Benton and he would have much pleasure in receiving Mr. Wilson at breakfast at nine o'clock next morning. They would wait breakfast for him and no answer was expected. Wilson told Webster afterwards that it so worried him that he lay awake that night thinking of it, and in the morning felt as a man with a sentence of death passed upon him, who had been called by the turnkey to his last breakfast.

"Making his toilet, with great hesitation he went to Colonel Benton's house. He rang the doorbell, but instead of the servant the colonel himself came to the door. Taking Wilson cordially by both hands, he said: 'Wilson, I am delighted to see you; this is the happiest meeting I have had for twenty years. Webster has done the kindest thing he ever did in his life.' Proceeding at once to the dining room, he was presented to Mrs. Benton, and after a few kind words, Benton remarked: 'You and I, Wilson, have been quarreling on the stump for twenty-five years. We have been calling each other hard names, but really with no want of mutual respect and confidence. It has been a foolish political fight, and let's wipe it out of mind. Everything that I have said about you I ask pardon for.' Wilson said they both cried, he asked Benton's pardon, and they were good friends. Colonel Benton had meantime prepared a number of letters to persons whom he knew in California, in which he commanded them to show Mr. Wilson every favor within their power."

## Vest on Benton's "Political Suicide."

Of what has been called "the political suicide of Benton," Senator Vest said:

"The question of slavery had remained not in a quiescent attitude, but not the foremost question in the politics of the day until after the Mexican war, when Texas applied for admission to the Union as a slave state. Colonel Benton opposed the admission

of Texas and it sounded the knell of his fate in Missouri. A young, ambitious, and able coterie of politicians had grown up in Missouri while Benton during thirty or nearly thirty years had labored in Washington. His manners were not such as to make him popular. He was aggressive and almost insulting to men who differed with him. To give a single instance of his manner of meeting the people: In one of the counties of my old circuit when I first commenced practicing law was a most excellent, learned and modest man, not a politician, an old Virginian of moderate estate, a gentleman of culture, and a democrat beyond question, who had supported Colonel Benton for more than twenty-five years. He saw proper to express his disapproval of Colonel Benton's course in regard to the admission of Texas. After speaking at the county town, and when the crowd came forward, as is the custom today, to shake hands with an eminent speaker, this gentleman, after the press of the crowd had disappeared, advanced and in old Virginia style extended his hand and saluted Colonel Benton. In the presence of the crowd, who had not yet dispersed, Benton looked at him from head to foot without a single evidence of recognition. This gentleman bowing, said: 'You possibily have forgotten me, Colonel Benton; I am Mr. .....' Drawing himself up to his full height, Benton replied in a tone that could be heard in every part of the building, 'Sir, Benton once knew a man by that name, but he is dead; yes, sir, he is dead.' And so he went into every county in the state, denouncing every man by name who dared to oppose his political action.

"'As a matter of course, there could be but one way of determining an issue between Colonel Benton and those who differed with him; he made no compromise; he asked none. Every citizen must either agree with him or be ranked as his personal and political enemy. It was his nature and he could no more change it than he could change the color of his hair and eyes.

"'Colonel Benton was assailed by his enemies because he had advocated the admission of Missouri as a slave state and then opposed the admission of Texas as a slave state. His reply was imperfect and not satisfactory. He said he was opposed to the extension of slavery; that slavery existed in the Louisiana Purchase when Jefferson bought it from France, but that slavery had not existed on the soil of Mexico, and therefore Texas should not come in as a slave state.

"'Colonel Benton advocated the Missouri Compromise, which accompanied the admission of Missouri into the Union. That compromise directly declared that slavery should not exist north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, but if it meant anything it suggested that a state south of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, could be admitted into the Union as a slave state if the people so desired. Colonel Benton was accused by his enemies of being selfishly prompted when Missouri was admitted, because he expected to be a United States senator. It had its weight with a large number of people in Missouri, but for myself I never believed the charge to be true, because of all the public men I have ever known Thomas H. Benton considered less than any other the political effect upon himself.

"'He opposed the admission of Texas, as I believed then and believe now, because he thought it was a part of Calhoun's scheme to dissolve the Union. Never after the nullification fight of 1828 did Benton waver in his opinion that there was a conspiracy to break up the Union and establish a southern confederacy upon the basis of slavery.

"'No man who ever existed in the public life of this country more completely and apparently committed suicide than Thomas H. Benton. He knew as well as, or better than any other man what the prejudice and opinions of the people of Missouri were on the subject of slavery, and their sympathy with their brethren from the southern states that had gone to Texas, thrown off the yoke, and established an independent state.

"'But more than this, he knew there was not a family in Western Missouri that had not lost father, brother, husband, or son upon the Santa Fe Trail, fighting those murderous savages who attacked every trapper and every caravan too small to resist them, and that the people of Missouri firmly believed that the Mexicans had incited the Indians to make these attacks. It was well known that the merchants of Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Tamaulipas, and the other northern Mexican states objected to the trade between Missouri and New Mexico. It was extremely lucrative to these Mexican merchants to have a monopoly of the sale of goods to their own people, and whenever any of these murderous

Indians were made prisoners by the Missourians there were always found amongst them Mexicans dressed like the Indians, appealing to their passions and prejudices and leading them on to these terrible outrages.

"Colonel Benton, knowing all these things, did not hesitate. The legislature of Missouri passed resolutions censuring his course on the Texas question, and declaring Missouri would share the fate of her southern brethren. The challenge was promptly accepted. Benton came back from Washington, canvassed the state in a vitriolic campaign, such as has never been known. If any man amongst his opponents had a weak place in his armor, Benton found it out and assailed him by name. That he lived through this canvass was a miracle, for the men of the frontier were quick to avenge an insult or a wrong, and there was not a speech made by him in which drawn pistols and knives were not brandished in his face. His personal fearlessness saved his life, for if there was one quality more prized than another upon the frontier it was insensibility to personal danger.

"Benton was defeated in his appeal to the people in 1849, and Henry S. Geyer, a prominent whig lawyer of St. Louis, was elected to succeed him in the Senate by a fusion of the whigs and anti-Benton democrats."

**Benton a Friend of Young Men.**

The late Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was one of the young members of Congress as Benton's career was nearing its close. Be it remembered Mr. Benton was "a great friend of young men." He said, "My acquaintance with him was perhaps as intimate as any public man I had ever known." Speaking of his own relations with Mr. Benton as illustrating the latter's interest in young men, Mr. Grow said, in 1897, in some personal recollections of public life:

"After Benton retired from Congress, and while he was engaged on his condensation of Congressional debates, he sent for me one day and asked that, as I had to pass his house on my way from my lodgings to the Capitol, I would drop in daily and tell him what was going on in Congress. I did so for a long time, and so enjoyed many pleasant chats with him, which are among the most delightful recollections of my life.

"On one occasion, I remember, while the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was under discussion, I asked him how he thought General Cass, then a senator from Michigan, would vote on the question. Cass had employed some one to look up the record of his former votes on the slavery question in order to vote consistently, and Benton, who had known him for many years, held him in contempt as a dodger. 'General Cass, sir,' said he, in answer to my question, 'don't know how he will vote on the repeal. He is a man who is very easily seduced. It is very fortunate for General Cass, sir,' this after a moment's thought, 'that he was not born a woman. If he had been he would have been without a character before he was sixteen years old, sir.' At another time we were talking of Senator Douglas' position on the slavery question, and Benton said: 'They say Douglas is leading the democracy off; but, sir, it is the democracy that is leading Douglas off. He would go to hell, sir, if the majority were going there.'

"Benton's industry was indefatigable, his views of public service were of the most exalted character. So carefully did he guard against charges of favoritism and nepotism that during his more than thirty years in office he never allowed a relative to accept an appointment, and in 1856, although John C. Fremont, the republican candidate for President, was his son-in-law, he zealously supported James Buchanan, because he believed him best fitted for the office.

"Benton until his death was a firm friend of the Union, a democrat of the school of Jefferson and Jackson, bold and aggressive in the support of his convictions, a stout friend and a good hater. He was a very vain man, but his vanity was never offensive, and during his term in the House his seat was always the center of attraction for the other members."

Benton, as he was when doing newspaper work and practicing law, before the beginning of his senatorial career, was described by a contemporary: "He

is acute, labored, florid, rather sophomorical, but a man of strong sense. There flashes 'strange fire' from his eye, and all that he does 'smells of the lamp.' "

**Benton's Literary Work.**

Lucien Carr in his "Missouri, a Bone of Contention" said that Benton's literary work "is, after all, the foundation upon which his claims to remembrance must rest.

"As a senator and in matters of national concern he was overshadowed by some of his compeers; and in bringing forward and advocating measures like the bills to repeal the salt tax, to graduate the price of the public lands, and, perhaps, some others that were of special service to the state and section, and which could hardly have been carried without his support, he cannot justly be credited with originality, since he was but following in paths that were by no means new. The one measure which may be said to have been peculiarly his own, and upon which he certainly prided himself, was the Expunging Resolution, as it was called; and this, to say the least, was a piece of child's play, unworthy of Benton, and beneath the consideration of any deliberative body that aimed at official dignity."

**Benton's Sense of Honor.**

Of Benton's high sense of official honor, Stephen B. Elkins, himself a native of Missouri, said:

"When elected to the Senate he was the leading lawyer of St. Louis, and engaged in the heaviest litigation in the state, notably that growing out of the public lands and grants of land made by France, which was the most important and paid the best fees. After his election to the Senate he called his clients together and gave up all his land cases, stating that their interests might conflict with those of the general government and his duty as a senator. He did this when to have continued as attorney would have made him a rich man for those times. He not only gave up these cases, but refused to name any lawyer to take charge of them. He was so sensitive in the discharge of his public duties that he would not appoint a relative to office, no matter how great his merit and qualifications. No American statesman ever advocated and proposed so many public measures that were beneficial and affected the welfare and destiny of the whole country as Benton."

**Linn, the Father of Oregon.**

"The magnificent valley of the Mississippi is ours, with all its fountain springs and floods, and woe to the statesman who shall undertake to surrender one drop of its water or one inch of its soil to any foreign power." This was Benton's defiance to Great Britain in the Oregon controversy. His colleague, Senator Linn, was conspicuous in urging that the Oregon country be colonized and that it be held with force if necessary as far north as 54:40. Between sessions of Congress, Benton, at his home in St. Louis, gathered all possible information about the Northwest. He invited the fur traders, the Indian agents and the army officers to his house and made himself their friend while he drew from them facts and impressions about the disputed territory. When he returned to Congress he was prepared to discuss the Oregon boundary question and to back up the efforts of his colleague.

"The Father of Oregon," was the title bestowed upon Dr. Lewis Fields Linn. Senator Silas Wright of New York once said that Dr. Linn "most certainly possessed more popularity than any other member of Congress." Dr. Linn

turned this popularity to account in the Oregon question. As early as the 7th of February, 1838, he introduced a bill authorizing American occupation of the Columbia river and establishing Oregon territory. The bill carried an appropriation of $50,000. It was referred to a select committee of which Dr. Linn was made the chairman. William F. Switzler said:

"Assigned to leadership by the Senate on this important matter, Dr. Linn addressed himself with great industry and marked success to collecting information for his report. This was made on June 6, 1838, and it was an exhaustive and statesmanlike document. The bill, however, did not pass at that session. At the next session of Congress, and on December 11, 1838, he reintroduced it, and it was again referred to a special committee—Lewis F. Linn (chairman), John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, R. J. Walker and Franklin Pierce. Although confronted by many difficulties and much opposition, Dr. Linn in Congress after Congress pressed this subject upon the attention of the Senate, and during the time made three able and exhaustive speeches, the longest of his career, in support of his bill. It was not passed by the Senate, however, until February 6, 1843, and then by only two majority—yeas, 24; nays, 22. Thus, after a struggle of five years, commencing February 7, 1838, when he first brought the subject to the attention of the Senate, his persevering efforts were crowned at last with partial success. But he did not live to witness its complete accomplishment. Oregon was made a territory August 12, 1849, and was admitted as a state February 14, 1859."

**The Model Senator.**

At the mass meeting held by Missourians at St. Louis to pay tribute to the life of Dr. Linn, Senator Benton said: "But how can I omit the last great act, as yet unfinished, in which his whole soul was engaged at the time of his death? The bill for the settlement and occupation of Oregon was his, and he carried it through the Senate when his colleague, who now addresses you, couldn't have done it. It was the measure of a statesman. Just to the settler, it was wise to the government. Alas, that he should not have been spared to put the finishing hand to a measure which was to reward the emigrant, to protect his country, to curb England and to connect his own name with the foundation of an empire. But it is done. The unfinished work will go on; it will be completed and the name of Linn will not be forgotten; that name will live and be connected with Oregon while its banks bear a plant or its waters roll a wave."

Dr. Linn was called "the model senator." He was the handsomest Missourian of his day, according to his friends. His manners were considered perfect. The impression which he made upon his fellow senators at Washington is illustrated by the story told that when Senator Linn arose one time in the Senate with a roll of bills which he wished to present, Senator Buchanan interrupted with, "Doctor, we will save you the trouble. If you recommend them, we will pass the whole bundle."

At another time Senator Linn arose in the midst of a heated political discussion and proceeded with all his splendid dignity to correct a statement made by Henry Clay. The latter listened with deference and accepted the correction with, "It is sufficient that it comes from the senator from Missouri."

Upon the monument which marks the grave of Linn in the Ste. Genevieve Cemetery is graven, "Here lie the remains of Lewis F. Linn, the model senator of Missouri."

JEFFERSON MEMORIAL

(Erected by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company)

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Historical Library — Archeological Exhibit — Newspaper Files — Volunteer Pioneer's Exhibit—Battle Flags—Manuscript Collection —Veiled Prophet Exhibit—Pioneer Weapons—Genealogical Records.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Bitter's Statue of Jefferson—General Exposition Library—Records and Literature of World's Fair of 1904—St. Louis Municipal Exhibit—Jefferson Hall—Louisiana Purchase Historical Collection.

**The Appointment of Atchison.**

General Doniphan told how the appointment of Atchison to the United States Senate came about:

"I was in the court house engaged in a case, at Platte City, when he received his mail on the bench. I suspended the case in which I was engaged for the moment until he could look at his letters, and I saw, at once, from his face, that there was something very unusual in one of them. He was too honest and straightforward to have any concealments, and his face was of the same telltale order, suffusing readily under any excitement. I proceeded with the case, and when court adjourned for dinner, the judge handed me a letter from Governor Reynolds, tendering him the United States senatorship for the unexpired term of Dr. Linn, who had died. The tender was made, I know, from subsequent conversations with Governor Reynolds, who was from the same county with me from Kentucky, without any request from Atchison or his friends. I know that the judge hesitated honestly and candidly in his acceptance of the position, and offered reasons which were candid, and to him were forcible. After his having submitted them very fully to me I said: 'Judge, fortune does not shower her favors on us very often and a man should not turn his plate bottom upwards when it does happen, but should turn the right side up and catch all he can. Your refusal will mortify Governor Reynolds, and as you have some political ambition, you ought to accept. It is your duty to do it. We have never had any senator from the western half of the state.' The judge and I were rooming together at the hotel. I do not know that he did or did not consult any other person on the subject. He wrote a very modest letter to the governor, thanking him and accepting the position."

**Senator Henry S. Geyer.**

In 1850 there were elected to the legislature 55 Benton democrats, 38 anti-Benton democrats and 64 whigs. Intense interest even beyond the borders of Missouri attended this campaign and the meeting of the legislature in January, 1851. Benton had served in the United States Senate thirty years, longer than any other United States senator. He was a national figure, looked upon by many as a possible candidate for the Presidency. Could he come back to the Senate? William Hyde wrote of the result and of Henry S. Geyer's senatorial career:

"Although in the canvass no criticism, no denunciation of the course of the anti-Benton democrats could be too severe for the imperious leader or his faithful followers, scarcely was the result of the election known before the latter began overtures for the votes of the recalcitrant wing of the party. The opposition of the whigs to the Jackson resolutions at the previous session afforded grounds, too, as they thought, for such an alliance as would result in the return of Benton to the Senate. On the other hand, seventy-eight votes were necessary to elect, requiring an addition of twenty-three to Benton's forces to effect the purpose. It was soon found that no calculation could be made upon accessions from the whigs. Like the Austrian phalanx they 'stood a living wall, a human wood.' Among the anti-Benton democrats and a leader of their forces was Robert M. Stewart, of Buchanan, a man of great strength of purpose and good organizing abilities. His candidate was B. F. Stringfellow, and it is an anomaly of that period that whilst Stringfellow was one of the most radical of states rights men, Stewart was himself among the firmest opponents of disunion or secession. But the times were productive of rapid and anomalous transformations. Atchison, who was now a fierce advocate of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and who became a vehement, fire-eating pro-slavery leader in the border troubles, was, when elected senator in 1843, and for several years thereafter, strenuously opposed to the extension of slavery.

"In the ranks of the whigs who, in the superior numbers and organization, saw an

opportunity for a party triumph which had never been presented to them before, and which never occurred afterwards, there were no dissensions. In the person of Henry S. Geyer they had all the elements of a successful candidate. He had been an officer of the United States army in the war of 1812; been a member of the territorial legislature in 1818; been five times elected to the state legislature and twice speaker of the house; been one of the revisers of the constitution of 1820, and left upon that instrument the stamp of his great legal abilities; had been offered by Fillmore the position of secretary of war; and he was sound on the 'previous question.' Besides, his integrity of character was stainless and above reproach.

"With these entries, Benton, Stringfellow and Geyer, the contest opened, two members absent and one deceased since the election. The joint balloting began January 10, 1851, and continued for ten or twelve days, neither party losing or gaining unless by temporizing changes, when, on the fortieth ballot, the anti-Benton democrats, under Stewart's leadership, broke, and the race ended—Geyer, 80; Benton, 55; Stringfellow, 18; scattering (anti-Benton), 5.

### The Last of the Whigs.

"Mr. Geyer, elected under circumstances so complimentary, reached Washington as a United States senator at a time when the whig party was in the throes of dissolution. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, and Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, two of the foremost men of that party, whose terms would have expired about the time Benton's successor's began, had been called to Fillmore's Cabinet, the first as secretary of state and the other as secretary of the treasury. John J. Crittenden returned to the Senate after a twelve years' absence, during which he was governor of Kentucky and attorney general under President Fillmore, but not till about the close of Geyer's term. Calhoun had died in March, 1850. Henry Clay died in June, '52, and Webster four or five months later. Edward Everett, succeeding Webster, was senator but a single year when he resigned. Fillmore, who had come into the Presidency in July, 1850, upon the death of Taylor, had signed the fugitive slave law, which was one of the Crittenden compromise measures, and had thereby aroused a storm of indignation at the North. And thus, its greatest exponents numbered with the dead, its issues swallowed up in the all-devouring agitation of the slavery question, Mr. Geyer found himself another Marius, surrounded with wreck and more than Carthagenian ruins. The whig party's last convention was held in Baltimore, June 16, 1852. Its platform was a melange of platitudes, though outspoken in its indorsement of the fugitive slave act. The nominees were Gen. Winfield Scott and Wm. A. Graham, the latter secretary of war under the Fillmore administration. They secured but 42 electoral votes against 254 for Pierce and King.

"Mr. Geyer's public service closed with his senatorial term in 1857. He died in St. Louis, March 5, 1859, aged 69 years. The senatorial succession from the admission of Missouri as a state up to the close of Geyer's term was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| David Barton | 1821 to 1831 |
| Thomas H. Benton | 1821 to 1851 |
| Alexander Buckner | 1831 to 1833 |
| Lewis F. Linn | 1833 to 1843 |
| David R. Atchison | 1843 to 1855 |
| Henry S. Geyer | 1851 to 1857" |

### Atchison's Difficult Position.

Benton failed of re-election in 1850 and Atchison was the victim of the deadlock in 1855. Colonel Switzler has written:

"The eighteenth general assembly, William Newland (whig), of Ralls, speaker; Sterling Price (dem.), of Chariton, governor, met December 25, 1854. Atchison's term expired on

the 4th of March following, and he was a candidate for re-election. Thomas H. Benton and A. W. Doniphan (whig) were also nominated. Many ballotings were held, generally resulting as follows: Atchison, 56; Doniphan, 59; Benton, 40. On the twenty-fifth ballot Atchison was withdrawn and William Scott, judge of the supreme court, was substituted. No election. Finally Scott was withdrawn and Gov. Sterling Price nominated. Still no election. Whereupon he was withdrawn and Atchison again entered the race. After forty-one unsuccessful ballots the joint session, by a vote of 88 to 63, adjourned until convened by concurrent resolution of the two houses. No other joint meeting was held during that session, for on March 5 the legislature adjourned till the first Monday of November ensuing. It convened on that day, and on December 13 adjourned sine die, without even attempting to select a senator. At the next session, commencing December 29, 1856, James S. Green (anti-Benton dem.) was elected Gen. Atchison's successor for the short term, and Trusten Polk, anti-Benton (then governor), for the long term, to succeed Senator Geyer (whig). This closed Atchison's senatorial service, and he retired to his magnificent estate of 1,700 acres, in Clinton county, beloved by his neighbors and highly esteemed by all his countrymen, a typical old Kentucky gentleman.

"When he entered the Senate his colleague, Col. Benton, had served the people as a senator for nearly a quarter of a century and occupied the front rank among the most distinguished statesmen of that body. The new senator's position, therefore, was very embarrassing. He was overshadowed by the colossal reputation of a colleague whose fame was coextensive with the English-speaking people of the globe. Under this shadow he continued to the end. It is easy to see, because the logic of Atchison's career in the Senate and out of it disclosed the fact that he antagonized his colleague in his 'appeal' from the Jackson resolutions of 1848. During the pendency of that issue in 1849 and while Col. Benton was prosecuting his remarkable canvass, Senator Atchison addressed the people at various places, and generally in company with Representative James S. Green. Among his appointments with Mr. Green was one at Columbia on July 21. Both spoke at great length and with acknowledged ability. Senator Atchison was cool and dispassionate, indulging in no denunciation or personal abuse, and often referred to Benton as 'your most distinguished senator.' He occupied much time in defending the right of instruction as a doctrine canonized in the traditions and principles of the democratic party, to which they both belonged, and in seeking to show that Benton's 'appeal' was at war with the doctrine."

**Frank Blair's Congressional Career.**

Francis P. Blair was elected to Congress in 1856. William Hyde, then a young reporter, said Luther M. Kennett, against whom Blair ran in this first race "was one of the best liked and most popular men in St. Louis. Probably, with the exception perhaps of Capt. Dan Taylor, there never was one more so. Kennett had been mayor for three successive terms, giving the people an uncommonly clean and successful administration, and, what counted for more than all in the way of prestige, he had only two years before defeated the great and only Benton in the same district. Yet the conditions were somewhat changed now. The free-soil party had been steadily growing, and the whig party, to which Kennett belonged, had been as steadily declining, until now, in 1856, it had no national existence, though many of its leaders had tried to perpetuate its organization into the American or know-nothing party. Kennett followed Paschall, George Knapp and the *Missouri Republican* into the fold of the democracy. Meantime the Blair party had elected John How to be mayor, and obtained political control of the city government, which they held until Taylor's election in 1861. The success of Blair in his congressional aspirations was a mere feature and incident of the revolution, clouded only by the crushing defeat of 'Old Bullion' for the governorship."

"Blair," said Hyde, "managed to catch the Speaker's eye often enough to get in a few speeches on his favorite topic and to arrest the attention of the House by his striking views and earnest manner. He was now fairly launched upon the political career he had mapped out for himself, and was looked upon by his colleagues in the House of Representatives as a brilliant star in the galaxy of western republicans."

**The Blair-Barret Contest.**

"In 1858 Frank Blair was again a candidate for Congress, and this time he had for his opponent Col. J. Richard Barret, or 'Missouri Dick,' as he was called. Barret, like Blair, was a Kentuckian. He was a fair lawyer, a tolerably good speaker, and one of the handsomest men in the county. He was president of the Fair Association, and, mounted on one of Gen. Singleton's coal-black Morgan stallions, with a white satin rosette on his lapel, he was as commanding looking a man as ever made an appearance in the amphitheater. He was a general favorite, and for the occasion made an excellent candidate. The canvass was a hot one. For the first time there was a systematic organization of the democratic forces, and special attention was paid to the floating vote, which at that time, owing to the magnitude of the river trade, was large. When the canvass was fairly opened there were fireworks, torchlight processions and speaking all over the city. Every night the Levee was ablaze with bonfires. The steamboatmen were democrats almost without exception. Larry Wessels and Capt. John A. McDonald were then the leading 'runners' on the Levee, and with Tom Russell and other hackmen 'ruled the roost' among the longshoremen or 'roustabouts.' These were promptly fixed by the democrats, and as promptly unfixed by the other side, the result being, as usual in such cases, a total indifference as to whether Blair or Barret won. It was about the close of the canvass Paschall made the prediction that Barret's vote in the city and county would reach 7,000 and elect him. Barret was indeed elected by a small majority and his vote was a trifle above the figure given, and Blair, in contesting the seat, referred to Paschall's prophecy, as showing a guilty knowledge of fraudulent preparations to stuff the ballot-boxes! It was not till near the close of the first session of the Thirty-fifth Congress that the contest was determined, it being in Blair's favor; when Blair resigned, immediately returned to St. Louis and prepared to run for the unexpired term and also the full term of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

"Blair's resignation was in the nature of an act to appease a pretty general feeling that the decision against Barret was a partisan outrage. Certain it is that public sentiment was greatly aroused, as the belief was not confined to democrats that 'Missouri Dick' had been fairly and honestly elected, and ought not to have been deprived of the fruit of his victory. The latter's return home was made the occasion of a stupendous popular ovation. A committee of citizens met him at East St. Louis with carriages, and in great pomp escorted him to the city, the arrival being timed for an evening demonstration. It was by far the biggest political affair that had, up to that time, been witnessed in St. Louis. He spoke of his coming to the city when but 15 years of age; of his education at the St. Louis University; of his admission and practice at the bar; of his service for four terms in the legislature, where he had the Fair Association incorporated; of his fostering care of that institution; and then launched out into a review of the malign purposes and schemes of the republican, or abolition party, of which Mr. Blair was the local head and prime conspirator. Of course great emphasis was put upon the recent vote of the House, by which the district was deprived of its chosen representative, etc

"The echoes of Barret's immense ovation had scarcely died away before there were symptoms of a reaction in Blair's favor. It soon became apparent that the latter's friends were concentrating their efforts more or less upon the long term, though by no means abandoning the contest for the vacant seat. In this phase of affairs Barret was besought to withdraw from the candidacy for either the long or the short term, and permit an alliance with some man like Kennett, who could bring a support to the democratic ticket which otherwise was likely to go to Blair. But Col. Barret was obdurate, and would not listen to

the suggestion. Nothing could convince him he was not going in by a sweeping majority for both terms. When the returns were counted it was found that Blair had obtained the richest part of the honors, being elected to the full term of the Thirty-sixth Congress, though by their votes the people repudiated the action of the House in ousting Barret from his seat in the Thirty-fifth. Again, in 1862, he was a candidate, returning from the war for that purpose. This time he had Sam Knox—'Knox of Massachusetts'—and Lewis V. Bogy for opponents. He obtained the certificate on a showing of some 250 plurality over Knox, his radical rival, but the latter contested and obtained the seat. That was the last appearance of Frank Blair in the political arena until after the close of the war."

**Why Father DeSmet Supported Blair.**

When Blair was elected to the Senate, after the Civil war, one of his earnest supporters was Father DeSmet. This seemed such an unusual action for a Jesuit priest to take that the missionary was asked about it. His explanation of his interest in Blair was this:

"In 1863, our father provincial had granted me permission to visit after long absence my poor children of the forest, the Flathead and Blackfeet Indians. I had fully prepared for the journey when I discovered that the United States government had, for military reasons, drawn its line along the entire Indian frontier and it was, therefore, impossible to get through without a pass. I, accordingly, journeyed to the capital, but, upon my arrival, found that all my friends who had been members of Congress at my last visit were either dead or in the rebellion. I had no other alternative but to call on General Blair who was then representing St. Louis in the Lower House. Having never met him, I went to his residence and introduced myself, and the object of my mission, and asked his good offices. He told me to call on him the following morning, at ten o'clock, and in the meantime he would see what could be done. I did so, entered his carriage and was driven to the White House. On the route he was kind enough to say he had heard of my labors among the Indians, and finally asked me if I had money enough to reach my destination. I told him I could get sufficient to bring me to the borders of civilization and laughingly remarked that after that I could and would walk the rest of the way. After leaving the carriage, and when just about to enter the presidential mansion, he stopped me and said: 'Father DeSmet, I am about to introduce you to President Lincoln, and to ask from him a favor for you. Please promise me that you will express no surprise at what either he or I may say, but that you will content yourself with thanking him if he grants my request.'

"I readily acceded. We found the President in his room leaning upon his hand with a weary expression of countenance as though he were entertaining sad thoughts. His face, however, lighted up at our coming, and after I was formally introduced we took chairs, and he opened the conversation with this remark to General Blair: 'Frank, is Father DeSmet trying to make a Catholic out of you, or are you trying to make a Presbyterian out of him?'

"'Neither, Mr. President, but I have come to ask a favor for him from you.'

"'What is it?'

"'Mr. Stanton tells me that the 4th Cavalry, I think it is the 4th Cavalry, is stationed out on the northwestern frontier, and that they have no chaplain of that regiment. I want you to make Father DeSmet chaplain of that regiment, and give him twelve months furlough, at which time he expects to return from his mission, when he can resign, unless he wants to go into the war.'

"The President immediately took his pen, wrote a few lines and handed the paper to General Blair, saying, 'Take that to Stanton.' Before I had time to say a word, Mr. Lincoln took me by the hand, and bidding me adieu, remarked: 'You will do more good out there than all my soldiers and commissioners.'

"There was pay attached to the position, for I believe I ranked as major, but I never drew it. Of course, I thanked General Blair for the handsome manner in which he had spoken of me, but I never, until now, had an opportunity of doing him a service in return. Now you know why I want to see him in the Senate."

**Thirty-nine Days a Missouri Senator.**

Shields' service in the United States Senate was six years from Illinois, two years from Minnesota, and thirty-nine days from Missouri. Champ Clark found, after search of the records, that not only has no other man served in the Senate from three states, but no other man has been sent to the Senate by two states. There have been several instances in which a man has served in the House of Representatives from one state and has been sent to the Senate from another state. Daniel Webster had this experience. So did Rufus King and William R. King. Van Wyck was a representative from New York and a senator from Nebraska. The most interesting case, one which recalls early Missouri history, was that of Matthew Lyon. Like Shields, Lyon was an Irishman. He was in the House of Representatives four years from Vermont and eight years from Kentucky. He moved to Missouri before statehood and was a candidate for delegate to Congress from Missouri territory, but was defeated by Edward Hempstead. The President appointed Lyon to a Federal office in Arkansas. Lyon ran for the position of delegate to Congress from Arkansas territory and was elected, but died before the time came to take his seat.

Champ Clark said that old General John B. Clark, who kept John Sherman from being Speaker of the House of Representatives in a notable session of Congress just previous to the Civil war, "hated General Shields most cordially.

"When he heard that the latter had been elected to the Senate for thirty-nine days, General Clark said: 'Thank God! Old Shields has got a nubbin at last.' The way he happened to be elected for that short period was this: When Senator Lewis V. Bogy,—'Bogus,' as Colonel Thomas Hart Benton scornfully denominated him,—died in the fifth year of his senatorial term, Governor John Smith Phelps appointed, as a chair warmer for himself he hoped, Colonel David H. Armstrong, a fine old gentleman, but only a local St. Louis politician.

"The man most hated in Missouri for conduct during the Civil war was General John McNeil. While he was in command in Northeast Missouri, it was reported to him that a 'bushwhacker' had shot a Union man; whereupon McNeil took twelve citizen prisoners, charged with being Confederate sympathizers, out of jail at Palmyra and had them shot without even the semblance of a trial in retaliation, which performance is known to this day and will be forever known as 'the Palmyra massacre.' Unluckily for Colonel Armstrong, while he was serving in the Senate by appointment, President Hayes nominated General McNeil for some position in the Indian service, which nomination had to be confirmed by the Senate, and Colonel Armstrong voted to confirm him, because, as it was alleged, General McNeil saved his life during the war.

"However that may be his vote so thoroughly angered the people of Missouri that when the legislature met it flatly refused Colonel Armstrong the courtesy of an election to the Senate for the remaining thirty-nine days of the Bogy term, and gave it to brave old General Shields. The chances are the fact that it would confer on Shields the unprecedented honor of senatorial service from three states had some influence, as he was exceedingly popular with both democrats and republicans."

Speaking of the almost unprecedented war record of General James Shields Champ Clark said he once "heard him introduced to an audience as 'the only man who ever licked Stonewall Jackson.' He began his speech by saying 'I came nearer licking Stonewall Jackson than anybody else ever did, but I did not do it by a blanked sight.'

"General Shields was also peculiar for a most curious reason. So far as history shows, he was the only man to survive being shot clear through the lungs and body by a grape shot. That happened at Cerro Gordo. When I was a little chap my father bought a book about our heroes of the Mexican war. Among the illustrations was that of General Shields lying on the ground, with a stream of blood of such magnitude pouring from his body that a horse was walking through it.

"Mr. Speaker Cannon once told me that when General Shields defeated Sidney Breeze for the United States senatorship in Illinois in 1849, one man said: 'That wound in Mexico does not appear to have hurt General Shields much.' The other replied: 'The curious part is that the bullet went clear through Shields without hurting him, and killed Sidney Breeze, 2,000 miles away.'"

**Richard P. Bland's Colleagues.**

The Missouri delegation when Richard P. Bland began his service in Congress was composed of E. O. Stanard, Erastus Wells, William H. Stone, Robert A. Hatcher, Aylett H. Buckner, Thomas T. Crittenden, Abram Comingo, Isaac C. Parker, Ira N. Hyde, John B. Clark, Jr.

It is not difficult to understand how Mr. Bland came to make coinage his specialty. "The crime of '73," as the venerable Senator Stewart called it on all occasions, the demonetization of silver, had taken place in the Congress preceding the one in which Mr. Bland began his career. If there was anything with which the new Missouri member felt especially familiar that subject was the precious metals. Shortly after he completed his education and reached his majority at his Kentucky home he went to the Pacific slope to seek his fortune. He settled in what is now Nevada and mixed mining with the practice of law for several years. He was a county treasurer out there. Then he came to Missouri, and became his brother's law partner at Rolla, soon after settling in Lebanon, the extension of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad opening up that part of the Ozark country and making it attractive. Mr. Bland had lived in Missouri less than ten years when he was elected to Congress. Here was another evidence of the man's forcefulness of character. Without any Confederate record, at a time when that counted in politics, and with only eight years' residence in the state, at the age of 37, he was elected to Congress.

The speaker of the Forty-third Congress was very willing to let Mr. Bland have the committee assignment which suited his inclination. There are two committees of the House which deal with forms of money—the banking and currency, and the coinage, weights and measures. At that time banking and currency was the dominating committee of the two. Prominent upon it had been Judge Aylett H. Buckner, one of the strong men of the Missouri delegation.

The national banking and currency laws came from that committee. Coinage, weights and measures was one of those committees which existed for little more than the purpose of giving some member of the majority a chairmanship and a clerk. Furthermore, as the preceding Congress had revised the coinage laws, there was no prospect for any serious work by that committee, yet in three Congresses, Bland had pushed the coinage question to the front, had forced a transfer of the relative positions of these two committees and had begotten the Bland dollar. The sixteen years which followed steadily increased his prestige as the foremost advocate of free coinage of silver. The persistency

with which he pressed the issue made him, in the eyes of the East, a "silver crank," yet in each successive organization of the coinage committee the Speaker recognized the position Mr. Bland had won by making him the chairman or the leader of the minority of the committee.

**The Birthplace of the Issue.**

The room of the committee on coinage, weights and measures was in the old part of the capitol under the dome, opening on a side corridor but little used. It looked out on a court, and was warmed and ventilated by an old-fashioned fireplace with a quaintly carved Carrara marble mantel, one of only half a dozen to be seen in the whole capitol. There Mr. Bland was to be found when the House was not in session, and there was the place to hear the theory of bimetalism expounded at its best. In the closing months of the Fifty-third Congress, when, after twenty-two years of service, he had been beaten at the polls, and when only chaos seemed to face the democracy, Mr. Bland had no doubt of the ultimate triumph of the cause of silver. In a number of conversations he forecasted what he thought would come to pass. He said that the only hope for the democratic party to pull itself together was to take a decided stand for free silver, regardless of the rest of the world, and upon the old ratio. He said this must be done, and that the sooner it was done the quicker would be the recovery. It was suggested to him that there was a very large element in his party which would not follow such action. That, he thought, should not be considered. He wanted the party to commit itself to 16 to 1 because it was right, in his opinion.

One day Mr. Bland was asked in the committee room what he really thought would happen if the United States should pass an act providing that on a certain date the mints would be thrown open to free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1.

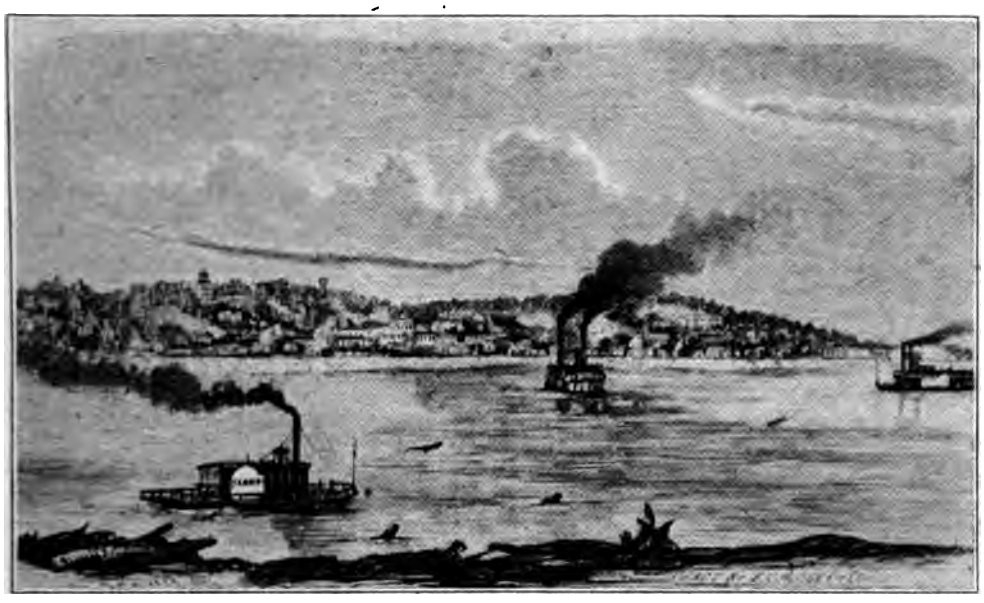
"I believe the other leading nations would promptly follow," said he. "We would have silver restored to its place, and would go on with the double standard."

"But suppose the other nations didn't follow; suppose the United States had to maintain free coinage of silver alone, what then?" was asked.

"I suppose it would give our bankers and capitalists quite a wrench," was the reply, "but it would be only temporary."

**Bland as a Speaker.**

Mr. Bland was a very earnest, forceful speaker, but he occasionally indulged in homely illustration. When he was opposing appropriations for what he considered unnecessary public buildings he said: "Now, I suppose, when I read that a proposition for a public building at Bar Harbor was to come before us, that Bar Harbor was a city of probably 100,000 people, or 50,000, or at least 25,000. Certainly I supposed it was among the first or second-class postoffices of the country. I picked up the report of the postmaster-general, and, running over the catalogue of first-class postoffices, I did not find Bar Harbor. Then I said to myself, 'It must certainly be among the second-class postoffices,' and I examined the report two or three times to ascertain that fact, but to my utter



BRUNSWICK, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

At the junction of Grand river with the Missouri. Pioneers came seventy-five miles to trade

GRAND RIVER VALLEY

One of the most fertile sections of Missouri, second only to the Boone's Lick country in popularity with pioneer immigrants

astonishment I did not find Bar Harbor even among the second-class postoffices. Then I came down to offices of the third class, and there I found Bar Harbor as a third-class postoffice, the salary of the postmaster being $1,700 a year, and not a dollar allowed for clerk hire.

"Now, this illustrates the character of a great many of the public-building bills coming before us. The gentleman from Maine has been rushing up and down, running about the House like a cockroach on a kitchen floor [laughter], nursing his little bantling at Bar Harbor, and the whole excitement of the gentleman as exhibited the other day and today is explained by the fact that Bar Harbor is here with a proposition for a public building."

In his speech on the Mills bill Mr. Bland dwelt on the relations of the tariff to currency. He talked of "the burden on the people of the West and the South" imposed by the legislation which made import duties payable in coin and by the act of demonetization of silver in 1873. This was one of very few times in which Mr. Bland quoted poetry in a public speech. These lines from Hood were recited:

"Gold! Gold! Gold! Gold!
Bright and yellow, hard and cold,
Molten, graven, hammer'd and rolled;
Heavy to get, and light to hold;
Hoarded, barter'd, bought and sold,
Stolen, borrow'd, squander'd, doled;
Spurn'd by the young, but hugg'd by the old
To the very verge of the churchyard mold;
Price of many a crime untold,
Gold! Gold! Gold! Gold!
Good or bad a thousand-fold!
How widely its agencies vary—
To save—to ruin—to curse—to bless—
As even its minted coins express,
Now stamped with the image of good Queen Bess,
And now of a bloody Mary."

When Mr. Bland entered Congress he had a good farm in the suburbs of Lebanon and he had some thousands of dollars in money. He kept the farm but the money went. He died poorer than on the day he first arrived in Washington. The paternity of the silver issue was his, but it had not multiplied dollars in his pocket. Not many people knew that when Mr. Bland was serving in Congress there was delivered to him one day by the express company the finest silver service that money could buy. It came as a tribute from the mountain states' admirers of silver's champion. Mr. Bland barely looked into the box, saw what it contained, directed its return to the senders and said nothing about it.

**The Fight for Remonetization.**

Presenting his remonetization measure in 1876, Mr. Bland said in defense of it:

"The bill I reported is a measure in the interest of the honest yeomanry of the country. Here is a measure proposing to do justice to whom? To the toiling millions who are today

earning their bread in the sweat of their face. It is a measure in the interests of the poor and common people of the country, and hence it excites the opposition of these agents of the money sharks in these lobbies, and those who seem to be in their interest upon this floor. Because a measure is for once reported to this Congress, that has within it a provision for the welfare of the people of the country against the corrupt legislation that has gone on here for the last sixteen years in the interest of the moneyed lords, it is here denounced as full of rascalities, and all this by a party that had perpetrated these injustices and brought corruption, fraud, injustice and dishonor upon the country.

"The common people cannot come to this capital. They are not here in your lobby. They are at home, following the plow, cultivating the soil, or working in their workshops. It is the silvern and golden slippers of the money kings, the bankers and financiers, whose step is heard in the lobbies, and these rule the finances of the country. They are the men who get access to your committees, and have ruled and controlled the legislation of the country for their own interests. If the constituents of those who are opposing this measure could look down from the galleries upon them, they would sink in their seats with shame for the course they are pursuing, because it is adverse to the interests of the people."

Bland repeatedly asserted that silver was demonetized by a parliamentary trick: "The bill that demonetized silver in this country and perpetrated an injustice and fraud upon the people was passed through this House without even being read, in spite of the demand of the honorable gentleman at present serving as Speaker of the House (Mr. Kerr) for the reading of the bill. It was passed surreptitiously and without discussion, and was one of the grossest measures of injustice ever inflicted upon any people. Now, this bill simply aids to restore the currency of this country which existed at that time; yet we hear objections on this floor, sometimes in the form of demands for debate, sometimes in the form of opposition to debate."

When Hale filibustered against the bill, Bland repeated his charge of fraud: "In answer to the gentleman from Maine, I wish to say that when this injustice of demonetizing silver was perpetrated, filibustering was not resorted to. The bill, sir, was not read at that desk. Gentlemen who represent the money sharks of the country surreptitiously carried the bill through without its reading at the clerk's desk, and I would be pusillanimous indeed to give up because I am threatened with filibustering performances. Let them filibuster and take the consequences."

**The Parting of the Ways.**

On the 11th of August, 1893, when Congress had been called in special session to repeal the silver purchasing act, Mr. Bland made his historic "parting-of-the-ways" speech:

"Will you crush the people of your own land and send them abroad as tramps? Will you kill and destroy your own industries and especially the production of your precious metals that ought to be sent abroad everywhere? Will you do this simply to satisfy the greed of Wall street, the mere agent of Lombard street in oppressing the people of Europe and of this country? It cannot be done; it shall not be done! I speak for the great masses of the Mississippi Valley, and those west of it, when I say you shall not do it!

"Any political party that undertakes to do it will, in God's name, be trampled, as it ought to be trampled, into the dust of condemnation now and in the future. Speaking as a democrat, all my life battling for what I conceived to be democracy and what I conceived to be right, I am yet an American above democracy. I do not intend, we do not intend, that any party shall survive, if we can help it, that will lay the confiscating hand upon

Americans in the interests of England or of Europe. Now mark it. This may be strong language, but heed it. The people mean it, and, my friends of the eastern democracy, we bid you farewell when you do that thing."

After a pause Mr. Bland concluded: "Now you can take your choice of sustaining England against America, American interests and American laborers and producers, or you can go out of power. We have come to the parting of the ways. I do not pretend to speak for anybody but myself and my constituents, but I believe that I do speak for the great masses of the great Mississippi Valley when I say that we will not submit to the domination of any political party, however much we may love it, that lays the sacrificing hand upon silver and will demonetize it in this country."

**The Intellect and Influence of Bland.**

William Vincent Byars, the biographer of Bland, put this estimate upon the great commoner:

"Because Bland would not use it to take advantage of others or to destroy them by folly, God, who never makes mistakes in choosing His men, gave him an analytical intellect—that greatest and most painful gift He can give any one. By virtue of its possession, Bland found his way, sooner or later, to the bottom of every question which engaged his mind. He got at the right and wrong of it as no man can do unless he loves right and hates wrong. At the bottom of every question, no matter how complex, is a simple question of right and wrong. The use for which the human intellect is intended is to find this principle of right, to recognize it as the permanent reality and to give it validity. Obviously this is impossible for those who merely make a pretense of caring for what is essentially right. Even if they get at fundamental principles, they do not care for them or are repelled by them. It happens thus that only a good man can be really an analytical thinker, able to deal with enduring realities rather than with the merely transitory appearances of reality.

"Unfortunately I am not a hero worshipper and when I say that Mr. Bland had the most effective intellect of any public man Missouri has yet produced, not excluding Thomas H. Benton, I am not expressing admiration, but merely stating a judgment as critical as I am capable of forming. It is based chiefly on the fact that the idea he represented has already revolutionized the Nineteenth century, and that it is now working, with what seems to me irresistible force, to control the Twentieth. I speak, of course, of the fundamental idea of justice and liberty which controlled his career and not of any single method by which he manifested it. I believe in free trade, in the Sixteen to One coinage of the precious metals in lieu of corporation paper, and in a general way in all the practical methods he advocated for applying the great scientific idea of evolution he represented. But it is because of the idea itself—not of any one or all of its modes of manifesting itself—that I think his influence on the last quarter of the Nineteenth century greater than that of any other public man of the time—in England or America."

**Missouri and the Speakership.**

John S. Phelps served eighteen years in the House of Representatives. During eleven of them he was at the head of the ways and means committee, the place held by Mr. Mills when he was given the Speakership. Mr. Phelps was a candidate for Speaker. The place was his by the right of succession and by virtue of his standing. But as a matter of policy his party refused him the desired honor and elected a southern man. Going down to Little Rock to court

on a certain occasion, Justice Miller found himself in company with Thomas C. Hindman, who had been a member of Congress from Arkansas, and afterward a Confederate general. He asked: "Why didn't you fellows elect John S. Phelps Speaker? He was entitled to it, and besides he was head and shoulders above the man you elected." "I know it," said Hindman; "Phelps ought to have had it. But the truth was we were afraid we couldn't trust him; he is a northern man." That was the explanation, in large part at least, of Phelps' defeat. He was a northern man by birth, and he was also a Douglas man. The southerners couldn't accept him. Even President Buchanan used his influence against Phelps' candidacy for Speaker.

Phelps was born in Connecticut. His father was Judge Elisha Phelps, who codified the Connecticut laws, and his grandfather was General Noah Phelps, of revolutionary fame. At Ticonderoga, Noah Phelps was at the head of the first storming company. The day before the attack Captain Phelps had disguised himself as a farmer and had taken a load of produce into the fort to find out how strong the force was. He even had himself shaved by the fort barber, and pumped that functionary successfully as to the strength of the defense. And when the barber came face to face with his captor next day he exclaimed: "Blank you, sir, if I had known who you was while I was shaving you yesterday I would have cut your throat."

John S. Phelps lost the Speakership when he had earned it, because he was a northern man. One of the chief arguments used against Mills was that it would be bad policy to elect a southern man. Phelps was a giant in the House. It is told of him that in his long service no motion offered and sustained by him failed to pass. Just before the war the proposition to admit Oregon was being urged. Joe Lane and others were asking that the new Pacific Slope sister be recognized. It was finally agreed by the friends of the measure that the only way to insure success was to get John S. Phelps to make a motion for the admission. Yielding to the request, Mr. Phelps espoused the cause of the would-be state, and Oregon was admitted. Years afterwards the daughter of Mr. Phelps went to Oregon to live, as the wife of one of that state's leading citizens, Colonel Montgomery.

**Hatch's Candidacy.**

From Phelps to Hatch was a long period. After more than thirty years Missouri again had a candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives. Strange to tell, there was not enough state pride in the Missouri democracy to insure the candidate a solid delegation. Mr. Hatch was strongly supported by the agricultural interests. He was chairman of the committee of agriculture of the House in the Forty-eighth Congress and from that time forward the farmers of the country were given a hearing on the floors of Congress. He secured an appropriation for the collection and dissemination among the farmers of the knowledge obtained by the bureau of animal industry and for the distribution of rare and valuable seeds and plants.

It was through Hatch's efforts begun at that time that experimental government agriculture was started, which has since developed into a system of experimental stations in nearly all the states.

Cleveland's administration were taken up, discussed and balloted upon. At that time proceedings seemed to be of the gravest character. Seen in the retrospect, that programme always raised a laugh. About fifty names were before the delegation, for everything from the German mission down to messenger in the interior department. Senator Cockrell was elected chairman and John J. O'Neill was made secretary. Mr. O'Neill carried the farce to the extent of having printed in large type on broad sheets of imitation parchment a formidable looking document reading as follows:

"This is to certify that ——— ———, of Missouri, has been indorsed by the Missouri delegation as a candidate for the office of ——— in the department of the ———.

"(Signed) F. M. COCKRELL, Chairman.

"JOHN J. O'NEILL, Secretary."

As the delegation voted its indorsement to the applicants, the blanks for names and offices were filled out, the certificates were signed officially and delivered to those whose names were entered. The certificates were received with great thankfulness by those so lucky as to receive the vote of indorsement, and were exhibited with much pride. They were considered as so many preliminary commissions for the offices sought. Some of the certificates were delivered to the beneficiaries in person. Others were forwarded to the more modest applicants at their homes in Missouri. Months afterward a Missouri representative went into a place of refreshment in his district, and found one of the certificates framed and conspicuously displayed over the bar.

Some time after the action of the delegation Senator Vest received one of the certificates accompanied by a request from the beneficiary to know what should be done with it. The senator sat down and wrote back to the applicant for information, advising him to this effect: "I recommend that you have your indorsement framed and then hung up in your parlor. If you have got any of our old Confederate money left have that framed and hung up alongside the certificate. They will grow in interest together as curiosities."

After several months of waiting to have the certificates accepted by the administration, the delegation ignored its own action, and quietly took up candidates for office singly and pressed for appointments. It was not until this new policy was adopted that Missouri received anything worth mentioning.

**The Debut of Champ Clark.**

In his maiden speech Champ Clark took rank as one of the best story tellers in Washington. He achieved that distinction on a single story, for the rest of his speech was in a serious vein. He argued that if Congress obeyed the behests of the American bondholders and made a gold standard, in a hundred years the people would be reduced to the conditions of the Russian serfs or Mexican peons. The bondholders would have all the money in the country, for as old Jim Craig, of St. Joe, used to say, "When a dollar goes down into their capacious pockets the eagle on it sings, 'Farewell, vain world, I'm going home!' "

A Missouri boy at the age of three voted in the House. He was Bennett Clark, son of Champ Clark. He didn't say "aye" or "no." Strict rules hedge

the privilege of the floor. Only ex-members who are not lobbyists and certain high dignitaries are supposed to pass the doorkeepers. But by an unwritten law little sons and daughters of representatives are sometimes allowed to accompany their fathers, provided they are well behaved. Bennett Clark was always a model of boyish dignity. One day when tellers were called for and the members formed to pass between them and be counted, this little boy gravely took his place in the line and marched down the aisle. He marched down the aisle twice in the course of one afternoon and passed between the tellers. He voted just as his father did. The tellers patted him on the back and pretended to count him, and the members standing around laughed and shook hands with him. The youngster smiled and accepted congratulations demurely, but he said nothing, so it was impossible to tell whether he really understood what it all meant.

This Missouri boy not only voted, but he figured in a speech. He was used to illustrate an argument. When the printing bill was up one day Congressman Clark made some remarks upon it. One clause of the bill proposed to distribute about a million government books which had been accumulating in the basement of the Capitol for many years. Mr. Clark offered an amendment to facilitate this work and, speaking to it, he said as reported in the Congressional Record:

"I am heartily in favor of scattering this pent-up Utica of learning and of art over a smiling land. I would much prefer to see this Congress pass into history as a million-volume Congress rather than a billion-dollar Congress. [Laughter.]

"The sudden, unexpected and simultaneous distribution of a million volumes over this country would have a healthy educational effect on the public mind, and is in direct line with that campaign of education which we have been conducting with so much enthusiasm for lo! these many years in this country, and which was crowned last November with such glorious results [laughter on the republican side], and which is now being frittered away somewhat. [Renewed laughter.]

"A great many people have an erroneous idea that all government publications are as dry as a powder magazine, a proposition in Euclid, or Tupper's poems. [Laughter.] This free gift of the wisdom of the fathers will explode that impression at once. Some government works are things of beauty and joys forever. [Laughter.] I once wrote to Senator Vest and requested him to send me any literature he might have in stock, and he sent me two large and handsome volumes on what the scientists call entomology, but what we plain people call bugology [laughter], each warranted to contain 10,000 illustrations. [Laughter.]

"That was certainly a big haul—20,000 bugs out of one mail bag. [Laughter.]

"This was not all, however, that I owed to the discriminating taste of the senator and to the boundless generosity of Uncle Sam, for at the same time I was the happy recipient of two huge and gorgeous tomes containing a splendid steel engraving of every species of snake that went with Noah into the Ark. [Laughter.]

"My little 3-year-old boy, from constant playing with these books, has come to know more about snakes and bugs than any gentleman who has not toyed too long with that seductive and bewildering beverage known as Mexican pulque. [Laughter.]

"That brilliant and exceedingly interesting work evolved from the inner consciousness of 'Our Uncle' Jerry Rusk concerning hawks and owls has had such an unprecedented run, which can not be predicted even for Gen. Lew Wallace's 'Prince of India' [laughter], there will have to be a new and enlarged edition of it published to satisfy the craving of the people for the good, the beautiful and the true. [Laughter.] I really think, Mr. Chairman, that Longfellow must have had in his mind this buried literary treasure-trove that is concealed down here in the vaults of the Capitol when he wrote those lines:

"'Nothing useless is or low;
Each thing in its place is best;
And what seems but idle show
Strengthens and supports the rest.'

[Laughter.]

"I urge immediate action upon this bill. If we can not give the people that increase in the circulating medium of which they are in sore need [laughter], and for which they are so clamorous, we certainly can give them a million books which they paid for years ago. I express this hope with some confidence, because I can not, to save my life, see how the money power has any interest in obstructing this measure. [Laughter.]"

"Pub. Docs." were better appreciated by early Missourians than by those of a later period when newspapers and libraries were as numerous as the cities. When Congressman Thomas P. Akers, of what was then known as the Fifth district, remembered the judges of Henry county, this resolution was ordered entered upon the record:

"Ordered, That the thanks of this court are hereby tendered to the Hon. Thomas P. Akers, member of Congress from this district, for presenting each member of this court with a copy of the agricultural reports from the patent office for the year 1855."

**Champ Clark, Speaker.**

In 1908, Champ Clark made a series of speeches in which he arraigned the administration and assailed the rules of the House which enabled the Speaker and a little oligarchy of "ruling elders" to maintain absolute control. He had come to the front as the leader in the new order. When the House passed under democratic control a Speaker was chosen by the unanimous vote of the party caucus. This honor without precedent was bestowed upon Champ Clark.

Long before he became Speaker, perhaps before he ever looked hopefully in that direction, Champ Clark was the champion of the new member. Possibly he remembered his own advent in the House of Representatives. When Hardy of Texas made his maiden speech, a short one, he thought he would like to extend it in the Congressional Record. He arose to ask that customary privilege. He was recognized by the Speaker. Mann of Illinois also tried to take the floor at the same time. He claimed that Hardy had no right to the floor.

"Who says he has no right to the floor?" demanded Clark. "He has a perfect right. He has been recognized by the Speaker. He does not wish to make a speech; he only wants to ask permission to have his speech, already made, printed in the Record, which he has a right to do, and I am going to see that he has an opportunity to do so."

Mann subsided with, "Oh well; let him go ahead." This was only one illustration of Champ Clark's frequently exercised championship of the new member.

When the Missourian completed his eight years as Speaker he could point with pride to the record that but eight appeals had been taken from his decisions. In every case his rulings had been sustained by the House, and that, too, by more than the vote of his party. On one decision he was sustained by a vote of 240 to 10. These were "records," he said, "of which I am proud, and which my children, and my children's children may prize forever." It may well be added that this record is a matter for just Missouri pride.

THE BLUFFS OF THE MISSOURI IN OCTOBER
From a painting by Prof. J. S. Ankeney of the University of Missouri

"BEAUTIFUL VALLEY"
A historic home in the Ozarks

Champ Clark's achievement was something more than personal. It represented the victorious end of a long fight which he had led to give to the individual member of Congress more power at the expense of the autocratic rule of the Speaker. Committees were formed by a committee on committees instead of by the Speaker. This revolution in procedure was continued by the Republicans when the complexion of the House changed in 1919.

"The Speakership," said Mr. Clark, upon his retirement, "is still a great office, though shorn of certain powers which should never have been attached to it. A Speaker fit for the high position will always be a powerful official, as powerful as any citizen of the republic should be."

"I have the honor of being the only Speaker of the House of Representatives ever elected in the history of the country without any opposition in his own party. I looked up the records on this point and I found the record of all the Speakers except one, and I could not find any without strong opposition.

"I met Henry Watterson one day in Washington, and as he knows everything and is a great historian, I asked him if this Speaker, whose record I could not find, was elected without opposition.

" 'Surely, he was not,' said Colonel Watterson. 'I recall that he had a vigorous contest lasting two or three weeks before his election.' "

**Public Life Educational.**

Speaking of the educational side of public life, Champ Clark in the two years' hiatus of his very successful career, said: "There is no such training school for intellectual development anywhere else on earth as the lower house of Congress. A man whose mind does not expand there is an incorrigible fool. Before I went to Congress, while there and since I am out, my theory has been and is this: The people of any given district ought to select a man in harmony with their interests and political beliefs, who is possessed of industry, energy, integrity, and at least fair capacity, and who is young enough to grow, send him to Congress and give him to understand that so long as he grows and discharges his duties faithfully they will keep him there. With that sort of a lease on public life any man of even ordinary talents will develop into a dominant factor in Congress. Beginning at the foot of the class, as all new members must, through death, promotion and the vicissitudes of politics, he will in a few years find himself at the head of one of the great committees—which is the first desideratum with every Congressman ambitious for himself or for his people."

**Senator Vest's Early Ambition.**

Of Vest's earliest experiences in the United States Senate, Colonel Samuel W. Fordyce gave to Paul W. Brown this recollection:

"In talking to me about his desire to become a United States senator, he said that every department of the government was permeated by frauds of different kinds; that if he got there he would commence making attacks on these frauds. When he returned to Hot Springs after his service in the Senate he was rather jauntily dressed. He wore a little shell with a diamond in the center as a scarf pin. Looking him over I said: 'Vest, you look to me as though you had gotten into fellowship with these Republican thieves.' He replied that when he got to the Senate and looked over everything carefully he found that there would be so much to do to unearth all these frauds that he would spend his life

and then not be able to break into any of them; that Don Cameron had made him a present of this scarfpin and that he found out that many of these Republican senators were not so bad as they had been painted. He met and became very fond of General John A. Logan, Senator Blaine, Senator Quay and several others. His most intimate friends in the Senate were all Republicans. President Arthur was extremely fond of Vest. On one occasion I went to Washington with the view of having a colonel in the army made a brigadier-general. Vest took me to see President Arthur. Arthur said: 'Vest, do you want this done?' Vest replied: 'I certainly do; I want anything done that my friend Fordyce wants done.'

"At one period it required only one vote to seat Senator Quay of Pennsylvania. Quay and Vest were intimate friends. Vest voted against his friend and this defeated him for the Senate. This, he told me, was one of the bitterest pills he ever had to swallow; that he loved Quay like a brother, but that his record on a matter similar to that of Quay's contest would not permit him to vote for his friend. This, Vest told me with great pleasure, never affected in any way the friendship between him and Quay."

**Vest's Rebuke to the President.**

One of the most scathing rebukes of executive interference with Congress was made by Senator Vest. The occasion was President Cleveland's letter to Chairman Wilson of the ways and means committee of the House. In that letter Mr. Cleveland had spoken of the Senate's amendments to the Wilson tariff as party perfidy. The speech of Senator Vest was not a long one. The Missourian occupied the floor scarcely twenty minutes and when he sat down there was a feeling on both sides of the chamber that perfect use had been made of a rare opportunity. Of all the speeches Senator Vest delivered upon the floor of the Senate, and they were many and varied, there was none which made a more profound impression. After speaking somewhat in detail of Mr. Cleveland's criticism upon the democratic senators for placing a duty upon certain raw materials, Senator Vest used these words:

"The time has come for plain speaking in regard to the matter now pressing itself upon the people of the United States. I have been the consistent friend of the present occupant of the executive chair. I defended him in the Senate when his friends could be counted upon the fingers of one hand. I shall continue to defend him so long as I believe that his aims and objects are in consonance with the success of the democratic party, which I believe necessary to the glory and honor of this country. But the democratic party is greater than any man. It survived Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, and it will outlive Grover Cleveland. He does not embody all the democracy and all the tariff reform of this country. He has no right to disregard the spirit of the Constitution. He has no right to trample upon the sensibilities and obligations of other members of his party, for any purpose whatever. When it reaches the limit of self-respect, I shall consider myself fettered by no other obligations than those of my conscience and my duty to the country.

"Where does the President of the United States find his right, by private letter or personal appeal, to influence the legislation of Congress? The Constitution of the United States gives him the right and imposes upon him the duty to give Congress information as to the condition of the Union, and to suggest such measures of legislation as he may deem just and expedient. When our fathers declared that there should be three great co-ordinate departments of this government, absolutely independent of each other, did they mean that the President of the United States, by the use of patronage, by the shadow of the great office, the greatest upon earth, which the people have given him, should, in the teeth of the Constitution, put into the hands of conferees, instructed to have a full and free conference upon matters in dispute between the two houses, a personal appeal to his party friends to stand by his views upon any public question? Mrs. Adams, the wife of the second President of the United States, in some memoirs which can be obtained in the

Congressional Library, gives a quaint reason why the Capitol was placed at one end of Pennsylvania avenue and the White House at the other. It was, said that good lady, to prevent the President from exercising undue influence upon the deliberations of Congress.

"But, in a conference committee, where the conferees are instructed to have a full and free conference, the President of the United States has deliberately injected his personal appeal and personal opinion, in order, in advance, to influence the vote upon a measure on which, under his oath and the obligations of the Constitution, he is at last to pass. He is a part of the law-making power of this government, but his functions begin only after the houses of Congress, unswerved and uninfluenced by the executive or the judiciary, have passed upon the question placed before them. The President of the United States, without waiting until the Constitution places this duty upon him, in a private letter to the chairman of the conferees upon the part of the House of Representatives, throws his personal authority, the weight of his great office, his hold upon the American people, into the scales and demands from the Senate that it shall accede to his views in regard to tariff reform, or that we virtually shall be unable to enter into any canvass upon a bill such as we think meets the demands and exigencies of the hour.

"That portion of the letter which has struck me with more alarm than anything I have heard during the course of my public life, since the declaration of war between the states thirty years ago, is the statement by the President that it was impossible, without treason to the party to which we belong, without perfidy to the principles which we profess, that a bill, adopted solemnly by one branch of the national legislature, should become a law by the votes of his political associates. If that can be done by the President of the United States, what becomes of the theory of the Constitution that each department of the government shall in its sphere be independent of all the others? What becomes of our boasted republican institutions, our freedom from all except the limitations of the Constitution? If the President can do this, he can send his cabinet ministers to us, he can use his executive patronage over us, he can do as was done in regard to the silver question, punish recalcitrant democratic senators who did not accept his views in regard to the free coinage of silver.

"But what mockery it is to talk of a full and free conference when one conferee has in his pocket at the time when he goes into conference the views, if not the instructions, of the President of the United States as to what shall be done."

In concluding his speech Senator Vest referred to the defense made for President Cleveland by Senator David B. Hill of New York. He spoke of the lion and the lamb. He said: "I am not here to defend or to attack the administration, but I am here to defend the rectitude of my motives and those of my colleagues in what we have done. I shall not make the speech which was made by the senator from New York (Mr. Hill) in defense of the President. It reminded me of a desperate murder case I tried in my early life, when I was compelled to plead the abnormal and unnatural moral depravity of my client to such an extent that he was incapable of committing crime. After I cleared him he came to me and said, 'I am obliged to you for having gotten me off, but I would rather go to the penitentiary for life than to hear that speech again.'"

**Martin L. Clardy on Political Life.**

When Martin L. Clardy was a member of Congress, he spent many an hour reading over the Congressional debates of earlier years. One day Mr. Clardy, to his amazement, heard delivered upon the floor of the House a speech which he had shortly before perused in a dust-covered volume fifteen years old. The speech-writer who had sold the product had simply copied it from the Record, going back far enough as he supposed to escape detection. But there

was another surprise in stock for Mr. Clardy. Before the recollection of the first incident had faded he found, away back earlier than the war, this same speech. Whether that was the original speech he never discovered, but he did learn that there had been at least two thefts of it, and that it had done duty for three statesmen, two of whom had probably paid well for the mechanical act of copying.

"My advice to young men," said Mr. Clardy, "is to keep out of politics, and I can speak from experience, as I have been in the swim ever since I was of age. The same amount of energy and perseverance that a man must necessarily be capable of to succeed in politics, if devoted to any other profession in life, would procure him an enviable and permanent position in its ranks. Political success is a very shaky thing, and a man on the top rung of the ladder doesn't know when he will find himself down near the bottom. To a young man, a seat in the Congress of the United States seems to be worth years of trouble to obtain, but after he has been fairly elected and comes on to Washington his ideas undergo a radical change. He finds that he is after all only one of many; that he has to work harder than he ever did before and that it takes just about all of his salary to make ends meet and keep the pot boiling at home. When the time finally comes for him to be retired and some other fellow to step into his shoes, he goes home, to find all of his practice in the hands of the lucky fellows who have staid out of politics, and at the period of life when he ought to be enjoying the fruits of independence, he has to curtail his expenses and knuckle down to hard work to retrieve his shattered fortunes."

**A Former Missourian's Ideal.**

After he had accumulated millions and while he was United States senator from California, Mr. Hearst, a former Missourian, gave a group of newspaper correspondents his view of ideal life: "If I had it to do over again I wouldn't be rich. There isn't much satisfaction after all in being a millionaire. Your money brings a lot of people about you, but I believe you are better off not knowing them. My idea of real enjoyment is different from this. If I was starting again I'd go west and have a chicken ranch. I'd locate in some fertile, well-sheltered valley in the mountains, get a hundred and sixty acres and raise chickens. Just think of the satisfaction of getting up in the morning and going out in the splendid clear air and looking after the coops. And just think of sitting down to a six-weeks old chicken fried, with corn bread and coffee. That is what I call genuine comfort."

And then the rugged old gold hunter relapsed into silence, wrapt in contemplation of his ideal life.

**The City Congressman's Calls.**

It might be supposed that a Congressman representing one of the principal business districts of the country would not be seriously embarrassed with the ordinary requests from constituents. But when Nathan Frank of the central district of St. Louis was in the House he had this experience: "I got a letter one day from a man who wanted a pension. He wrote that he was growing old and that he had no friends. He said that unless I did this for him he did not

see how he could get it done. Well, I succeeded in getting him pensioned, and he wrote to me expressing in strong terms his feeling of gratitude. In a few weeks I got another letter from my pensioner. He asked me to go to work and get his pension increased. A man on Chouteau avenue wrote to me asking for a certain, out-of-all-reason, public document. At considerable trouble I obtained a copy and forwarded it to him. Back came a letter thanking me for that document, and inclosing a list of twenty more which my correspondent wanted. A real estate agent wrote to me for a map. I got it for him. Now I have letters from eight other real estate agents. They wrote that they have seen So-and-So's map in his office, and each wants one like it. The principle that 'one good turn deserves another' seems to have a peculiar interpretation as applied to members of Congress."

**Congressman Morgan's War Record.**

At an early period Charles H. Morgan was sent to Congress as a democrat to represent the lead and zinc district of Southwest Missouri. Years afterwards he came back as a republican from the same district, elected on a protection platform. Mr. Morgan was a very mild-mannered man, but had a record for personal bravery. He was a Union soldier from Wisconsin and fought in many of the greatest battles of the Civil war. He was repeatedly captured and made his escape from Confederate prisons five times. One of his escapes was extremely novel. He and other prisoners were locked up in a box car, to be shipped back into the interior of Virginia for confinement in one of the southern prison camps, of which he had experienced a foretaste on a previous occasion. A Confederate guard was in the same car with the prisoners, to prevent their escape, and strict vigilance was kept upon every movement. Morgan and a friend, nevertheless, managed to regain their liberty under the very eyes of the sentinel. While lying on their blankets they cut a hole through the floor of the car with a knife, concealing the aperture with their blankets until they had produced an opening large enough to allow their bodies to pass through. So quietly was the work done that neither the guard nor their fellow-prisoners surmised the truth. As soon as an opportunity presented itself, and the car was dark enough to conceal their movements, they opened the aperture and dropped through to the roadbed. They gained the adjoining woods and were furnished with provisions by an old negro couple. In the course of a few days they were again in the camp of a Union army.

**Cockrell's Arraignment of Cleveland.**

Parts of three days Senator Cockrell devoted to his arraignment of President Cleveland in 1893. The speech filled fifty-four pages of the Congressional Record. It stood as the most unsparing attack upon the administration by any democratic senator. He said:

"The financial question has been brought to the front. It is not the fault of Congress. The President had the right to call Congress together for whatever purpose he desired. He exercised that right, and he called us together upon the financial question, and when he convened us he had gone to the end of his executive power. The responsibility now rests with us as to what we shall do. The responsibility rests upon him for having Con-

gress here. We did not call ourselves into existence here. He brought us here. He is responsible for that and we are responsible for what we do. Why should we bow to England? If we are going to adopt a financial policy why not adopt that of France, the country that stood by us in the days of the Revolution and helped us achieve our independence, and today is a sister republic? Why shall we bow the knee to England? Are we not old enough to establish a financial system? We are 100 years old. That is a great age. Can you find any other nation on earth that has not established its own policy?"

To the end of his third day on the floor, Senator Cockrell continued his criticism of the President. He was even satirical:

"The President has had fears that these lowering clouds were about to swamp this country ever since 1885. There is only one man in public life who has more unfulfilled predictions on record than the President, and that is John Sherman. [Laughter.]

"This is no disrespect to him. He is an honest and brave man, and he has the courage to tell us what he thinks. But, oh, how often he has been mistaken! [Laughter.] There is no danger to the democratic party. When Mr. Cleveland and every senator here, and every member of the other House, and all the members of that grand old party who compose it today, shall have passed to that bourne whence no traveler returns, the democratic party will only be in its youthful vigor and manhood."

**Family Influences Cut No Figure.**

During the great silver debate of 1893 in the Senate, Senator Cockrell called attention to the innumerable petitions urging the repeal of the purchasing clause in the Sherman law. He read from the Springfield Democrat an editorial to the effect that these petitions from Missouri were inspired by circulars sent out from Wall street. Then he drew from his pocket a letter from a business house of St. Louis to country customers, requesting them to write to their senators and representatives to vote for immediate repeal and saying such action was "an absolute necessity to the business interests of the United States."

"That," said Senator Cockrell, "is the argument and that is the reason they give to business men, the men who are indebted to them, why they should write here to their senators and representatives for the purpose of trying to influence them to vote a certain way. It speaks well for business men and financial interests and communities!"

Mr. Gray: Are those reputable people?

Mr. Cockrell: Yes; my brother-in-law is a member of the firm.

**Some of Senator Vest's Experiences.**

Senator Vest was making a speech one day when Senator Peffer arose and interjected some remarks. Before Mr. Peffer was through Senator Sherman interrupted him with some observations. Mr. Vest stood amazed for a few moments and then called out insistently:

"Mr. President; Mr. President."

The presiding officer paid no attention and Mr. Peffer and Mr. Sherman continued to talk. Then Mr. Vest shouted that he wanted to make a parliamentary inquiry. This brought the gavel down and the presiding officer as soon as he

could get silence said: "The gentleman from Missouri will state his parliamentary inquiry."

"I believe I was addressing the Senate and had the floor," said Mr. Vest, "but it seems that I have no longer got it. If I can't get it any other way I rise to a parliamentary inquiry to find out how I lost it."

Everybody laughed and Mr. Peffer and Mr. Sherman sat down.

In the Senate one day Senator Vest announced, with some vigor, that he was going to have some pension legislation scrutinized hereafter. He spoke of the "wholesale spoliation of the treasury" and said he should insist on more careful consideration of all pension bills. The clerk commenced to call the pension calendar. A broad smile went around the Senate chamber. The very first case was from Missouri. It was accompanied by a letter from Representative Dockery, reading:

"The beneficiary, David R. B. Harlan, is physically helpless and financially dependent. I know him and trust the bill may be favorably considered."

Mr. Harlan was of Nettleton, Caldwell county. He was captain in the Ninth Missouri State Militia Volunteer cavalry and served until April, 1865.

"I will say to the senator," explained Senator Gallinger, chairman of the committee, affably addressing Senator Vest, "that this ex-soldier—it is a case in which Congressman Dockery is greatly interested—is receiving a pension now at the maximum rate under the act of June 27, 1890. It is impossible for the pension bureau to do anything further for him. But in view of his meritorious services and his exceedingly necessitous condition the House of Representatives generously passed this bill, increasing his pension to $20 per month."

A smile went around the chamber. The bill passed. So did every other pension bill presented that day. Senator Vest said not a word.

Senator Vest had a very trying time of it with the Kansas City and Sibley bridge bill. From the galleries the scene was a funny one. Again and again the Missouri senator rose and said, "Mr. President." Just as many times he was interrupted by the privileged reports from conference committees. Finally his opportunity came, and he got the bridge bill before the Senate.

"Has that bill been printed?" asked Mr. Edmunds in his most exasperating tones.

Mr. Vest explained that the bill was all right; that it had just come from the House, and there had not been time to print it.

"I object, then," said Mr. Edmunds. The pride of the Missouri democracy sank back in his chair with a look of despair. Then Mr. Cockrell got in his work. He and Mr. Edmunds were excellent friends. He went over and whispered earnestly in the Vermonter's ear. The engrossed bill on the great sheet of parchment was carried to Mr. Edmunds and he waded through it, examining every word. While this was going on Mr. Cockrell made three or four trips across the Senate chamber to whisper to Mr. Edmunds. The last time he came back he said in an undertone to Mr. Vest: "It's all right."

Slowly Mr. Edmunds folded up the parchment and said: "The bill seems to be in proper form. It may be passed."

Mr. Vest drew a long breath and the look of relief was worth seeing.

Senator Vest strongly supported the policy of government education for

Indian children. "I am a western man," he said. "I came from a state which was called 'the dark and bloody ground' on account of the terrible wars between the red and the white races, and my forefathers were engaged in them, and I lost relatives in them. I was raised with the prejudice of the men that fought against these Indians; but with advancing years, I trust with more charity and more enlargement of observation and judgment, I say today that the proposition that these people must be left to extinction is the most horrible that can be contemplated by any intelligent man."

**The Brothers Cockrell.**

Not since the days of the Washburns until 1893 had there been brothers in the same Congress. As Senator Cockrell entered upon his fourth term, Representative Cockrell began his first. Both were Missourians, but the representative had settled in Texas and came from a district of that state. Both of the Cockrells were lawyers. Both were Confederates from the beginning to the end of the war. Both attained the responsibility of the command of brigades. The elder Cockrell directed the famous battle of Lone Jack. The two careers illustrated the luck of politics. The younger Cockrell entered the Senate without ever having held any previous civil office. The happy circumstance of defeat for the nomination of governor virtually sent the senator to Washington, and his aptitude for details of legislation, with his great industry in looking after the individual wants of constituents, kept him there. Champ Clark said he once saw a Grand Army post in Missouri turn out with band and banners to escort Senator Cockrell from the depot to the hotel. And when, to his astonishment, he sought an explanation of this extraordinary old soldiers' tribute to an ex-Confederate general, he found that the senator had been doing all the pension business gratis for the whole post. The elder Cockrell came to Congress by a series of steps up the political ladder. When the senator was reaching in one stride, with those astonishing long legs of his, from a law office at Warrensburg to the United States Capitol, the other branch of the family was issuing orders for road openings and creek bridges by virtue of his position as a county judge in Texas. After that he went to a higher bench; and so on up until he came to Congress to represent a district composed of just eighty great Texas counties, the largest in territory of all of the Congressional districts in the entire country. The senator had a regular Brother Jonathan figure and phiz. He hadn't got an ounce of flesh to spare. The representative-elect was broad and full-faced, of generous proportions, just such a man physically as Texas delights to honor.

**The Only Silver Argument.**

Ten long days of talk preceded the vote on the repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman law in 1893. When it ended Mr. Carlisle, then secretary of the treasury, gave a Missourian credit for bringing out the only sound argument against repeal. He said: "There was just one point on the silver side which was strong. Everything else advanced in support of the opposition to unconditional repeal was weak and easily met. This one strong point was brought out most forcibly by a new member, Mr. Hall, of Missouri. It was that people who had incurred debts in depreciated currency were entitled to pay

NORTH SIDE OF BROADWAY, COLUMBIA, TAKEN IN 1864

those debts in depreciated currency. That is the logical argument of the situation from the standpoint of free silver advocates, and it is the only argument they have got with any logic in it."

**Vest on the Income Tax Decision.**

One of the very notable speeches of Senator Vest was delivered in January, 1896, previous to the first Bryan campaign. The announcement that the Missourian would speak brought, as usual, a throng to the galleries. Speaker Reed and many members of the House came over and took seats on the Senate floor.

Several times during the course of the address the Vice-President was compelled to suppress the applause, and when the senator sat down, at the conclusion of his speech, the galleries broke forth, despite the repeated warnings which had been given.

The principal subjects embraced in the senator's discourse were the explanation of the failure of democratic legislation; the administration's bond issues, and the necessity of free coinage, to remedy the present serious financial situation.

The Supreme Court's income tax decision was bitterly scored; Secretary Carlisle's inconsistency in his financial views was made manifest, and the danger of longer permitting what the senator called the "money autocracy" was dwelt upon.

What the senator said upon the Supreme Court decision declaring the income tax law unconstitutional was especially notable. After he had analyzed briefly the decision of the Supreme Court and had read from the opinions of the minority justices who sustained the income tax law, Senator Vest took up the action of one of the justices who, according to report, had changed his original opinion and had made the majority of one against the law. He said:

"If I had made the declarations which have come from these two Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States I should be charged with partisan malice and misrepresentation. Coming from distinguished lawyers, holding the highest judicial positions in the country, of life tenure and removed from personal and political motives, I submit that those declarations, from that source, constitute the most fearful arraignment of this court of last resort found in the judicial annals of the country.

"I have said that I do not propose to analyze this decision, nor shall I trust myself to enter into conjectures as to the reasons that caused one member of the court, after agreeing, on deliberate argument, as to the constitutionality of the largest portion of the law, in two weeks afterward, upon a motion for a rehearing, to reverse his opinion and fasten upon the country 'the sordid despotism of wealth.'

"This justice unquestionably had the right to change his opinion—it is the highest prerogative of a judicial officer—but I must say most respectfully that it is a matter of regret that he did not see proper to put upon record the reasons that caused him to make the change; that he did not stand before the American people as the only member of the court really responsible for this far-reaching and terrible judicial decision.

"The name of that justice is unknown; it is known alone to him and to his judicial associates. Not even the clerks of the court are able to say what individual justice changed the decision after the case was first argued. The reasons that controlled him are lost to the profession and to the country, and it is simply a matter of conjecture as to why, in a case like this, the most important, possibly, that ever came before the Supreme Court of the United States, he allowed his name and his reasons to be buried in obscurity.

"Sir, the Senate of the United States has been ridiculed and maligned because of executive sessions. What would be thought of a member of this body who had changed

his opinion of a great question like that before the Supreme Court, and did not have the manhood to stand before the American people and bear his responsibility for that result? I can imagine now the storm of opprobrium, the charges of corruption, the whettened wrath of the independent press, against a senator who would dare to hide his name, in order to escape responsibility for a public act."

**The Tidal Wave of 1894.**

By the election of 1894 the states sent to Washington 165 representatives who had never before served in Congress. Missouri did her full share in that political upheaval. When the returns were in the chairman of the state committee threw up his hands and exclaimed, "To think of it! Dick Bland beaten by a horse doctor and Champ Clark by a piano tuner."

The surprises were great enough without this exaggeration. Champ Clark promptly said the reference to his successor was not true: "The man who succeeds me is Prof. William M. Treloar, of Mexico. While he has had little to do with politics, he is a man of fair capacity and good manners. The newspapers have done him great injustice by representing him as a banjo player or piano tuner. He is nothing of the sort. He is, and for many years has been, professor of music in Hardin College, one of the foremost educational institutions of the West. He is also a composer of music of some reputation. The republican nomination, so I am informed, went begging for some time, and Prof. Treloar was the fifth man to whom it was offered. In 1892 I received 2,592 plurality. In 1894 Treloar beat me 132 votes, because 2,800 Democrats, thinking everything was safe, stayed at home. Prof. Treloar is a bright and enthusiastic Mason. His wife—formerly Miss Annie Silver—comes from good old Maryland democratic stock."

Col. Tom Towles, chief clerk of the House of Representatives, was traveling back to Washington after the election of 1894 in an inconspicuous and unobtrusive way, when some one touched him on the arm. He turned and saw Senator Vest, his hat drawn down over his face, his shoulders elevated a little higher than usual, and the tawny mustache bristling over tightly compressed lips. The senator didn't speak. The two campaigners eyed each other a few moments, and then Col. Towles asked:

"Who are you, anyway?"

"Blest if I know who I am," was the reply.

"Well," said Towles, after another pause, "Senator, I congratulate you."

"Congratulate me?" retorted the senator with a growl. "I'd like to know why I am to be congratulated."

"Because," said Towles, "from what few returns I have seen I find that where you made speeches in Missouri we ran about a thousand worse behind than where you didn't."

The senator took a short turn down the platform, and when he came back he said:

"There's too much truth in that to be amusing."

"Well," continued Towles, "suppose we go into the car and talk it over."

"No," said the senator positively, "we'll not talk it over. I'll not talk it over

with anybody. I'll not even talk to my wife about it. If I did I'm afraid I'd whip her."

The senator was on his way to Hot Springs for the purpose, as he expressed it, "of boiling some of the disgust out of himself."

Perhaps the most disgusted democrat in Missouri was Joseph K. Rickey, of Callaway county. Col. Rickey was an enthusiastic supporter of Congressman Bland. He went out to Missouri just before the election, and by chance met Col. William R. Morrison in a hotel at St. Louis the day before the election of 1894.

"Aren't you going home to vote?" asked Col. Morrison.

"No," said Rickey; "I don't think I'll go up until Wednesday. My wife wants me to go, but there isn't any use. Bland has got 3,000 or 4,000 to spare. There is no reason why I should hurry. I think I'll stay over, and go up the day after election."

He did so. Callaway, which usually gives a democratic majority of 3,000 or more, fell short 1,100 on her democratic vote, and Bland was beaten. Rickey and eighteen other fellows did it.

In the Missouri delegation to the Fifty-fourth Congress were eight new men. They came as the result of a political tidal wave, temporarily engulfing some of the men best known in public life. Two conditions in that Congress were especially notable. One was the unusual number of members who stated in their autobiographical notes that they were "raised on a farm." It seemed as if an agrarian movement had carried the country. It was also quite noticeable that the corporals, the seamen, the non-commissioned veterans of the Civil war were receiving their political offices. The generals and colonels, seemingly, had had their day. Missouri, that year, sent to Congress several veterans. Charles G. Burton enlisted as a private in the 19th Ohio, in 1861. He served until disability forced him out of the service. Later on, he went in again and served as corporal. This was the highest title Mr. Burton claimed. He was only 15 when he enlisted first, and he was not 20 when he held the office of corporal.

Four of the eight new members from Missouri were "raised on farms." Mr. Mozley opened his eyes on a farm in Johnson county, Ill., six months after the close of the Civil war.

Mr. Treloar was born on a farm in Linden county, Wis., in 1850. Mr. Treloar's name was one of the earliest called when seats were chosen. A thousand pairs of eyes looked curiously for Mr. Clark's successor. They saw a well-dressed, scholarly looking gentleman emerge from the crowd, walk down the aisle, and, with quiet dignity, take his seat. Of farm origin, Mr. Treloar was college-bred, and one of the most cultured men among the new members. The sketch of his life showed that, removing from Wisconsin, he attended the high school and Wesleyan University at Mount Pleasant, Iowa; in 1872 removed to Missouri, and taught English and music at Huntsville; located at Mexico, Audrain county, in 1875, where he had since been engaged in teaching, filling important positions in Synodical Female College, Fulton; Hardin College (the Vassar of the West) and the public schools of Mexico. He had never held a political office prior to his election to Congress.

John P. Tracey was another of the farm-raised Missourians. He was born in Wayne county, O. He, too, enlisted as a private. After three years he came

out as a first lieutenant. But before hostilities were entirely over he was commissioned as lieutenant colonel of a Missouri regiment. Mr. Tracey had had much more of a political career than most of his colleagues. He was on the Grant electoral ticket in 1868; republican candidate for railroad commissioner in 1878; candidate for elector at large on the Garfield ticket in 1880; was commissioned United States marshal for the western district of Missouri, February 4, 1890, and served until March 4, 1894.

The only native-born Missourian among the new members was Joel D. Hubbard, "the man who beat Bland," as the democrats usually referred to him. Mr. Hubbard was born near Marshall, Saline county, Mo., November 6, 1860; attended the public school, Central College, Fayette, Mo., and graduated from the Missouri Medical College, St. Louis, in 1883.

**Dockery's Congressional Monument.**

The monument which Alexander M. Dockery left in Washington at the end of eight terms in Congress was a new accounting system for the treasury department. Mr. Dockery was chairman of what was known as the Dockery commission. For two years he made war on the red tape and old cumbersome methods. Clerks who saw their positions endangered by the closing of useless offices joined in the abuse of the commission. At one time a fund was raised by these department people to be used against Mr. Dockery in his district. For a time the Missourian was one of the most unpopular members of Congress. But just before his retirement he received letters from the comptroller and assistant comptroller and the five auditors of the treasury heartily indorsing the new system and expressing regrets that the author of it was to leave Congress. Mr. Dockery was one of the most vigorous supporters of the McKinley administration during the Spanish-American war.

"This war is going to be worth to us all it cost," he said. "I don't mean with reference to acquisition of territory or in the development of our international relations. I mean in the effect upon us as a people, in the creations of new sentiment. Why, just think of it! I went out to Camp Alger yesterday, and there I found a man who fought four years in the Confederate army, now wearing the blue and commanding a regiment from my state. I tell you this war is a great thing for us without any consideration of what prompted it."

Mr. Dockery was one of the most consistent economists in government expenditures there was in Congress, but he did not raise his voice against a war appropriation. Accustomed as he was to scrutinize the budgets closely, he counted the dollars well spent when he viewed such burial of the old issues and prejudices. In the nominations of officers for the volunteers the country saw that the President ignored the lines. In fact, the Confederates fared in larger proportion than the Union soldiers. Three ex-Confederate major-generals had commands, while only one Union general was appointed from civil life. Down through the grades ran the recognition of both sides in the Presidential appointments. Mr. Dockery called attention to an additional phase in pointing out that the governors in Union states had commissioned ex-Confederates to regimental positions. Missouri was one of the border states where the terrible passion of war raged with an intensity the states further north or south did not know. But sons of Union fathers and

of ex-Confederate fathers were in the ranks side by side, and commanding them were ex-Confederate and Union officers.

**Mansur on Oklahoma.**

Missourians in Congress, as one man, contended for the opening of Oklahoma to settlement. Mr. Mansur of the Chillicothe district made the opening speech in favor of the bill. In the course of it he said: "In October and November last I was in attendance upon the United States court at Kansas City for nearly three weeks. There were then under way some fifteen buildings, not one of which would cost to erect less than $250,000, and several a million or more. Her citizens dig down great bluffs, burn up high cliffs of clay, fill vast sink-holes; and nature in her sternest mood presents no obstacles the pluck of Kansas City cannot overcome. She is a new Chicago, a very behemoth, and within ten days past she sent forth her commands by and through a monster meeting, embracing the genius, the power, and moral force of the whole great Southwest, that Oklahoma must be opened. Kansas City is like unto 'She'—the one who must be obeyed."

**Bartholdt's Career.**

Political climate is trying. Some men have that within them which draws nourishment and stimulus from Congressional careers. They are not many. Perhaps one of the most notable Missouri cases of individual expansion and growth at Washington in a recent generation was Richard Bartholdt. He was on a struggling German afternoon newspaper in St. Louis. He had had some newspaper training as a reporter with a German paper in New York. He had been sent to Albany to do the legislature about the time Grover Cleveland was elected governor. Then he drifted out to St. Louis. In those days he wore his hair rather long and he had some theories of government which were long-haired. He was "Dick" Bartholdt, a good-natured German newspaper man, always ready to crook the elbow to the stein but never willing to bend the hinges of the knee to the capitalistic class. Bartholdt breathed the air of public life at Washington with delight to his nostrils. He filled his lungs with it. His progress was steady until he ranked with the most effective men in the House. If Missouri wanted something accomplished, there were few representatives who could do more towards it. Farther than this Bartholdt developed specialties in legislation which gave him rank as a leader. He was the acknowledged authority on questions relating to immigration. He became the admitted champion in Congress of international arbitration, with a reputation for furtherance of the cause which was more than national.

**The Torrey Act.**

The most persistent advocate of legislation in Washington for several years was Jay L. Torrey, a Missourian. As attorney for the Wholesale Grocers' Association of St. Louis, Colonel Torrey became convinced of the necessity for a bankruptcy law. That was nearly thirty-five years ago. He began the study of the subject. In 1884 he was president of a convention of commercial bodies at Washington. The result of his studies was embodied in a bill which the convention indorsed and christened the Torrey bill. Colonel Torrey secured its imme-

diate introduction. He did not miss a session of Congress after that time. He made it his business to form the personal acquaintance of the members of the judiciary committees at both ends of the Capitol and to impress the needs of a bankruptcy law upon them. The secret of Colonel Torrey's success was that he did not claim the Torrey bill to be perfect. If he could induce the best lawyers of Senate and House to take up the bill and examine its provisions he was satisfied. He sought objections and suggestions. For two or three Congresses the author did not make the effort to press the bill to enactment. He was working for more than temporary success. His idea was to get the best legal minds of Congress interested in the measure and to make it, when finally adopted, something that would stand the test of time. The bill passed one branch or the other, but never both branches of the same Congress, until the year of the Spanish-American war. Colonel Torrey felt that the crisis had come. There seemed to be a disposition in the judiciary committees, without regard to politics, to act on the much revised and amended measure. All objections had been met and the bill had developed general acceptability. The war shadow came and Colonel Torrey, for the first time, allowed something else to receive his attention. He was the first man to adopt the idea that the cowboy of the West possessed peculiarly fitting qualities and training for the service in Cuba. He laid the matter before the President, Gen. Miles and the committees of the Senate and House. The response was prompt. Authority was conferred upon the President to accept three of these regiments of rough riders. One command was given to Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt and another to the originator of the proposition. Colonel Torrey left the bankruptcy bill in the hands of the friends and champions he had won in Congress. He went West and devoted himself to the organization of his regiment from among the men he knew personally as a ranchman in Wyoming. While he was recruiting, organizing and getting his regiment to the coast the bankruptcy bill reached final passage. Colonel Torrey's life work—it might almost be called that—came to a successful finish while he was absent from Washington. The result became known as the Torrey act, but the author admitted that he made use of all of the advice and suggestions he could obtain in his nearly twenty years of labor.

**Vest's Defense of Missouri Industries.**

In 1883 the mining industry of Missouri had obtained such importance that Senator Vest was prompted in the course of a tariff debate to declare himself in defense of the state's industries. He said:

"While I believe in the general doctrine of a tariff for revenue, at the same time I have always held and hold now, and am prepared to defend the assertion, that inside of the limit of a tariff for revenue, protection, which is incidental to every tariff, should be given to the infant American industries.

"The zinc industry is an infant American industry. It has grown up since the war. Two-thirds of the zinc produced in the United States is produced west of the Mississippi river, in the states of Missouri and Kansas. If the duty which the committee proposes now upon zinc be reduced the result will be a destruction of this industry.

"In 1881 there were 43,000,000 pounds of lead ore produced in Southwestern Missouri and in Kansas, equivalent to 15,000 tons of pig lead and 34 per cent of the total product of the whole United States. Of zinc ore 50,000 tons were produced in

Missouri and in Kansas, or two-thirds of the total product of the United States. There were engaged in mining lead 2,000 persons, in lead smelting 300 persons, in zinc smelting 450 persons, in operating pumps, drills, etc., 1,000 persons.

"Immediately dependent upon the industry of lead and zinc are the towns of Joplin, Mo., with 8,000 inhabitants; Webb City and Carterville, Mo., with 4,000 inhabitants; Granby, Mo., with 1,500 inhabitants, and Galena and Empire, Kan., with 4,000 inhabitants.

"I will not go through statistics to show the effects of the tariff duty upon the production of lead and upon its price in St. Louis and New York but I simply say that if this duty be reduced now the result would be, as I am informed, an absolute destruction of this industry at the present time. Within the limits of a tariff for revenue I propose to protect this production and this industry if I possibly can, and I shall blame no other senator if from his own state and his own standpoint within the limit I have mentioned he takes care of his people and of their industries."

The senator from Missouri was taken to task by his own side, notably by Senator Bayard, for his so-called protective heresy, but he stoutly maintained his position and retorted:

"I distinctly repudiate the assertion of the senator from Delaware that I stand here upon any such doctrine or platform as 'you tickle me and I tickle you.'"

At another time during the same discussion he declared himself in the following emphatic manner:

"I am for protection up to the limit of revenue for the support of the government. Inside of that I intend to take care of my people. That is my business upon this floor."

**Senator Reed and the Precedents.**

In both branches of Congress from the beginning of statehood Missourians have stood for independent thinking on public questions. Senators and representatives have dared to differ frequently with Presidents of their own parties. Senator James A. Reed had many precedents for his insistence on rigid scrutiny of administration measures in 1914. In discussing the trade bill he said: "As long as I live I do not intend to vest in a board of men the power to do something of great moment, great sweep and great gravity, when I do not myself entertain a clear idea as to the powers I have granted." In his attitude respecting currency measures, the tariff revision and other legislation, the senator was following the traditions of Missouri statesmanship.

**Mr. Tarsney and the Lobbyist.**

Over the Oklahoma legislation Congressman Tarsney lost faith in his colleagues, faith in the lobby and faith in the world generally. The Kansas City member waged a great fight against "the sooners" of Oklahoma. He didn't care particularly for the poor fellows who lay out in the brush so as to get on their claims as soon as 12 o'clock of the day of opening arrived. Those were not the kind of sooners Mr. Tarsney was after. He went gunning for another class. There were in the territory before the day of opening numerous deputy marshals. These fellows, as soon as 12 o'clock arrived, threw up their commissions and squatted on the best claims. Mr. Tarsney took the warpath for them. When the Oklahoma town site bill went through the House he made the fight so hot that an ironclad provision was inserted to catch all those who kept the letter of

the President's proclamation but violated its spirit. Mr. Tarsney felt good. Unfortunately, the senate bill was not like the house bill. A conference was necessary. The compromise was agreed upon, and Mr. Tarsney tried to find out if his anti-sooner provision had been retained. He could get nothing definite from the committee on conference. The compromise was to appear next morning in the Record. Mr. Tarsney hunted through his mail. For the first time in weeks his Record failed to reach him. But before he went to the House the lobbyist of the anti-sooners came around to tell him the compromise was all right; that everybody was satisfied. This anti-sooner lobbyist had been there all winter. He had kept Mr. Tarsney posted in all that was going on among the anti-sooners, and had furnished not a little ammunition to fight the sooners. Ordinarily Mr. Tarsney would have trusted the anti-sooner lobbyist, but he was in an unusually suspicious mood. He went in search of some of the members who had helped him put in the anti-sooner amendment. Their Records had missed them, strange to say, that morning. Mr. Tarsney climbed the long stairway to the Capitol, with his suspicions growing stronger and stronger every step. He found a Record at length. It was as he feared. His anti-sooner provision had disappeared in the shuffle between the Senate and the House. Mr. Tarsney tried to rally his forces. Everywhere he went he found that the anti-sooner lobbyist had preceded him and had told all of the anti-sooner champions that the bill was all right. The false lobbyist was fleet of foot and nimble of tongue. He had done the damage. Mr. Tarsney tried to set the matter right. He was too late. The compromise was agreed to. Only thirty members voted with Mr. Tarsney. The bill went to the President without the iron-clad clause. There was nothing in it by which the ex-deputy marshals could be dispossessed of their choice corner lots. That evening, as Mr. Tarsney walked up the avenue, he met the late lobbyist of the anti-sooners, with whom he had held daily consultations for two months in the campaign to circumvent the sooners. The late lobbyist wore a new suit of clothes, a glossy hat and patent leather pumps. He passed the Congressman without speaking.

**The Missourians' Day Off.**

In 1888 most of the Missouri members of Congress found themselves, by chance, in the same car on the Whitney excursion to Philadelphia to see the birth of the new navy. The seats were hardly taken when Major Warner, in tones which penetrated to the ends of the car, exclaimed:

"Gentlemen, I invite your attention to my colleague, Farmer Wade. Look at that silk hat. What! By thunder, he's got on an embroidered shirt. Stand up, Wade, and let those New Yorkers see what a Missouri statesman can do."

Farmer Wade stood up, bowed and sat down.

Judge Lyman of Iowa, after some scrutiny, expressed the judicial opinion that it wasn't a shirt Wade had on—but only a dickey. Warner insisted that there wasn't anything counterfeit about his colleague. Lyman dared him to prove that it wasn't a dickey, and Warner appealed to Wade to exhibit himself, but the farmer from the Ozarks said he'd be dinged if he was going to furnish amusement for a parcel of boys, buttoned up his Prince Albert and showed fight when it was proposed to force him to settle the controversy.

Then Warner got a glimpse of Walker, the dandy of the delegation, who was keeping very quiet at the other end of the car.

"Hullo!" said he, "there's another Missourian in a stovepipe. I say, Hatch, imagine Wade climbing the mountains in his district, and Walker wading the swamps in his, wearing those silk hats in the campaign next fall."

This started Hatch, who said: "Wade, I'll enter into a bond right now to give you a suit of clothes if you'll wear that hat one day in each county of your district next October."

"I'll take that proposition, Colonel," said Walker, coming forward.

"No, you won't!" said Hatch. "It isn't open to you. I could afford to lose a suit of clothes to Wade to beat a republican, but I couldn't afford to lose it and see a democrat beaten."

"I'll wear the hat and give you a bond not to lose the district, either," Walker argued. Then turning from Hatch to the eastern members, who were greeting the sallies of the Missourians with shouts of laughter, Walker said: "I'll just tell you fellows that I wore the finest fitting suit of clothes I ever had when I was campaigning in my district. I made one speech in a town forty miles from a railroad, and I wore those good clothes there. I said to the people that I understood somebody had been talking about my suit, and I wanted to tell them it was paid for. I added that if it was discreditable in Missouri to wear good clothes, which were paid for, I would have to stand it, but I didn't believe they thought so. Well, that township voted unanimously for me."

Congressman Parker of New York said that the talk about silk hats reminded him of his experience on the committee appointed to investigate the southwestern railroad strike two years ago.

"We stopped off in some town in Texas," said he, "and as we left the cars the natives on the platform eyed us with some curiosity. I was about the third one out. We all had on silk hats. As I got down the steps I heard somebody say, quite audibly, 'There's another of them ministers.'"

This prompted Mr. Stone of Missouri to tell one of his Washington experiences. He wore a good hat in his district and a wide-brimmed, white slouch in Washington. He said he was passing along Pennsylvania avenue one day, in company with another member, when a bootblack looked at him critically and shouted to a partner down the street:

"Hi! Jimmy! Look at the cowboy."

By this time Farmer Wade had recovered from the shock of the onslaught upon his hat and shirt, and he invited attention to the diamond, as big as a hickory nut, on the front of Major Warner's shirt.

"If any of you fellows think that I wear diamonds, he can lose some money on it," retorted Warner. "That is what that stone is there for—to catch suckers."

Dockery volunteered the information that Burnes was probably the only Missourian who wore diamonds.

"Yes," said Wade, "and did you ever hear of the speech he made up in his district about those diamonds? Some of his enemies started the charge among the farmers that he wore diamonds, thinking it would hurt him. Brother Burnes waited until he got out into the rural end of the district and then he

answered the charge. He put on that air of sincerity with which we are all acquainted, and he said: 'Fellow citizens—It has been charged by my enemies that I wear diamonds. The charge is true. I do wear diamonds, and always expect to wear them, and I'll tell you why. Once I sat by the bedside of a dying friend, holding his hand. We had been like brothers for years. Almost the last thing he said to me was, "Jim, take these and wear them to remember me by." I told him I would and have done so. That is my explanation. Now, do you blame me?' A great shout of 'noes' told that Brother Burnes was vindicated in the minds of the farmers. They say it is as much as a man's life is worth to go into that district now and talk disparagingly about Jim Burnes' diamonds."

Then Warner told a story on Cosgrove, which he said Stone could vouch for. After Cosgrove had been in Congress one winter he went out home to see about his fences for the next term, and somewhere down in Saline county, perhaps at Slater, where Hez Purdom ran things, Cosgrove made a speech. In the course of his remarks he had occasion to use the words "either" and "neither" and "route," pronouncing them "ei—ther," "nei—ther" and "root." When he got through he strolled around shaking hands, kissing babies and doing other little acts of the statesman seeking renomination, until he encountered one bare-headed old farmer who controlled a township.

"Well, Uncle John, how are things down in your part of the county this time?" asked Cosgrove.

"I'll be frank with you, Cosgrove," said the old man. "They don't look very bright. I'm not for you this time."

"Why, what's the matter, Uncle John?"

"Cosgrove, when you was talking to us awhile ago you said 'ei—ther' and 'nei—ther' and 'root.' When a man goes to Washington, comes back in six months and murders the language like that I can't support him any longer."

The next story was at Mr. Dockery's expense. Mr. Heard, it seemed, had been trying to make out Dockery's real position regarding the direct tax bill during the late deadlock. To obtain the information, he had watched Dockery's votes on the various roll-calls. But sometimes Dockery voted one way and sometimes the other way. Finally, in a very confused frame of mind, Heard went over to Burnes and told him what he had observed.

"Now," said Heard, "you can see for yourself how it goes. Here is a roll-call. How will Dockery vote this time, do you think?"

Burnes looked across the chamber and studied Dockery's face a moment. Then he turned to Heard and replied with deliberation and emphasis: "Dockery doesn't know yet how he's going to vote. The probability is he won't vote at all until the second call, when he will know how everybody else has voted."

And thus the Missourians made it interesting as they journeyed to Philadelphia.

**William J. Stone's Political Power.**

Altogether the best analysis of the character of Senator Stone, and the best explanation of his wonderful political success was that given by Speaker Champ Clark at the memorial services for the senator in the House of Representatives:

"He was one of the most skillful and successful political leaders the state ever had. After a long and stormy career he had attained a sort of suzerainty over the Missouri democrats. He did not accomplish that difficult feat by brass band methods or by using a meat ax. He did it by persuasion, by diplomacy by consultation and above all by being an exceptionally good listener. When he was in St. Louis, Kansas City, Jefferson City, St. Joe, or any other city or town in Missouri, the most prominent democrats called on him in his rooms and consulted with him.

"He preferred that way of doing things to large and boisterous crowds; and because he did pursue that wise and successful procedure his enemies—and he possessed a large and enthusiastic assortment of them—fastened upon him the sobriquet of 'Gum Shoe Bill,' which his friends and admirers, who composed a mighty host, took up and converted into a term of affection. He was elected to the House three times, to the governorship once, and to the Senate three times. Notwithstanding the awful storm of vituperation which broke upon him in the later months of his life, I have no sort of doubt that he would have remained in the Senate for fifteen years more had he lived so long. Even before his death the storm was receding.

"What manner of man was he? In his prime he was physically the typical Kentuckian—tall, slender, sinewy, lean of flank, high of head. He always reminded me of a Kentucky race horse in his best estate, needing neither the whip nor spur to urge him on.

"The dramatic quality he possessed in large degree. His long black forelock, which was forever tumbling into his eyes, was one of his principal properties in public speeches. His deft manipulation of that raven forelock was a joy to his friends and an irritation to his enemies. He loathed utterly a double-dealer, a hypocrite, a mountebank or a liar. He never pretended to be better than he was; he loved his friends, who fully returned his love; and, after being the stormy petrel of Missouri for a generation, grew ever gentler with increasing years and forgave his enemies except a very few who had treated him so outrageously and slandered him so maliciously that they had forfeited any claim to forgiveness."

**Cleveland's Favorite Missourian.**

"Whom does Cobb want?" asked President Cleveland, in his blunt way, when a Missourian was talking to him about the internal revenue collectorship at St. Louis. That same day an official of the treasury said in reply to an inquiry about some local patronage:

"If you can find what Mr. Cobb is doing in the matter you can tell pretty well how it is coming out. The secretary will be guided a good deal by what Mr. Cobb wants."

These were straws which showed how the only democratic congressman from St. Louis stood with the administration. Sending a business man to Congress is sometimes a very satisfactory experiment. It turned out so in the case of Mr. Cobb, who went about getting things done while other men were helping to fill the *Congressional Record.*

## CHAPTER XXXVI

## UNTOWARD EVENTS

*The New Madrid Earthquake—Experiences of Eye Witnesses—Effect on the Mississippi—Two Months of Terror—Senator Linn's Report—Investigations by Scientists—Congressional Relief—The Worst Land Frauds in Missouri History—McGee's Conclusion—Sediment Broke the Valley's Backbone—Slicker Wars—Pioneer Justice Imported from Tennessee—Uncle Nattie McCracken's Recollections—A Duel with Scythes—Extermination of the Factions—War on Horse Thieves North of the Missouri—The Battle at Turnbull's Fort—Flood of 1844—"Head Disease"—Data of the Government—American Bottom Submerged—The Great St. Louis Fire—Targee, the Hero—Cholera Epidemics—Government by Committee in 1849—A Thorough Sanitary Campaign—Last of Chouteau's Pond—The Gasconade Disaster—Experience of G. B. Winston—The Big Freeze and Consequent Steamboat Disasters—Grasshopper Plague of 1875—Missouri's Losses, $15,000,000—A Banquet on Locusts and Honey—Riley's Important Conclusions—Fasting and Prayer Proclaimed—Barony of Arizona Fraud—A Missourian's Stupendous Scheme—Lawyers and Capitalists Deceived—"Sons of the Golden West"—Ramifications Country Wide—Joseph K. Rickey's Philosophic Statement—The Claimant's Conviction and Confession of Guilt.*

This gave rise to the most stupendous system of frauds ever known in the history of Missouri, and resulted in the acquisition by these "sufferers" of many times more land than they had lost and the possession of land by very many who had never lost land at all. Some of these dishonest claims were afterwards proven, but there were a great many fraudulent ones never traced up at all.—*E. W. Stephens on the Act of Congress for the relief of the New Madrid "Sufferers."*

A colony from New Jersey came into Upper Louisiana as early as 1788. They laid out the city of New Madrid with wide streets and parks on plans which aroused the astonishment of the French fur traders. Immigrants came from the Atlantic coast. New Madrid was in a fair way to become the chief city of the Mississippi Valley. Colonel George Morgan of New Jersey was the moving spirit. At a time when the Spanish governor general was encouraging immigration, Morgan went to New Orleans and obtained a large grant of land. General James Wilkinson of the United States Army, who was carrying on secret negotiations with the Spanish officials, made charges against Morgan and prompted the governor general to cancel the concession. Spanish soldiers were sent to New Madrid. Morgan went back to the states.

General Firman A. Rozier said that the New Madrid earthquake followed immediately after the appearance of a great comet. Perhaps the most accurate description of the earthquake was given by S. P. Hildreth.

"The center of its violence was thought to be near the Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid, the vibrations from which were felt all over the valley of the Ohio, as high up at Pittsburg. The first shock was felt on the night of the 16th

of December, 1811, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence until some time in the month of February following. New Madrid having suffered more than any other town on the Mississippi from its effects, was considered as situated near the focus from whence the undulation proceeded. From an eye witness, who was then about forty miles below that town in a flatboat, on his way to New Orleans with a load of produce, and who narrated the scene to me, the agitation which convulsed the earth, and the waters of the river, filled every living creature with terror. The first shock took place in the night, while the boat was lying at the shore in company with several others. At this period there was danger apprehended from the southern Indians, it being soon after the battle of Tippecanoe; and for safety several boats kept in company for mutual defense in the case of an attack. In the middle of the night there was a terrible shock and jarring of the boats, so that the crews were all awakened, and hurried on deck with their weapons of defense in their hands, thinking the Indians were rushing on board. The ducks, geese, and other aquatic birds whose numberless flocks were quietly resting in the eddies of the river, were thrown into the greatest tumult, and with loud screams expressed their alarm in accents of terror. The noise and commotion became hushed, and nothing could be discovered to excite apprehension, so that the boatmen concluded that the shock was occasioned by the falling of a large mass of the bank of the river near them. As soon as it was light enough to distinguish objects, the crews were all up, making ready to depart. Directly loud roaring and hissing was heard, like the escape of steam from a boiler, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and tremendous boiling up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, and rolling the waters below back on the descending streams, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep on their feet. The sandbars and points of the island gave way, swallowed up in the tumultuous bosom of the river; carrying down with them the cottonwood trees, crashing and cracking, tossing their arms to and fro as if sensible of their danger while they disappeared beneath the flood. The water of the river, which the day before was tolerably clear, being rather low, changed to a reddish hue, and became thick with mud thrown upon from its bottom, while the surface, lashed violently by the agitation of the earth beneath, was covered with foam, which, gathering into masses the size of a barrel, floated along on the trembling surface. The earth opened in wide fissures and closing again threw the water, sand and mud in large jets higher than the tops of the trees. The atmosphere was filled with a thick vapor, or gas, to which the light imparted a purple tinge, altogether different in appearance from the autumnal haze of Indian summer, or that of smoke.

### Startling Effects on the River.

"From the temporary check of the current, by the heaving of the bottom, the sinking of the banks and sandbars into the bed of the stream, the river rose in a few minutes five or six feet, and impatient of the restraint again rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats now set loose by the horror-struck boatmen, as in less danger on the water than at the shore where the banks threatened every moment to destroy them by the falling earth, or carry them down in the vortex of the sinking masses. Many boats were overwhelmed in this manner and their crews perished with them. It required the utmost exertion of the men to keep the boat, of which my informant was the owner, in the middle of the river, as far from the shores, sandbars, or islands as they could. Numerous boats were wrecked on the snags and old trees thrown up from the bottom of the river where they had quietly rested for ages, while others were sunk or stranded on the sandbars or islands.

"At New Madrid several boats were carried by the reflux of the current into a small stream that puts into the river just above the town and left on the ground by the returning water, a considerable distance from the river. A man who belonged to one of the company boats was left for several hours on the upright trunk of an old snag in the middle of the river, against which his boat was wrecked and sunk. It stood with the roots a few feet above the water, and to these he contrived to attach himself; while every fresh shock threw the agitated waves against, and kept gradually settling the tree deeper in the mud at the bottom, bringing him nearer and nearer to the deep, muddy waters which to his terrified

AN OZARK INVENTION
For picking up stones by machinery

ON THE MISSOURI
The roustabouts' leisure hour between landings

imagination seemed desirous of swallowing him up. While hanging here calling with piteous shouts for aid, several boats passed by without being able to relieve him, until finally a skiff was well manned, rowed a short distance above him, and dropped down close to the snag from which he tumbled in as she passed by.

"The scenes which occurred for several days during the repeated shocks were horrible. The most destructive took place in the beginning, although they were repeated for many weeks, becoming lighter and lighter until they died away in slight vibrations, like the jarring of steam in an immense boiler. The sulphureted gases that were discharged during the shocks, tainted the air with their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below, that it could hardly be used for any purpose for a number of days. New Madrid, which stood on a bluff fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, sunk so low that the next rise covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of several lakes in the vicinity were elevated so as to become dry land and have since been planted with corn."

**The New Madrid Claims.**

Senator Linn in a letter to the Senate committee on commerce wrote of the earthquake:

"The earth rocked to and fro, vast chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. The day that succeeded this night of terror brought no solace in its dawn. Shock followed shock, a dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land, through which no struggling ray of sunlight found its way to cheer the desponding heart of man. Hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead. One of these lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. It is in some places very shallow; in others from fifty to one hundred feet deep, which is much more than the depth of the Mississippi river in that quarter. In sailing over its surface in a light canoe, the voyager is struck with astonishment at beholding the giant trees of the forest standing partially exposed amid a waste of waters, branchless and leafless. But the wonder is still further increased on casting the eye on the dark blue profound, to observe canebrakes covering the bottom, over which a mammoth species of testudo is seen dragging its slow length along, while countless myriads of fish are sporting through the aquatic thickets."

Recovery from the effects of the shock was slow. Timothy Flint, in his "Recollections," said that in 1819, eight years after the earthquake, the New Madrid district, "one so level, rich, and beautiful, still presented the appearance of decay. Large and beautiful orchards, left unenclosed, houses uninhabited, deep chasms in the earth, obvious at frequent intervals—such was the face of the country, although the people had for years become so accustomed to frequent and small shocks, which did no essential injury, that the lands were gradually rising in value, and New Madrid was slowly rebuilding with frail buildings, adapted to the apprehensions of the people."

**Speculation in Certificates.**

Congress passed an act to help the residents of New Madrid. Under the provisions, the owner of land that had been damaged by the earthquake was given a right to locate a like number of acres in any other part of Missouri territory subject to entry. The government was imposed upon. There were

taken out 516 certificates. Most of the earthquake sufferers had sold their claims for a few cents an acre. The certificates were passed from person to person. Only a score of those who held the land at the time of the earthquake actually located other lands. Most of the certificates passed into the hands of speculators and were for sale. One man had thirty-three; another had forty; a third had twenty-six. People who had never seen New Madrid bought these certificates and located land with them in various parts of Missouri. Later it developed that some of these certificates had been obtained by perjury. H. W. Williams, the expert in Missouri land titles, stated that 142 of the New Madrid claims were fraudulent, being granted to persons on lands they had never owned. Holders of the claims, good and bad, went to the best localities in Missouri and filed on land, in some cases attempting to make the New Madrid claims apply on land already entered. Litigation over these claims afflicted two generations of Missourians.

**The Scientific Theories.**

Professor W. J. McGee, who was one of the division chiefs at the St. Louis World's Fair, and a scientist of wide repute, made a study of earthquakes. He held to the theory that the New Madrid earthquake will repeat itself. He ranked that earthquake as "the most stupendous in history" and explained: "It was caused by sediment carried down to the delta of the Mississippi river until the weight of the deposit broke the back of the valley, so to speak; and that condition will recur from time to time, as long as water flows." But the professor quieted immediate apprehension with the expert opinion that from five to ten centuries will elapse between these shocks in the Mississippi Valley, of such magnitude as the New Madrid series.

"It is difficult to realize how much sediment the Mississippi river carries to its delta. If one passes down the river and into the Gulf, he may get some idea of what the deposit is like. At the point where the river debouches, the shore line bulges into the Gulf for miles, and upon both sides of it is the delta, wholly made by the river mud. So vast a deposit has its effect. It is approximately 400 feet below St. Louis and 300 feet below the Sunken Lands. Whenever the weight becomes too great, the backbone of the valley snaps at the weak point. When this happens the crust of the earth rises in some places, slips down in others, grinds, wrenches, turns topsy-turvy. How long the intervals are between breaks we have no means of knowing. The valley has been settled but a little more than 100 years. Anything that occurred before the whites came into it would not be known except as the geologist could detect it in the disturbance of the earth. If I were guessing, which a scientist dislikes to do, I would say that between the great quakes in the New Madrid district there is an interval of from 500 to 1,000 years. It may be less than that, and it may be more. One cannot tell. We could, if we tried, estimate the weight of the deposit at the mouth of the river, but, inasmuch as we do not know what the breaking point up the river is, we should gain nothing by such an estimate, and it is therefore not worth making.

"The only respect in which any other earthquake in history is to be mentioned in the same breath with that in the Mississippi Valley is in the loss of life. Seismic phenomena that would have destroyed the city of London and probably killed more than half the people in it killed almost no one and did not destroy more than $50,000 worth of property. It dropped about half of the town of New Madrid into the river. Beyond that, it killed only a few boatmen and an occasional pioneer. Some stock which had been grazing on high prairie land drowned when the earth suddenly subsided and the river rushed in and

covered it over. People for the most part lived in log houses, which do not easily shake to pieces, so that even this most common cause of death in an earthquake was not present when the Sunken Lands were made. Indeed, it barely became historical at all. Had it occurred a century before we should either not have heard of it at all, or had but the most meagre accounts of what occurred."

**Old Settlers' Experiences.**

Dr. Berry, of Southern Illinois, many years ago, collected from the oldest settlers reminiscences of the New Madrid earthquake period. He gave these reminiscences to the Illinois Historical Society. One of the stories he told was of the experience of a family which had a plantation bell mounted on a post, after a custom of the period. This bell rang whenever there was an earthquake tremor. The family took warning and ran from the house when the bell rang. The settler who gave his recollections as a boy to Dr. Berry said that during the period from December 15th to the middle of March, including the New Madrid earthquake, the bell rang almost every day. Some days it rang continuously for hours. The old settler said he was aroused so often at night by the ringing of the bell that he became as "spry as a cat" in jumping from his bed and out of the window.

The scientists of Johns Hopkins University years ago carried on a series of experiments in the Mississippi Valley below St. Louis and determined that occasional little tremors originated in the vicinity of New Madrid and radiated outward from 100 to 300 miles.

**The Thirty Miles' Flight.**

Colonel John Shaw of Marquette county, Wisconsin, was visiting near New Madrid the winter of the earthquake. He said that on February 7, 1812, he felt the most severe shock. Nearly two thousand people fled from their houses. They went to Tywappity hill, thirty miles north and seven miles back from the river:

"This was the first high ground above New Madrid, and here the fugitives formed an encampment. It was proposed that all should kneel and engage in supplicating God's mercy, and all simultaneously, Catholics and Protestants, knelt and offered solemn prayer to their Creator. About twelve miles back toward New Madrid a young woman about seventeen years of age, named Betsy Masters, had been left by her parents and family, her right leg having been broken below the knee by the falling of one of the weight poles of the roof of the cabin, and, though a total stranger, I was the only person who would consent to return and see whether she still survived. Receiving a description of the locality of the place, I started and found the poor girl upon a bed as she had been left, with some water and cornbread within her reach. I cooked up some food for her and made her condition as comfortable as circumstances would allow and returned the same day to the grand encampment. Miss Masters eventually recovered. In abandoning their homes on this emergency, the people stopped only long enough to get their teams and hurry in their families and some provisions. It was a matter of doubt among them whether water or fire would be most likely to burst forth and cover all the country. The timber land around New Madrid sunk five or six feet, so that the lakes and lagoons, which seemed to have their beds pushed up, discharged their waters over the sunken lands.

"Through the fissures caused by the earthquake were forced up vast quantities of a hard, jet-black substance which appeared very smooth, as if worn by friction. It seemed a very different substance from either anthracite or bituminous coal. This hegira, with

all its attendant, appalling circumstances, was a most heartrending scene and had the effect to constrain the most wicked and profane earnestly to plead to God in prayer for mercy. In less than three months most of these people returned to their homes, and though the earthquakes continued occasionally with less destructive effects, they became so accustomed to the recurring vibrations that they paid little or no regard to them, not even interrupting or checking their dances, frolics and vice."

## Scientific Investigations.

In 1911, on the occasion of the centennial of the earthquake, Walter Williams wrote of the investigation made by scientists:

"The convulsion occurred contemporaneously with one of the most fatal earthquakes of South America, when the towns of Guayra and Caracas were laid in ruins. Humboldt, the great geographer, has remarked that the shocks of New Madrid are the only examples on record of the ground having quaked almost incessantly for three months at a point so far remote from any active volcano. The shocks were most violent in the part of the region called the Little Prairie, to the northward, as far as the mouth of the Ohio river. Some shocks were felt in South Carolina. Although the country was thinly settled and most of the houses built of logs, the loss of life was considerable.

"The cause of the New Madrid earthquake has never been definitely determined. 'Several authors,' writes L. Bringier, 'have asserted that earthquakes proceed from volcanic causes. But, although this may be often true, the New Madrid earthquake must have had another cause. Time, perhaps, will give us some better ideas as to the origin of these extraordinary phenomena. It is probable that they are produced in different instances by different causes and that electricity is one of them. The shocks of the earthquake of New Madrid produced emotions and sensations resembling those of a strong galvanic battery. The New Madrid earthquake took place after a very long succession of very heavy rains, such as had never been seen before in that country.'

"L. Bringier, an engineer of Louisiana, was on horseback near New Madrid in 1811 when some of the severest shocks were experienced. As the waves advanced he saw the trees bend down and often the instant afterward, when in the act of recovering their position, meet the boughs of other trees similarly inclined so as to become interlocked, being prevented from righting themselves again. The transit of the waves through the woods was marked by the crashing noise of countless branches first heard on one side and then on the other. At the same time powerful jets of water, mixed with sand, mud and bituminous coaly shale, were cast up with such force that both horse and rider might have perished had the undulating waves happened to burst immediately beneath them. Circular cavities, called sink holes, were formed where the principal fountains of mud and water were thrown up.

## An International Inquiry.

"Sir Charles Lyell, president of the Geological Society of London, visited the New Madrid earthquake region in 1846. He described one of the sink holes as a nearly circular hollow, ten yards wide and five feet deep, with a smaller one near it. He observed scattered about the surrounding level ground fragments of black bituminous shale, with much white sand. Within a short distance he found five more of these 'sand bursts' or 'sand blows,' as they are sometimes termed, and a mile farther west of New Madrid a more conspicuous sink hole. This sink hole was a striking object, interrupting the regularity of a flat plain, the sides very steep and twenty-eight feet deep from the top to the water's edge. The water standing in the bottom was said to be originally very deep, but had grown shallow by the washing in of sand and the crumbling of the bank, caused by the feet of cattle coming to drink. Many wagon loads of mud had been cast up out of this hollow.

"The British geologist investigated Eulalie lake, which was destroyed by the earthquake shock. The bottom of the lake was about 300 yards long by 100 yards in width and chiefly composed of clay, covered with trees. The trees in the lake bottom were cottonwood, willow, honey locust and other species. On the surrounding higher ground, which was

elevated twelve or fifteen feet, were the hickory, the black and white oak, the gum and other trees of ancient date. Lake Eulalie was formerly filled with clear water and abounded in fish until it was suddenly drained by the earthquake. In the clay bottom Sir Charles traced the course of two parallel fissures by which the water escaped. They were separated from each other by a distance of about eight yards and were not yet entirely closed. Near their edges much sand and coal shale lay scattered, which were thrown out of them when they first opened. This black, bituminous shale belonged to the alluvial formation and is found in digging wells fifteen feet deep or sometimes nearer the surface. It was probably drifted down at a former period by a current of the Mississippi river from the coal fields farther north.

"More striking monuments of the earthquake were found by Sir Charles Lyell in the territory farther to the westward. Skirting the borders of a swamp called the Bayou St. John, he observed a great many fallen trees and others dead and leafless, but standing erect. 'After riding some miles,' said Sir Charles, 'I found my way to a farm, the owner of which had witnessed the earthquake when a child. He described to me the camping out of the people in the night when the first shocks occurred and how some were wounded by the falling of chimneys and the bodies of others thrown out of the ruins. He confirmed the published statements of inhabitants having availed themselves of fallen trees to avoid being engulfed in open fissures, and he afterward heard that this singular mode of escape had been adopted in distant places between which there was no communication, and that even children threw themselves on the felled trunks. My acquaintance took me to see several fissures still open, which had been caused by the undulatory movement of the ground, some of them jagged, others even and straight. I traced two of them continuously for more than a half mile and found that a few were parallel, but on the whole they varied greatly in direction, some being ten and others forty-five degrees west of north. I might easily have mistaken them for artificial trenches, if my companion had not known them within his recollection to have been as deep as wells. Sand and black shale were strewed along their edges. Most of them were from two to four feet wide, and five or six feet deep, but the action of rains, frosts and occasional inundations, and, above all, the leaves of the forests blown into them every autumn in countless numbers have done much to fill them up.'"

**The Slicker War.**

"Slicking" was a word in common use among the pioneers of the Ozarks. It may have been brought from the Tennessee mountains. After the hunters had discovered a game paradise, the settlers came to make homes west of the Gasconade and south of the Osage. Many of them were mountaineers. Some poled the way up White river and its tributaries. Others rolled and jolted along in movers' wagons. One of the customs these first settlers brought with them was slicking. Misdemeanors were dealt with and grudges were settled in this way. When a man had been "slicked" he was sufficiently punished, according to the neighborhood code. If he behaved himself after that the past was forgotten. But sometimes slicking led to feuds, fighting and bloodshed. The Slicker war is part of the history of three Missouri counties—Benton, Hickory and Polk. In 1896 H. Clay Neville visited the scenes of the war. At that time Uncle Nattie McCracken, a survivor, was living near Elkton on one of the branches of the Weaubleau. Uncle Nattie was a pioneer, having come from Tennessee to the Ozarks in 1838. He recalled vividly the origin, progress and conclusions of the Slicker war and gave Mr. Neville the material for this account of it:

"The Slicker war began near Quincy, in Benton, in the summer of 1843. The first families involved in the feud were the Turks, Hobbses, Nowels and Joneses. Near Quincy was a noted gambling resort. A race track was made on the prairie by dragging a log

over the wild grass, and thereby marking the course for the horses. At this place the more reckless element of the surrounding country gathered from week to week and tried the speed of their horses. There was not much money in the Ozarks at that time, but guns and bowie-knives, with now and then a cow or a horse at stake, gave to the races all the interest needed to make them very attractive to men who loved instinctively all kinds of outdoor sports. Card playing naturally accompanied the races, seven-up, or old sledge, as the game was called in the dialect of the Tennessean at that time, being very popular among the young men of the new settlements.

### Ise Hobbs, the Athlete.

"The Hobbses and Turks were prominent among the gamblers that visited the race track near Quincy, and at the beginning of the Slicker war the friendship between these two families had never been broken. Tom Turk became the most conspicuous representative of his family in the feud, and Isham Hobbs led all other participants in the war by his daring spirit and the deadly record of a famous deer gun, known throughout the settlement as Old Abram. Tom Turk was the giant of his party, measuring fully six feet and six inches, and weighing nearly 300 pounds. Ise Hobbs, as Uncle Nattie McCracken describes him, was an ideal athlete, the most perfect specimen of physical manhood in all the country. He was a little short of six feet in stature, weighed 160 pounds, with a symmetry and litheness of figure that would have delighted an artist seeking a gladiatorial model. Uncle Nattie declares that he saw Ise Hobbs spring from the ground and turn three somersaults at one bound. He was the fleetest runner in the settlement.

"The gamblers around Quincy finally became very obnoxious to the more moral element of the community, and the Turks and Hobbses were the objects of much of this enmity. At last a lawsuit before a justice of the peace, involving a small debt, caused an open quarrel between the Turks and the Nowels. The Hobbs family took sides with the Turks, and the Jones people and others joined the Nowel faction. A dispute about a land claim is said to have entered into the quarrel between the Nowels and Turks. The two factions were going to trial when the first blood was shed in the Slicker war. One of the Turks told old man Nowel that he could not testify in the case at issue in court, and the latter replied that no Turk could live near him. There were several guns in the crowd, but Nowel was unarmed. When the quarrel became very hot old man Nowel snatched a gun from one of the party and shot Jim Turk. Nowel, knowing that his life was now in peril, put spurs to his horse and fled, pursued by the father of the dead man, who never stopped to see if the shot had proved fatal. Nowel, after a long race, escaped his pursuer and got home. The baffled avenger of blood went back to the corpse of his son, and over the grave of Jim Turk vengeance against the Nowels was vowed.

### An Epidemic of Slicking.

"The feud now spread rapidly, and soon involved many new partisans. The Turks, Hobbses, Blues and Jamisons were the leading spirits of the Slicker faction. The Nowels, Joneses, Doblins and Montgomerys headed the anti-Slicker party. The field of hostilities widened daily, and the war extended into Hickory and Polk counties. The local authorities were powerless to check the growing strife, and at that time the seat of the state government was a long distance from the Ozark country, and no one asked the aid of the governor in the interest of peace. Slicking went on during the intervals between the killings, and nightly raids after the victims of this method of torture were common. One whipping would provoke another in retaliation, and thus the country was kept in constant dread of violence. It was the rule of each faction to order a man to leave the settlement when he was whipped, and Uncle Nattie McCracken says that sometimes the fellow slicked actually sold his property under the lash, one or more members of the mob purchasing the goods thus offered for sale. A speculative spirit in this way crept into the war, and became with some of the actors in the feud a secondary motive, though hatred and revenge continued to dominate the controlling spirits of each faction.

**Old Abram.**

"It was about a year after the killing of Jim Turk before his death was avenged. Tom Turk and Ise Hobbs undertook the bloody enterprise. They went to the Nowel homestead one morning before daylight and waited for their victim to come in sight. Ise had Old Abram, the best product of the Tennessee gun shop, and Turk carried a rifle of smaller caliber. About sun-up old man Nowel, the slayer of Jim Turk, came out of the house to wash for breakfast. He went to a barrel of water and dipped into it a wash pan. It was arranged for Turk to fire first, but either because of the inferiority of his gun or lack of nerve on the part of the giant slicker the shot was harmless, and Nowel turned and looked toward the assassins. Then Hobbs pulled the trigger of Old Abram and the second victim of the feud dropped dead. It was long after the killing of Nowel that the Turks and the Hobbses told the details of the tragedy, and Uncle Nattie McCracken believes that Tom purposely missed the old man in order to make Ise the principal in the crime. He thinks that Turk doubted the loyalty of his associate and was afraid that Hobbs would betray him.

"The killing of Nowel led to the supreme crisis in the Slicker war. It startled the whole country and called the people outside of the feud to arms. The militia was mustered and marched to the scene of the late murder. Maj. Rains, a militia commander of local fame, at the head of eighty men, attempted to suppress the feud and bring the murderers of Nowel to justice. Turk and Hobbs were suspected of the crime at once, but there was no positive proof of their guilt. The militia remained in the neighborhood of McCracken's for several weeks, protecting the women and hunting for the murderers of Nowel. The women and children were demoralized with terror and followed Maj. Rains and his men around from place to place. The houses where the militia camped at night were called forts, and here the noncombatants gathered and cooked their suppers under the protection of government muskets. As the militia marched by the McCracken homestead one evening Bob Turk and Arch Blue got upon the yard fence and crowed in defiance. That was an old Tennessee mode of challenging an enemy to battle. That same night the militia camped at one of the Metcalfs. The house was full of women and children. Blue and Turk went to Metcalf's after dark and fired at the house. The door was shut, but Bob Turk's shot killed one of the men within the house. It happened that the man killed was one Dobbins, whose father-in-law, Nowel, had already been murdered by Tom Turk and Ise Hobbs. It was a mere blind shot that killed Dobbins, as Turk could see no one when he fired. The house in which this murder occurred is still standing, and a weather-beaten door bears the mark of the bullet that brought the second bereavement to the Nowel family.

**The Militia Campaign.**

"After the shooting of Dobbins the militia continued to scout the country in search of the Turks and Ise Hobbs. The slicker outlaws had several hiding places. The murderers of old man Nowel were finally found at the home of one of the Cruses. They were upstairs, and refused to come down and surrender. The militia surrounded the house and threatened to set fire to the building if the slickers did not come out and surrender. The family, in order to save their property, persuaded Tom Turk and Ise Hobbs to give up. Then the militia started to Bolivar with the prisoners. It was a march full of sensational features. Mrs. Nowel shouldered the gun of her murdered husband and joined Maj. Rains' command in guarding the prisoners on the way to jail. Many of the settlers went to town to see what would be done with the slickers.

"At Bolivar the prisoners were committed to jail. In a short time they were released by their partisan friends and the reign of terror continued. Slicking went on and many families left the country. Immigration to the territory affected by the war stopped, and for nearly two years no new homes were established on the prairie around the center of hostilities. Members of the church took sides in the strife, and the few preachers in the country could exert no influence toward the restoration of peace. It was after the killing of Dobbins that the belligerent factions resorted to all possible cunning devices to terrorize the country. The graves of hated persons were made and rude epitaphs written on boards telling of their death.

## The Hobbs-Turk Duel with Scythes.

"A change now came over the spirit of the war which made deadly foes of the two most prominent members of the slicker party. The intimacy between Tom Turk and Ise Hobbs, growing out of their partnership in crime, had led them to exchange many secrets, some of which were foreign to the common cause. In one of his confidential moods the giant slicker had used the name of a young woman of the settlement with too much freedom. Whether impelled by a general sentiment of chivalry or resenting the insinuation with the motive of a secret lover, Ise Hobbs championed the honor of the prairie maiden, and challenged her accuser to the trial of battle. This quarrel occurred in a harvest field near the McCracken farm. The scythe was then displacing the reap hook as a harvesting implement, and Ise Hobbs had already acquired the distinction of being the best cradler in the settlement. Friendly neighbors then swopped work instead of hiring help, and several hands were in the field when Ise demanded that Tom Turk should take back the remark about the girl. The two principals prepared for a deadly combat, each detaching his scythe blade from the cradle stock, while the other men began to take sides in the quarrel. When the agile and daring young defender of the injured beauty advanced on his big antagonist, brandishing the long, gleaming blade, the courage of Tom Turk failed, and he retreated from the field. No one was killed in this fight, but the settlement knew that blood would soon flow as a result of the new turn in the tide of war. Ise Hobbs and Tom Turk could not live in the same neighborhood as enemies. They knew too much of each other's history.

"The quarrel between the Hobbses and Turks now became the leading feature of the war, and everybody waited for the next fatal event. Ise and Tom watched for each other. Neither went out without his gun, and, as the families lived on neighboring claims, a deadly encounter was constantly expected. Finally, Turk decided to leave the country. He went to a blacksmith's shop in the neighborhood one day to get his horse shod. Ise Hobbs heard of Tom's intention to leave, and was on the lookout for his enemy. While Turk was at the shop Hobbs watched him from an elevation on the prairie, and planned a scheme of death. He had cut a blind near the McCracken spring, a short distance from the path which his enemy would travel in going home. When he saw the big black horse which Tom Turk rode leave the shop, the assassin went to his ambush with Old Abram loaded for another deadly shot. The big man rode rapidly toward home, carrying his gun before him, and using the wooden ramrod for a switch. He passed the McCracken place about sundown. Galloping down the hill toward the spring the rider was soon out of sight. The hollow through which the little rivulet flows was then covered with a thick growth of young willows. As Turk entered the shadows of the valley a blaze of fire shot out from the fatal blind, and the assassin's bullet struck the rider under the arm. A hole in a homemade flax coat had guided the aim of the murderer, and the shot was almost instantly fatal. The giant of the slickers dropped his gun and fell lifeless to the ground.

## The Most Impudent Act of the War.

"A few neighbors soon gathered at the scene of the murder. A rain came up, and the body of Tom Turk was taken up to McCracken's house, where the inquest was held. Among the men who came to see the corpse was Ise Hobbs. He went up to the body, rubbed the head of the dead man, and said, 'You have been a brave fellow, Tom, but they got you at last.' Uncle Nattie considers this the most impudent act of the war, as no one then doubted that Ise Hobbs had fired the fatal shot.

"Jeff Hobbs was the next man killed. He was shot from a blind on Holland's creek while riding in a wagon with his father. It was supposed that the Turks did the shooting. Ise Hobbs left the country soon after the death of his brother. He went to Mississippi, taking with him Old Abram. There he became involved in a quarrel, and after some acts of violence was arrested. Eleven men started to Holly Springs with the prisoner, and on the way Ise made some threats and demonstrations, which caused the guard to shoot the desperado. His body was riddled with bullets, and then tied on a horse and taken into town. Months after the death of the chief spirit of the Slicker war, his gun, Old Abram, was sent back to the Hobbs family in Missouri.

**Extermination of the Clans.**

"After the Turks and Hobbses were about exterminated the feud began to die out. John Hobbs had received a cut on the arm in a fight at Hermitage, which caused the amputation of the limb, and he was afterward murdered in the Civil war. When peace was somewhat restored and the law could be again enforced, a grand jury was summoned to investigate the crimes of the Slicker war. Uncle Nattie McCracken was a member of that jury, as he had lived for three years right in the midst of the strife. He favored universal amnesty toward all parties connected with the feud as the best public policy. The chief spirits in the trouble had now passed beyond the jurisdiction of human courts, and many of the living participants could not be brought to justice. The counties that had suffered most were in debt, and the people who would have to pay the cost of the prosecution were already impoverished. Legal proceedings would be more apt to revive the spirit of hostility than to strengthen the ties of peace. This counsel prevailed, and there was not a single indictment returned for the crimes of the Slicker war.

"There is today but one survivor of the Hobbs family living in the vicinity of the old feud. Mrs. Yoast, a sister of the noted slicker partisans, lives on the old Hobbs place. She is now an old woman, but can barely remember the feud in which her brothers bore such an active part. The log house, in which Ise and Jeff molded bullets for Old Abram fifty years ago, has been displaced by a frame building of three rooms. This house shows the mark of time. All that Mrs. Yoast could remember of the Slicker war, when visited, was that she saw the men goin' and comin'; but did not know what they were about."

**Other Slicker Campaigns.**

Other parts of Missouri had "slicker" campaigns. About the middle of the forties, horse thieves and counterfeiters became active and bold. One band of thieves operating in Lincoln county and the country adjacent ran off and sold in one season at a single sales stable in St. Louis 1,200 horses. So well organized were the bands of thieves that those arrested could produce witnesses to prove alibis. Conditions were so bad that a company of regulators was formed in Lincoln county. Whenever a person fell under suspicion, the regulators investigated and if convinced that the charges were well founded they went to the house of the suspected person and administered a "slicking" with hickory sprouts. The suspect was given hours to get out of the county. The principal thieves were disposed of in this way. One man, who had promised to go, was in Troy the day that his time expired. He was shot and killed, after he started home. John Turnbull, who lived in a log house so strongly built that it was called "Turnbull's Fort," refused to be driven out of the county. There was no evidence against him and suspicion rested on the friendly relationship between Turnbull's son and one of the suspected men. The slickers went to Turnbull's house and insisted that he leave. Turnbull again refused and the slicker war of Lincoln county was on. A charge was made on the fort. Malachi Davis, the first man in the door, received a bullet in the abdomen and died next day. John Davis, a brother fired point blank at James Turnbull, Jr., inflicting what was thought to be a fatal wound in the throat, but the young man lived some years in a paralyzed condition. Squire Turnbull, as the old man was called, received a bullet in the hip which caused his death some time later. One of the Turnbull girls struck Washington Norvell on the head with a corn knife, cutting into the brain; but Norvell recovered with the loss of some tissue. The slickers withdrew. Then the anti-slickers were organized in St. Charles county. They marched into

Lincoln county and escorted the Turnbull family to Flint Hills. They established guards at the fords of the Cuivre river. The Slickers met and marched forth to give battle to the Antis but missed them. There followed some waylaying and shooting at night. Two of the Slickers were in the midst of a game of poker, as one of them told Joseph A. Mudd, the local historian, and one of them "had three jacks and a pair of aces and—"just then shots came from the brush ending the game. James Shelton, captain of the Anti-Slickers, was crossing the river at Chain of Rocks when a bullet fired from the bank hit him in the arm fracturing it. After much maneuvering on both sides, the Slickers and Antis disbanded.

St. Charles county had its organization of Slickers. This was in the days when small steamboats from St. Louis, notably the Bee, ran up the Cuivre river as far as Chain of Rocks in Lincoln county. On one of the Bee's trips a man named Hal Grammar landed at Chain of Rocks. Coincident with Grammar's arrival there began an epidemic of horse stealing, circulation of counterfeit money and other crimes. Grammar drew to himself a number of associates. One day a peddler came to the settlement, left his pack in the tavern office and went into the dining room. The goods disappeared. Grammar was arrested but escaped. Then the citizens got together, formed a band of Slickers and proceeded to clean out the vicious elements in the county. The counterfeiters and thieves were hunted down, whipped with hickory sprouts and given hours to leave St. Charles county. The campaigns of the regulators worked fairly well in the beginning, but some bad men got into the Slicker organizations and used them to carry out private feuds. Slickerism went out of practice in Missouri about 1850. It was brought into the state by settlers from the East Tennessee mountains and started with some of the Ozark communities.

**The Greatest Flood of the Missouri.**

"The Flood of 1844" has a place in history as one of the few notable disasters which have befallen the state. From the earliest Indian traditions to the present time, that stands as the greatest flood of the lower Missouri. There had been nothing to compare with it before. There has been nothing like it since. In the records of the government weather service these data about the flood of 1844 are preserved:

"The stage reached on the present scale of river measurements was 37 feet on June 20 at Kansas City, 16 feet above the danger line. At Boonville the river reached 33.6 feet two and a half days later, which was 13.6 feet above the danger line at that place. The flood was caused by the coincidence of unusually heavy and protracted rains, with what is known as the June rise, the melted snows from headwaters. It is said that about the middle of April the rains began to fall in brief showers nearly every other day. After a few weeks it began to rain every day. It poured down for days and weeks, almost without cessation. The river was rising quite rapidly, but no danger was anticipated, for the oldest settler had never seen a general and destructive overflow, and did not know that such a thing could occur. The river continued to rise, however, at the rate of twelve to eighteen inches a day until June 5, when it went over its banks, and the situation became alarming. The channel was full of driftwood; occasionally a log house floated down, with chickens and turkeys on the roof. In several instances men, women and children were seen on the tops of houses floating hither and thither, and turned and twisted about by heavy logs and jams, but the people were rescued by parties in skiffs.

"On June 20 the water had reached its highest point, and the next day began to fall, but the damage done seemed absolute and the ruin complete. The flood extended from bluff to bluff, generally two miles. There was not an acre of dry land in the river bottoms from Kansas City to the mouth of the river. The rains subsided, and the river fell rapidly. A few persons moved back to their farms, in what was then a very sparsely settled region, and, although it was impossible to do any farming until the latter part of July, it is reliably reported that enough corn was raised that season for the people in many places to subsist on.

"Where Kansas City now stands the flood was about three miles wide. In what is now known as the packing house and wholesale district, where the switching grounds are located, the water was about ten feet deep. The flood extended over the present site of Armourdale and Argentine, in Kansas, near the mouth of the Kaw, but there were few settlements at the junction of the Missouri and Kaw in those days. A deplorable consequence of the great flood was the season of sickness which followed and the high rate of mortality. It is said that it was impossible to find a well person on account of the miasma resulting from the decaying animal and vegetable matter. Chills and fever prevailed in their most malignant form, followed in the winter by spinal meningitis, then called head disease, which proved very fatal. An important fact connected with this flood was that steamboats going up the river found it as low as usual above St. Joseph. All the tributaries of the Missouri, in the State of Missouri, are believed to have overflowed their banks in 1844 very extensively, although in that early day there was scarcely anything to damage along the streams in the way of personal property.

"The flood level at Kansas City was determined and marked on a pier of the Hannibal bridge when it was being constructed by Mr. Octave Chanute, who was supervising engineer of construction. The stage was obtained by the collation of eleven or twelve high-water marks, preserved by old settlers on both sides of the river. Mr. Chanute states that there was practical agreement in the well-authenticated marks. Some years after the completion of the bridge a few local engineers expressed some doubt as to the accuracy of the stage, claiming that it was too high, but Mr. Chanute, who was then building a bridge across the Missouri at Sibley, about thirty miles east of Kansas City, found the high-water marks at that place to correspond very closely with the established mark at Kansas City, after allowing for the slope of the river. Mr. Chanute tested all data worthy of consideration in his determination, so that there is nothing upon which to base a doubt of its accuracy."

**At St. Louis.**

The winter preceding the flood of 1844 was very severe, attended by unusually heavy snowstorms in the northwest. The early spring was characterized by rain storms which were said to be the heaviest known up to that time. At St. Louis in May rains occurred during nine days, the amount of fall, according to a report made by Dr. B. B. Brown, being nine inches. The steamboat Indiana, which went to the relief of Kaskaskia, made fast to the door of Colonel Menard's house and took on board the pupils and the Sisters of the Convent. Water was from ten to twenty feet deep in the streets. The Indiana brought to St. Louis several hundred people. The melting of the unusual snows in the Rocky Mountains, with the continuous rains in the upper Mississippi Valley, accounted for the flood of 1844.

There was some controversy as to whether the great flood of 1844 broke all previous records. Mr. Cerre, who at the time of the flood of 1844 was one of the oldest French settlers in St. Louis, said that inundation was higher by some four or five feet than the one in 1785. According to the best testimony, the flood of 1785 left a dry spot in the town of Kaskaskia, which spot was covered in 1844 with water five feet deep. The steamer Indiana passed along the wagon road from Kaskaskia to St. Louis, finding from six to fifteen feet of water over that

road. The American bottom from Alton to Cairo was submerged, the water covering 700 square miles of the "finest land in the world." According to Spanish and Portuguese historians all of the high ground on the west side of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to the Red River was under water several feet at the time of De Soto's expedition in 1542. In the courthouse of Randolph county, Illinois, there was a document dated 1725, asking for a grant of land for the reason that the great flood of the previous year, 1724, had overflowed Kaskaskia, destroying the houses and driving the inhabitants to the bluffs. The bottom lands along the Mississippi from Alton to Cairo average five miles in width. These lands were submerged from bluff to bluff in 1785, 1824 and 1844. The flood at St. Louis attained its greatest height between the 24th and 27th of June, 1844, and was 38 feet and 7 inches above low water mark.

The flood of 1844 again demonstrated the wisdom of Laclede's location of St. Louis. Because there are alluvial bottoms on the Illinois side, opposite the city; and because the Missouri and the Mississippi at their confluence are bordered on the north and west by a low-lying prairie of great fertility divided into numerous farms, St. Louis is a source of flood news. The city proper has never suffered seriously from high water encroaching upon it.

When the snows melt in the mountains and June rains come in the valleys at the same time, the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Illinois reach flood stages. The water creeps up the levee slowly. Sometimes it reaches the line which was the base of the limestone cliff when Laclede came to found the settlement. More rarely, once in several years, the water comes over the roadway and into the cellars of the warehouses on Front street. At much longer intervals the flood covers the first floors of the business establishments fronting on the levee and necessitates removal of goods. But practically all of the sixty-one square miles of St. Louis area is above the highest water mark.

**The American Bottom Submerged.**

The flood of 1844 was greater than any that preceded it from the time the first record was made. It began early in June. The Missouri boomed gradually, covering the bottoms all of the way through the State of Missouri. At the same time the Illinois was swollen by rains. The Mississippi spread out into the American bottom. By the 16th the water reached the curbstones on Front street and ran into the cellars. Illinoistown, the part of East St. Louis nearest to St. Louis, was submerged and people moved upstairs in their homes. Steamboats went a mile inland on the Illinois side. On the 18th, reports of losses of lives and property began to reach St. Louis. Citizens flocked to the levee. They crowded the roofs and windows. They stood all day observing the houses and barns, the trees, the fences floating by. Bad news came from the American bottom. Those who had left the farms and villages early were safe in camps on the bluffs. But others, basing hope on previous floods, had remained on the higher portions of the great prairie surrounded by water which hourly cut down the island areas. These were in great danger if the flood broke records. The 19th of June found boats plying over the prairies and carrying farmers and live stock to the bluffs. The 20th of June the river level was three feet and four inches above the city directrix; it was rising on the first floors of Front street.

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

THE GREAT FIRE, ST. LOUIS, MAY 17, 1849

Twenty-three steamboats and fifteen squares of the business center burned at a loss of over $3,000,000

VETERAN VOLUNTEER FIREMEN OF ST. LOUIS

From photograph taken in 1904. The hand engine is in the Boyce collection of the Missouri Historical Society, Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis

Every boat from the Missouri came loaded with refugees. The 21st of June brought a higher level and the morning of the 22nd the report was "still rising." Business was almost suspended in St. Louis, although the city itself was in no danger. Measures of relief for the people above and across the river engrossed attention.

The mayor of St. Louis, Bernard Pratte, called on the river captains in port for volunteers. Boat after boat was sent out on relief expeditions. They went inland miles over farms where the grain only a week before had been ripening for harvest. People were taken out of second-story windows of their houses in Brooklyn and Venice and brought over to St. Louis. The new tobacco warehouse, barns, sheds, were used to shelter the hundreds of refugees. The people of St. Louis met at the courthouse, formed a relief committee and canvassed the city for money and supplies. Boats were tendered free for relief service. Crews of boats gave their time without compensation. Until the water went down and the refugees could return to their homes, the heart of St. Louis sustained them.

On the 22nd of June the upper Missouri was reported falling. On the 24th of June, about noon, the crest of the flood reached St. Louis. It marked seven feet seven inches above city directrix. Never before since St. Louis was founded had there been that height. Never since 1844 has the river touched that mark. The unprecedented volume passed slowly. The city directrix, which is the stone monument by which the river levels are measured, had been covered on the 17th of June. It was not uncovered until the 14th of July.

**The Fire of 1849.**

St. Louis had a population of 45,000 and had grown westward to Eleventh street when, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 17th of May, 1849, the fire bells rang for flames on the steamboat White Cloud lying at the foot of Cherry street, which was almost the northern boundary of the city. The Levee was lined with boats. The White Cloud was at the upper landing. The nine hand engines made the run to the river front. Before they could accomplish anything the White Cloud, a mass of flames, had parted her cables and was drifting down stream slowly, bumping against boat after boat below, and setting fire to each of them. She did this to twenty-two steamboats. "Like tinder" these steamboats of '49 burned. They made such intense heat that the firemen were driven back from the Levee to the line of stores and warehouses on the west side of Front street. They tried to prevent the flames from reaching the buildings but at Locust and Front streets a commission house caught fire. The fire spread southward taking store after store and cleaning up whole blocks westward to Main. At Olive the fire crossed Main and burned west to Second and south to Market. There it jumped over three squares to a large cooper shop and burned two more blocks. The movement of the conflagration was not markedly rapid but it was steady. The firemen fought stubbornly all night, pressed back and losing lengths of hose as the flames advanced. The cathedral lay in the path of the fire not more than a block away, when the firemen resorted to the desperate remedy of blowing up six buildings and stopped the

progress. When St. Louis took stock it was found that the losses were three lives and 430 houses, twenty-three steamboats, nine flatboats and barges, three of the principal printing offices, the post office, three banks—property valued at $2,750,000.

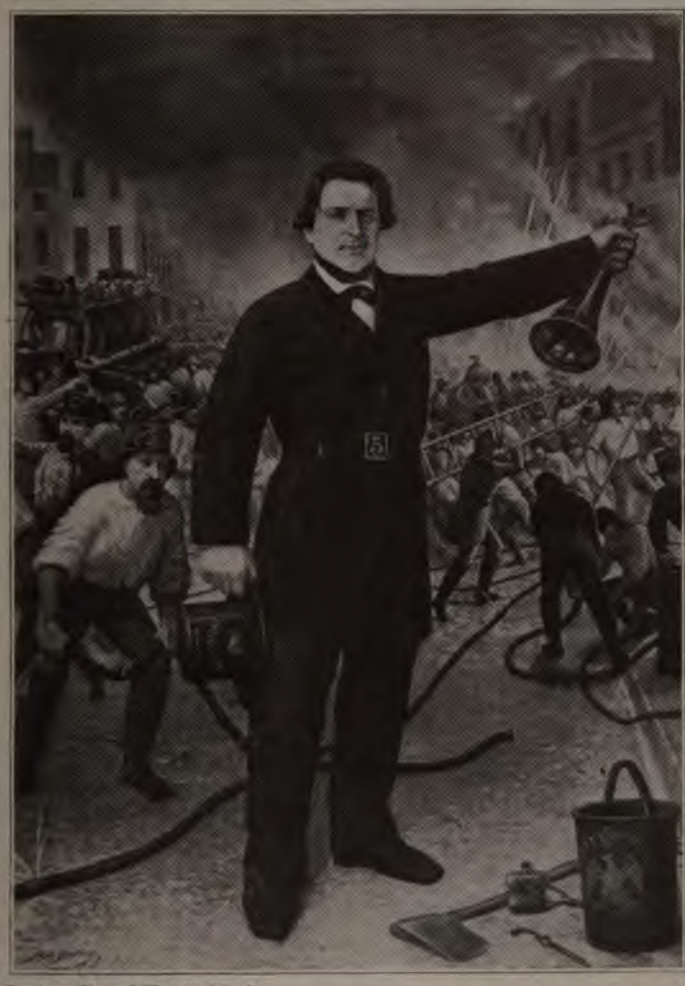
**The Hero of the Fire.**

The hero of "the fire of '49" was Thomas B. Targee. He had come from his native New York City in 1836 and engaged in mercantile business, following at times the vocation of auctioneer. Joining the volunteer firemen, he became the head of the Missouri company and a recognized leader in fire fighting. This did not interfere with his activity as a churchman. He was the choir leader in Christ church and highly esteemed by Bishop Hawks. The fire starting on the night of the 17th of May ate its way steadily down the Levee and through the business blocks. When morning came the volunteers were worn out. Targee urged that the time had arrived for extraordinary methods. He advocated the blowing up of houses in advance of the flames as the most effective means of stopping the spread. This was agreed to. A wagon was sent to the Arsenal and several kegs of powder were conveyed to the southwest corner of Third and Market streets where it was proposed to make the stand. While the powder was being brought, Targee went to his home near Fourteenth and Market streets and remained a short time with his family. He told his wife what he proposed to do and caressed his children. He expressed the hope that the plan would be successful but he did not conceal the fact that it was dangerous.

Going back to the place which had been selected for the use of the powder Captain Targee undertook the active direction of the work. He carried the powder into the buildings which were to be blown up, taking a keg at a time from beneath the tarpaulin where it had been placed to prevent explosion from sparks. He had blown up three structures, successfully making a gap across which the flames might not spread. The next building marked for destruction was Phillips' music store, two doors east of Second street. Targee came down Market street carrying the keg of powder in his arms. He was just within the doors where he expected to throw the keg and retreat before the fire communicated when there occurred a terrific explosion. Captain Boyce and other firemen who made a careful investigation always believed that some one had already placed a keg of powder in the music store and that its presence there was unknown to Targee.

**Government by Committee in Cholera Time.**

In five weeks of 1832 five per cent of the population of St. Louis died of cholera. It was as if in 1920 the deaths from an epidemic disease had numbered 40,000 in a little more than a month. The visitation came in October. The weather was cool and cloudy. Laborers stopped work and stood on the street corners. Business was almost suspended. The feeling of depression was general. Men were seen one day and missed the next. Those who kept their minds occupied with ordinary affairs and made no changes in the habits of dress and



Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

CAPTAIN THOMAS B. TARGEE

Chief of company of volunteer firemen. Lost his life directing the fight against the great fire in St. Louis in 1849. The fire burned twenty-three steamboats and $2,000,000 of business property. From a painting by Matt. Hastings.

food seemed less liable to attack and had the best chance of recovery. The panic stricken, those who stopped work, those who doctored themselves with preventives, were easy victims. The epidemic of cholera which most severely afflicted St. Louis, which brought out the ability of the community to deal with a great emergency and which led to permanent measures of protection from these visitations was in 1849. The city consisted of 63,000 people. The number of deaths from cholera, according to Dr. Engelmann, was 4,317, and from other causes 4,000 more. Mortality meant more than decimation. It carried off one-eighth of the entire population. St. Louis dealt with this unprecedented affliction through a committee of citizens. The movement to supersede temporarily the city government began with the mass meeting on the 25th of June, assembled at the court house. Leading citizens strongly criticised the municipal authorities for inaction. A committee of twelve, two from each ward, was appointed to wait upon the city council and to urge quarantine and vigorous remedial measures. The city council could not be found. Many of its members had left the city. A sufficient number was induced promptly to return to make a quorum. The council met on the afternoon of the day following the mass meeting. The committee presented its petition. Without adjourning the council passed an ordinance which immediately received the mayor's approval. By this action the city government was virtually suspended and the control of affairs was turned over to the committee of twelve. The members of the committee were T. T. Gantt, R. S. Blennerhasset, A. B. Chambers, Isaac A. Hedges, James Clemens, Jr., J. M. Field, George Collier, L. M. Kennett, Trusten Polk, Lewis Bach, Thomas Gray, and Wm. G. Clark.

**The Sanitary Campaign.**

The ordinance designated these gentlemen as "the committee of public health." It conferred almost absolute power to adopt such regulations as the committee should deem necessary. Any violation of the orders of the committee was punishable by fine up to $500. The committee of twelve was given control of the city during the epidemic. The power to fill vacancies was conferred upon the committee. The sum of $50,000 was appropriated for this emergency government by committee. The next day, June 27th, the committee of twelve began the practical campaign against the epidemic. School houses were designated as hospitals. The committee appointed an inspector or superintendent for each block in the city and ordered a thorough cleansing. These "block inspectors" included many of the foremost business and professional men in the city, who entered upon their work with vigor and declined to accept any pay.

On the following Saturday, June 30th, the committee recommended "the burning this evening at 8 o'clock, throughout the city of stone coal, resinous tar, and sulphur." This was very generally adopted. The local newspaper account stated that "in every direction the air was filled with dense masses of smoke, serving, as we all hope, to dissipate the foul air which has been the cause of so much mortality." The committee announced the appointment of Monday, July 2d, to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer. This recommendation was generally carried out. Sunday, July 1st—between the day of burning and the day of praying—did not witness any relaxation of the effort. The block inspectors con-

tinued their work vigorously all of Sunday. On Monday, the day of fasting and prayer, the committee called upon the council to pass an ordinance, which was done that very day, establishing quarantine against steamboats from the South. The work of the committee went on so effectively throughout July that on the first day of August was issued by the committee a proclamation declaring the epidemic to be over. The accounts were closed, the committee turning back to the city treasury $16,000 of the $50,000, resigning their trust, and adjourning *sine die*.

During this epidemic there was not a case of cholera among the students or in the faculty of St. Louis University. The institution at that time was at Ninth and Washington avenue, near some of the most fatal centers of the disease. In the vicinity of the Sheridan Exchange, on Franklin avenue, were two wells with only the thoroughfare separating them. It seemed as if everybody who drank from one well was smitten with the cholera while all who drank from the other were immune. One of the victims of the cholera epidemic in 1850 was General Richard V. Mason. He was living at Jefferson Barracks and was in charge of construction work there.

**The Draining of Chouteau's Pond.**

When a mass meeting called by Mayor John M. Krum was held at the courthouse to consider what should be done in view of the cholera epidemic, one theme was made impressive by all of the speakers. Until that date the city had not moved with energy to abate the ponds scattered throughout the city and the suburbs. These ponds, originally of clear, pure water, had become contaminated with the surface drainage. There were many of them. Speaker after speaker dwelt upon the importance of a system of drainage which would abate the pond nuisance. This was the first general agitation looking to a system of sewerage. With the movement to provide sewers, quite a controversy arose over the abolishment of Chouteau's pond. The proposition was something of a shock to sentiment. Elihu H. Shepard described the feeling:

> Every old inhabitant had been fed on food from that mill. Every man and boy had fished from that pond. Every lady of St. Louis had perambulated its grassy and wide banks. To destroy this great monument of the labors of one of the greatest benefactors and first builders of St. Louis seemed an act of sacrilege which no man would have the temerity to contemplate. Yet it seemed inevitable; the multiplying of factories and butcher shops along its border had destroyed the beauty and defiled the purity of the waters. The pond's presence had become an ulcer and was desirable no longer. It was declared a nuisance and ordered drained, which was done by opening the dam and allowing the water to escape. Thus was removed one of the great features of St. Louis which had distinguished it for the first half of the century.

**A Veteran Policeman's Recollections.**

When he had served forty-three years in the police department of St. Louis, Thomas William Purcell recalled as "the most vivid recollection of my life," the cholera epidemic in the late sixties.

> "During those gloomy days Mayor James S. Thomas had a barrel of pitch and tar burning on every street corner. Vegetables, particularly cabbage, were thrown away and

dumped into the river. Men, women and children died so rapidly that it was not possible to bury them as fast as they died, and many hundreds of bodies lay on the street and in the houses, wherever the unfortunates had breathed their last, for weeks before being interred. The policemen were walking drugstores. Every member of the police department had two bottles of medicine. One was hot and blood-red, while the other was not quite warm, and green looking. Every person we met, that looked sick, we were to induce, by persuasion or force, to take one or the other. If one looked sick or pale, we administered a teaspoonful of the dark medicine. If one had a pain in the stomach or back we gave the other. They were not allowed to drink water for an hour after swallowing either of the medicines and the cure was declared as bad as the disease."

Purcell said that he was stricken with the disease and in a frenzy of fear emptied two bottles full of these medicines.

**The Gasconade Disaster.**

On the 1st of November, 1855, a train of fourteen passenger coaches left the St. Louis station, carrying the official party to celebrate the opening of the Pacific road to the state capital. The company included the military, musicians and St. Louisans representative of the entire city. Fall rains had set in. The day was not pleasant. When the long train reached the bridge over the Gasconade river the wooden trestlework between the east bank and the first pier went down. The fall was about thirty feet. Only the last car in the train kept its place on the rails. Seven of the coaches made a plunge through the broken timbers; others rolled down the embankment. The killed and fatally hurt numbered over thirty. Those injured more or less seriously but not fatally were hundreds. On the engine were Hudson E. Bridge, who had succeeded Thomas Allen as president of the company, and Thomas S. O'Sullivan who had succeeded Mr. Kirkwood as chief engineer. The president escaped without serious hurt; the chief engineer was killed. Two of the best known clergymen of the city, Rev. Dr. Artemas Bullard of the First Presbyterian church and Rev. John Teasdale of the Third Baptist church, were among the dead. Washington King, the mayor of St. Louis, was badly cut. When he got back to St. Louis he made "the awful and inscrutable dispensation of Providence" the subject of a proclamation appointing Monday, the 5th day of November "a day of cessation from all labor as a tribute of respect to those who are most deeply stricken by this terrible blow, and a day of heartfelt thankfulness and gratitude to God by and on account of all who are saved from death." Business houses were closed and the churches were opened for worship.

**The Recollections of Dr. Winston.**

Dr. G. B. Winston, of Jefferson City, was one of the excursionists. In 1878, the twenty-third anniversary, he gave to the Jefferson City Tribune his vivid recollections of that awful November 1st.

"I was in St. Louis at the time, when grand preparations were being made for the celebration of the opening of the Pacific railroad. Claiborne F. Jackson and Hon. G. W. Hough were there and both members of the board of public works. They presented me with the following pass, and insisted that I should come up with them on the train. The pass I have kept as a memento of that fearful day:

PACIFIC RAILROAD
576 FIRST DAY OF NOVEMBER 1855
Pass Dr. G. B. WINSTON
On invitation of the citizens of JEFFERSON CITY. To and return. Good for return on 1st or 2d November.
THOS. S. O'SULLIVAN
Eng'r & Sup't.

Trains leave 7th Street, St. Louis, at 8:30 A. M., and reach Jefferson City at 3:03 P. M.

Returning, leave Jefferson City at 6:06 P. M., and reach St. Louis at 12:30 A. M.; and leave Jefferson City on 2d Nov. at 6:00 A. M. & 3:00 P. M.

Show this ticket on entering cars. Not transferable.

"Engineers, members of the board of public works, judges, lawyers, legislators, divines, editors, reporters, business men, and pleasure-hunters composed the excursion, and the eleven cars were crowded. Judge R. W. Wells, his wife, and son Eugene, Hon. Geo. W. Hough and myself were the Jeffersonians then in St. Louis, and the night before the excursion train was to start, while at the hotel and discussing the trip, the impetus the successful opening of the road would give to railroads, etc., I read that portion of my wife's letter just received: 'Don't come on the railroad. No good can come of any enterprise in which the Sabbath has been so recklessly violated by sinfully working all the hands on that day to get ready for the excursion.' Judge Wells did not believe much that the events of this world are under the control of an Overruling mind, but are left to themselves, and I felt like inviting his comment on the foregoing extract from my wife's letter, and in his pointed, laconic style, he said: 'It will be a fine theme for the preachers if we all go in the Gasconade tomorrow.' I confess that the remark added somewhat to an indefinable apprehension that had already taken possession of me.

"The morning of November the 1st, was indescribably gloomy, and my anxiety, alternating between hope and fear, was increased. The cheerless aspect of all nature had its effect upon my feelings. The gloom gradually grew into a heavy, chilling, misty rain, and all along the horizon low, sullen, muttering thunder was heard, which grew more and more alarming with the promise of evil ahead, all the way to Gasconade. The wind swelled to the fury of a hurricane, the at first lightly falling shower, to a perfect deluge, the distant rumbling to fierce and threatening peals, the occasional flash of lightning to an almost continuous blaze of electricity. The elements seemed at war and to have combined and centered upon the devoted train of excursionists all the vials of their wrath. As we sped on, the roar of the storm became almost deafening, and within the cars it was so dark that it was a hard matter at times to recognize one's vis a vis.

"When we reached Hermann an additional car was attached and a company of uniformed citizen soldiers joined us to add to the pomp and pageantry of our entry into the state capital. While at Hermann I heard persons offering to bet that the train would go into the Gasconade. But O'Sullivan, the chief engineer, was with us, and he was confident that all was safe. Besides, a heavy gravel train had passed over safely only that morning, and this, of itself, was reassuring. But the gravel train had slowed over, going at a snail's pace, and had this plan been adopted by O'Sullivan, the probabilities are that the accident would not have happened. But when I heard persons offering to wager on an accident befalling us, my apprehensions and nervousness came on afresh, and more than once I found myself repeating that line of my wife's letter, 'Don't come on the railroad.' Prudence had all along suggested to me the better security of a seat in the rear car, and had I but heeded these inward promptings I would not have been injured, as the hindmost car never left the track, and the passengers in it suffered no injury. But I disliked very much to give cause for being suspected of timidity or harboring a presentiment of evil.

## "We Are in the Gasconade."

"Well, we pulled out from Hermann and forged ahead in the storm. The lightning flashed with startling vividness, seeming to actually run along the iron rails ahead of our train; peal after peal of thunder followed each other sharply, and we could notice that even

the smallest rivulets and gulches had become swollen to madly rushing torrents. Suddenly, from out the darkness, we were all startled by the fearful cry, 'We are in the Gasconade!' In a moment, the interval was shorter than it takes me to tell it, there came the terrible crash that seems to echo in my ears even now, and locomotive and tender and seven passenger cars made the awful plunge into the abyss of death. I was in the eighth car, and it hung suspended almost perpendicularly over the awful chasm, and confusion reigned supreme within it. Brief as was the period from the time the unknown voice shouted, 'We are in the Gasconade!' until we felt ourselves going down, the noise of the crashing timbers and shrieks of the wounded drowning even the tumult of the elements, it seemed as though there flashed before my excited imagination a perfect and vividly startling panorama of my life—the past, the present, thoughts of the future, all seemed concentered. I thought of the future of my then small household, even of the insurance on my life, debits, credits, business matters, all in an instant of time occupied my thoughts. Passengers —the car was crowded—seats, grip-sacks, everything was jumbled up at the bottom of the car. As soon as possible I extricated myself and clambered up the aisle by means of the matting, and got out. Still the rain was falling in torrents; the storm howled with unabated fury. In the intense excitement of the moment I was unconscious of being hurt, but after walking a few yards became faint, and then, feeling the trickling of blood, saw that my left leg had been badly mangled, and, as I afterwards found out, that two of my ribs were broken. The first dead person I saw taken from the wreck was Rev. Dr. Bullard, an eminent Presbyterian divine. He had been laid on some stones, his pallid face upturned to the pitiless beating rain. The rearmost car had not left the track at all, the ninth and tenth had turned over on their sides. I went to a little deserted hovel a few yards away, and the first object that met my eye was a boy, his head crushed, but he was still living. He had been taken from the wreck and brought there to die.

"Back again to the railroad track and I crawled under the car that still remained in position, and there I remained. Peter L. Foy gave me his handkerchief to bind up my lacerated limb, and a member of the Hermann militia furnished me with a sword belt to buckle over it. Dr. J. N. McDowell, his venerable head bare, passed along, and I implored him, if he had a case of surgical instruments, to dress my wounds. 'I had a case,' he said, rather mournfully, 'but it is down there,' and he pointed to the wreck. To follow the direction of his finger and note the appearance of the shattered cars, one could not help wondering how any one ever escaped with whole bones. It was a fearful sight, and the adventure the most thrilling episode of my life. O'Sullivan was doubtless to blame, but that he thought he was doing right is fully evidenced from the fact that he took up his position on the engine and went down with it, and was crushed to death. As soon as word could be sent to Hermann a train came up and we were all conveyed to that point. Next day we took steamer for Jefferson."

For proper conception of the horror of the Gasconade disaster as experienced by St. Louis, it is to be remembered that railroad travel was just beginning. Those who had ridden any distance on the steam cars were a small minority in the community. The newspapers had contained accounts of very few railroad accidents up to that time. Richard Smith Elliott's description of the Gasconade disaster was graphic.

I was sitting in the middle car, seventh from front and rear. The train was going at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles an hour. There was a bump, a check to the motion, an exclamation from some one near, "We're gone." Except the fizzing of the engine, there was a moment of dead silence, save the patter of the rain on the roof of the car, and then cries and groans to rend the heart.

The car I was in had gone down after passing the abutment and rested sloping to the left side on dry ground; and another car lapped on the front side of ours, crushing to death fourteen persons. Dr. Bullard, Mr. Dayton and others of the best citizens of St. Louis among the number. I had earlier in the day occupied a seat forward of the middle of the

car and relinquished it to a friend who came on at Washington, Elisha B. Jeffries, who was killed. My politeness led to his death. Thirty-one persons in all were killed and a great many wounded.

After the crash the first thing I did was to join others in trying to lift the roof of the car, in order to relieve those yet alive in the front end of it. The absurdity of our efforts, with another car resting diagonally across ours did not suggest itself. There was only a sad feeling that we could for the time do nothing. Soon those of us unhurt got out through the windows. Strong arms were already at work to relieve the wounded, but many men were moving about with dazed looks, as if bereft of their senses. Ten cars had gone down, but the last three remained on the track and many of their uninjured occupants at once devoted themselves to the sufferers. The shanties near were soon filled with men in agony, to some of whom death came as a relief. Judge Samuel Treat was requested to take command and soon brought about some degree of order. To Captain George West was assigned the duty of getting from the wreck of the baggage car whatever eatables could be rescued and also stimulants for the wounded.

The storm, which had begun with a drizzling rain early in the day, seemed to have reserved its fury for the catastrophe. Fierce blasts of wind and heavy dashes of rain, with lightning and thunder, added to the horrors of the scene, as darkness came on; and imagination can scarcely picture a night more wretched than that of November 1, 1855, at the Gasconade river.

Next day the dead and wounded were all put on a train of flat and box cars, and started toward St. Louis. The temporary bridge at Boeuf Creek was considered unsafe, and the cars were pushed down by engine to be crossed by hand. As the first car, with several wounded men in it, was about to go on the bridge, the flooded stream swept the insecure structure away. The train then went back to Miller's Landing to wait for a boat. Another night of wretchedness, during which thirty-one rough coffins were made, and the bodies of the dead were put in them. In the forenoon of November 3rd a ferryboat from Washington arrived, the dead and wounded were put on board, and together with the uninjured soon reached Washington, and there took cars for St. Louis.

### "The Winter of the Big Freeze."

The first steam fire engine introduced in St. Louis, and in Missouri for that matter, was hauled across the Mississippi on the ice. That was in 1856, known locally as "the winter of the big freeze." The river closed on New Years and remained frozen over until March. Warm weather set in on the last day of February. All traffic between the Illinois and the Missouri side was on the ice bridge. The winter was so unusual that it was celebrated by the building of an ice monument on the Levee at the foot of Market street. This monument was made by sportive volunteers who cut the blocks of ice from the river. When the monument was completed it was dedicated to Hernando De Soto, the explorer. At the base of the monument was inscribed "I give my body to the river and my soul to my Maker. In memory of Hernando De Soto."

The breaking of the ice in March was attended with the greatest disaster to steamboats in the city's history. Along the Levee, from the sugar refinery to the foot of Almond street, was a fringe of boats so thick that it was possible to walk that distance of a mile or more by stepping from deck to deck and not once going ashore. The movement of the gorge piled ice floes in great heaps twenty and thirty feet high. One of the first boats carried down was the wrecking boat Submarine No. 4 (note the name). The Submarine crashed into the Federal Arch. These two went on down stream, tearing from the fastenings eight steamboats—The Australia, Adriatic, Brunette, Paul Jones, Falls City, Altoona, A. B. Chambers, and Challenge. With a roar that could be heard far into the

city, the ten boats moved down a mass of wreckage which crushed fifty canal boats, wood boats, and barges. The Bon Accord and Highland Mary were wrecked. The Di Vernon, the Louisville, the Lamartine, the Westerner, the Jeannie Deans—this steamboat nomenclature of 1856 is not without interest—were damaged. The F. X. Aubrey, the Nebraska, the Gossamer, the Luella, the Alice, the Badger State were pushed high on shore. Wharfboats all along the front were crushed. The Shenandoah, the Sam Cloon, the Clara, the Ben Bolt, the G. W. Sparhawk, The Polar Star, the J. S. Pringle, the Forest Rose were some of the others caught in the jam. Thousands of Missourians stood on the shore and watched the general destruction. Steamboatmen, realizing the uselessness of trying to cope with such tremendous forces of nature, were sorrowful spectators.

**The Grasshopper Plague.**

In the spring of 1875 Missouri was threatened with a plague of locusts. The year before Kansas had suffered an almost total crop loss. The grasshoppers came in immense swarms moving from northwest to southeast. They seemed like a snow storm, at times darkening the sky. Where they settled they swept the fields clean of almost every kind of vegetation. Moving eastward slowly they reached Missouri too late in the season of 1874 to do much damage to that year's crops. But they penetrated the state at least fifty miles and laid their eggs. Missourians were warned that this meant grave danger in the following spring. With the coming of warm weather the new generation of grasshoppers was hatched. Appetites were as healthy as had been the case the year before. In Western Missouri grass and other vegetation disappeared. It was supposed that the plague would spread eastward and perhaps cover the whole state. Governor Hardin called by proclamation for a day of fasting and prayer that the visitation might be averted. In June the young grasshoppers took wing and in vast swarms moved in the direction from which those of 1874 had come—to the northwest. That was the end of the plague in Missouri. At that time the state had an entomological bureau at the head of which was Professor C. V. Riley, a talented scientist. When the alarm was greatest in the spring of 1875, and Missouri farmers faced the possibility of famine, Professor Riley gave out a long statement, advocating the use of the grasshopper for food.

"Finally, in cases where, as in some parts in Kansas and Nebraska last autumn, famine stares the people in the face, why should not these insects be made use of as food? Though the question will very generally cause the reader to smile, and the idea will seem repugnant enough to the taste of most. I ask it in all seriousness. It is to be hoped that none of the people of this grand and productive country will ever be reduced to the diet of John the Baptist; but it should not be forgotten that the locusts may be made use of as food, that they are quite nutritious, and are, indeed, highly esteemed by many people.

"I do not intend in this connection to write as essay on edible insects, though a very curious and startling one might be written on the subject; but I wish to insist on the fact that in many parts of Asia and Africa subject to locust plagues, these insects form one of the most common articles of food. Our own Snake and Digger Indians industriously collect them and store them for future use. Deprived of wings and legs, they are esteemed a great delicacy,—fried in oil, or they are formed into cakes and dried in the sun; sometimes pounded in flour, with which a kind of bread is made.

"Love or dislike of certain animals for food is very much a matter of habit, or fashion; for we esteem many things today which our forefathers either considered poisonous or

repulsive. There is nothing very attractive about such cold-blooded animals as turtles, frogs, oysters, clams, crabs, shrimps, mussels, quahaugs or scallops, until we have become accustomed to them. And what is there about a dish of locusts, well served up, more repulsive than a lot of shrimps; they feed on green vegetation and are more cleanly than pigs or chickens. Who can doubt but that the French during the late investment of Paris would have looked upon a swarm of these locusts as a manna-like blessing from Heaven, and would have much preferred them to stewed rats? And why should the people of the West, when rendered destitute and foodless by these insects, not make the best of the circumstances, and guard against famine, by collecting, roasting, and grinding them to flour? Surely, with modern cookery, they can improve on the Digger Indians, to make a locust dish that shall be attractive and palatable even to those not predisposed from sharpened appetites, to judge favorably. And in any event it would pay, under such circumstances, to roast and preserve them as food for poultry and hogs."

**The Locust and Honey Banquet.**

The Warrensburg News gave this account of an actual and comprehensive test of Professor Riley's theory of grasshopper food:

"Yesterday afternoon, Messrs. Riley and Straight determined to test the cooked locust question in regard to its adaptibility as food for the human stomach. Getting wind of the affair and being always in haste to indulge in free feeding, we made bold to intrude ourselves on our scientific friends. We found a bounteous table spread, surrounded by the gentlemen named, accompanied by Mrs. Straight and Miss Maltby. Without much waste of ceremony there were five persons seated, and we were helped to soup, and it was good; after seasoning was added we could distinguish a delicate mushroom flavor,—and it was better. Then came batter cakes through which locusts were well mixed. The soup had banished silly prejudice, and sharpened our appetites for this next lesson, and batter cakes quickly disappeared also. Baked locusts were then tried (plain hoppers without grease or condiment) and either with or without accompaniments; it was pronounced an excellent dish. The meal was closed with a dessert a la John the Baptist,—baked locust and honey,—and, if we know anything, we can testify that distinguished Scripture character must have thrived on his rude diet in the wilderness of Judea."

**The Losses.**

Professor C. V. Riley, who was at the time state entomologist of Missouri, estimated the loss from the grasshopper plague in Missouri during 1875 at $15,000,000. The United States geologist, F. V. Hayden, said of the losses generally: "We must include as a part of the effect of locust injuries the checking of immigration and the depreciation of the value of lands. So depressing, in fact, was this result in some regions as to paralyze trade, put a stop to all new enterprises, and disthearten the communities where the suffering was greatest." The losses on crops alone were estimated at $10,000,000, and the indirect loss was thought to be as much more. Of the Missouri counties, Jackson suffered the greatest loss, $2,500,000. Lafayette came next with $2,000,000; then Buchanan and Cass, $2,000,000; Johnson, $1,500,000. Clay, Platte and Henry, $800,000 each; Andrew, $500,000; Bates and Clinton, $600,000 each; Gentry, $400,000; De Kalb, $200,000; Holt, $300,000; St. Clair, $250,000. Other Missouri counties which sustained losses were Barton, Benton, Caldwell, Harrison, Jasper, Newton, Pettis, Ray, Vernon, Worth. The estimates are those given in Professor Riley's report.

Missouri had had grasshopper invasions but nothing to compare with the visitation of 1875. As early as 1820 a grasshopper plague in Missouri was reported. The account given said, "They came in the autumn by millions, devour-

ing every green thing, but too late to do much harm. They literally filled the earth with their eggs, and then died. The next spring they hatched out, destroying the cotton, hemp, flax, wheat and tobacco crops but the corn escaped uninjured. About the middle of June they disappeared, flying off in a southeast direction."

In 1866, the grasshoppers appeared in Missouri to such an extent that "they were often so thick that trains were seriously delayed on account of the immense numbers crushed on the track." On the plague of 1875, Professor Riley reported:

**An Official Report.**

"Serious and distressing as were the ravages of this insect in 1874, when the winged swarms overswept several of the western states, and poured into our western counties in the fall, the injury and suffering that ensued were as naught in Missouri, compared to what resulted from the unfledged myriads which hatched out in the spring of 1875. The greatest damage extended over a strip twenty-five miles each side of the Missouri river, from Omaha to Kansas City, and then extending south to the southwestern limit of Missouri. Early in May the reports from the locust districts of the state were very conflicting. The insects were confined to within short radii of their hatching grounds. The season was propitious, and where the insects did not occur everything promised well. As the month drew more and more to a close, the insects extended the area of destruction, and the alarm became general. By the end of the month the non-timbered portions of the middle western counties were as bare as in winter. Here and there patches of amarantus blitem and a few jagged stalks of milk-weed served to relieve the monotony. An occasional out-field, or low piece of prairie, would also remain green; but with these exceptions one might travel for days by buggy and find everything eaten off, even to underbrush in the woods. The suffering was great and the people well nigh disheartened. Cattle and stock of all kinds, except hogs and poultry, were driven away to the more favored counties, and relief committees were organized. Many families left the state under the influence of temporary panic and the unnecessary forebodings and exaggerated statements of the pessimists. Chronic loafers and idlers even made some trouble and threatened to seize the goods and property of the well-to-do. Relief was, however, carried on energetically, and with few exceptions, no violence occurred. Early in June, the insects began to leave; the farmers began replanting with a will. As the month advanced, the prospects brightened, and by the Fourth of July, the whole country presented a green and thrifty appearance again."

The next year the counties which had suffered in 1875 raised unusually good crops. There was another invasion in 1876, but it was on a smaller scale, and in a quarter that had not suffered severely the previous year. Furthermore, the grasshoppers in this second invasion came later in the year when the crops were so well advanced that they did not do so much damage.

**The Day of Fasting and Prayer.**

Farmers fought the grasshoppers by digging miles of trenches around fields. They made great fires hoping that the drifting heat and smoke would save the young crops. Nothing availed however, according to the current reports, until Governor Hardin's proclamation was generally observed on the 3rd day of June. "On the very next day heavy rains set in. Up to that time the long continued drought had been general in Missouri. After the proclamation and its observance the rains became heavy and frequent. The grasshoppers began to go about June

11. A strong southwest wind drove them forth into the interior of the state, but in a day or two, the wind swept to the east and by the 15th the pests were entirely gone."

State legislatures in the sections afflicted with the "plague of locusts" took prompt action. Missouri passed a law providing a bounty of a dollar a bushel for grasshoppers caught in March; fifty cents for those taken in April and twenty-five cents a bushel for the May crop. A bounty of five dollars a bushel for grasshopper eggs was payable at any time of the year. Nebraska made all road overseers grasshopper policemen with authority to call out every man between sixteen and sixty to give two days to the killing of grasshoppers in the hatching stage.

Professor Riley's conclusion was that these Rocky Mountain locusts as he named them were produced in the higher altitudes of Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Northwest Dakota and British America. "It breeds in all this region but particularly in the vast hot and dry plains and plateaus of the last mentioned territories."

He said that driven by hunger these locusts rose in great swarms and if carried by winds favorable to them they reached the Missouri valley. There they could reproduce for two or three seasons but not longer. The change from the altitudes of 6,000 to 7,000 feet to the more humid and dense atmosphere was unhealthy and the locusts died out rapidly.

**A Missourian's Contributions to Science.**

While Professor Riley obtained considerable notoriety from his suggestion of the use of grasshoppers for food, that was only an incident in a notable career as a scientist. Riley established in St. Louis a periodical, the American Entomologist, which took world-wide rank. His associate in the scientific enterprise was Benjamin D. Walsh. During a period of eight years Professor Riley held the office of state entomologist for Missouri. His discoveries respecting the potato bug or Colorado beetle, the grasshopper or Rocky Mountain locust to use the more specific name of the dread of the farmers in the seventies, the cotton worm, the grape scourge or phylloxera, were highly important. His reports on these attracted attention to him and to Missouri as a field of scientific research of the most beneficial character. The United States government sent for Professor Riley and made him the head of the entomological division of the department of agriculture. The French government bestowed upon the talented Missourian a gold medal when he showed them that by grafting their vines on the hardier American roots they could stop the ravages of phylloxera. In a single year over 14,000,000 cuttings of American vines recommended by Professor Riley were exported to France. Coming down from his suburban home in Washington to his office, Professor Riley was thrown from his bicycle and received fatal injuries.

**The Barony of Arizona.**

A Missourian, James Addison Reavis, created a fictitious grant of 13,000,000 acres including the best of Arizona. He was twenty years in constructing the most marvelous land fraud of this generation. He forged archives and records

JAMES ADDISON REAVIS
Inventor of the fraudulent Peralta land grant claims

The corn meal batter was put on a slab which was placed at an angle in the fireplace

in three countries. He created, by imagination, a noble Spanish family and carried the descent, lineal and collateral, through two centuries. He even found a portrait gallery to fit the history of the mythical Peraltas. He discovered on a railroad train the lost heiress to the Barony of Arizona, and married her. He conducted in person the most remarkable trial that has been known in recent years. When he was sent to jail he invited the warden to dine with him. He hired the foremost lawyers of the United States on contingent contracts, and induced them to advance him money on his prospective success. He victimized the smartest lobbyists in Washington. He put on stripes with the air of a martyr. But he wrote a letter from the penitentiary to Matthew G. Reynolds, the representative of the government who uncovered the fraud and convicted him. In that letter Reavis professed repentance. He said that in the solitude of his cell he had come to an appreciation of his errors. He felt that, instead of owing a grudge, he could esteem Mr. Reynolds as an instrument in the hands of Providence to bring him to a realization of what he had done. He declared his intention to lead a different life.

Government officials estimated that the losses through the Peralta claim were as much as $500,000. Large sums were paid by Arizona people to clear their titles to lands supposed to be covered by the alleged grant. In a variety of ways money was advanced by eastern capitalists who expected to realize handsomely when the claim was sustained. Prominent lawyers gave months to the litigation with large fees contingent on success. A suit was instituted by some of these lawyers in the Court of Claims at Washington. It was against the United States for between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000 damages. The government had sold hundreds of thousands of acres within the limits of the Peralta grant. The suit was to recover for Reavis all that the government had received from settlers. In support of it many depositions were taken in California, Arizona and elsewhere. With the collection of alleged Spanish documents made by Reavis the evidence of living witnesses made up a case to which the United States could find no answer. It seemed as if on the statement which could not be disproven, the court must give the enormous judgment in favor of Reavis.

At this crisis Congress enacted the law creating a court to pass on private land claims, especially these old Spanish grants in the Southwest. The field was a large one, for there were many of these grants more or less vague. But what moved Congress especially at the time to take action was the dangerous position the Peralta claim had reached. The court was formed. Reavis came forward with his documents and depositions. The case was more than made. Statements of living witnesses not only dovetailed together, but they were corroborative in the most wonderful manner of the elaborate array of alleged Spanish documents which Reavis had gathered in support of the claim.

But Reavis had more testimony. He visited Los Angeles and rounded up a lot of new witnesses whose evidence was all to the same general effect. He produced so much testimony that there seemed to be no limit to it. This was characteristic of the life work of Reavis. The claimant was indefatigable. Before the surveyor general of Arizona years ago the Peralta grant looked formidable. But at frequent intervals the claimant had come forward with additional material. Sometimes it was an entirely new batch of documents he

produced with a story of discovery among the archives of Spain or Mexico. At other times living witnesses were found, who, with marvelous memories, recalled persons and circumstances which fitted into the story. Something like a climax to the long run of luck was reached, however, when the baroness presented her proud husband with twins. At least Reavis produced two babies and proclaimed it was a case of twins. By a curious process of reasoning, he insisted that this was strongly corroborative of the alleged Peralta record which made his wife a twin. He had a great celebration at the christening and invited to it the judges and officials of the court of private land claims, sending to them cards printed in gilt. The babies, Reavis called "sons of the golden West." He made much of the twin business as evidence of his wife's Peralta lineage. It was after this that the eminent lawyers who had gone into the litigation with zeal began to draw out quietly. Reavis said it was because they couldn't understand the case. The lawyers offered no explanations, but they all left him, and when, after his lifetime of preparation, the trial came, the claimant stood alone in court, without a solitary legal representative.

**Colonel Rickey's Philosophic Explanation.**

Joseph K. Rickey, shrewd and experienced Missourian that he was, came under the spell of Reavis. After the exposure and before the confession of Reavis, Col. Rickey gave this account of the inception and wide ramifications of the fraud:

"My first acquaintance with the Peralta claim was made through the widow of Dr. Willing of Callaway county. Dr. Willing had, as he supposed, bought the grant from the heir, but it afterwards transpired that the party from whom he acquired his title was only one of the family and not the actual heir. Mrs. Willing came to me for assistance in the matter. In the meantime Reavis took hold of it. This was in 1868 or 1869. He worked at it for years; threw himself into it, and went West to find out all of the details. There, as everyone knows, he met the supposed baroness and lineal heir to the vast estate. She afterwards became his wife.

"Out of friendship for Mrs. Willing I got Colonel Broadhead to investigate the Peralta grant. This was, I think, in 1880. Colonel Broadhead had then never seen Reavis. He, after examination, thought it a good case. At that time, however, there was no court in existence which could try the issue. This is where I became really interested. I helped to secure by legislation the establishment of the temporary private land court, before which all such cases could be tried. I also put some money into it—not a great deal, but several thousand dollars. Colonel Broadhead was convinced on Mrs. Willing's statement that the Peralta grant was itself valid; the only question was as to the rightful heir to it.

"Sometime, about 1883 or 1884, Reavis organized a stock company to push the claim. It was capitalized at $50,000,000. The stock was never put on the market, but blocks of it were issued to those who had advanced money. The company was formed under the laws of New Jersey. Robert G. Ingersoll was president, and among those heavily concerned was the Southern Pacific railroad. In all, I should think, from $200,000 to $300,000 was thus invested. I thought in those days it would be worth dollar for dollar, but I have ceased to trouble about it. I really don't know whether or not Reavis was or is aware of the fraud in the case. He went into it originally in good faith, and I am inclined to believe he acted in good faith all along. As far as I am concerned, I embarked in the enterprise because I thought it a good thing. I am out a few thousand dollars and lots of time, and I have abandoned all thought of recovering anything. Reavis lost nothing by marrying Miss Treadway, or Dona Sofia. She is a good woman, and has made him a good wife. She

has several times visited my house at Washington, and I formed a high opinion of her. She certainly looks like a Spaniard.

"The special court was created four years ago, and will soon go out of existence, then the Peralta claim will be a memory of the past. It was a grand thing while it lasted. It reads more like a romance than like reality. The land involved included the best part of Arizona, with all the water rights, taking in the town of Phoenix and the famous Silver King mine. Of course, Reavis reserved much of the stock for himself, but he distributed the rest to those who helped him. He staked everything he had on the success of the case. Until Attorney Reynolds made his discoveries we all thought we had a bonanza. Knowing Mr. Reynolds, however, to be a man of indisputable reliability, I saw all was up when he announced the result of his investigations. Reavis has lost every cent he had in the world. He was always an improvident fellow. All the lawyers once interested have retired from the case, and Reavis now stands up alone, fighting every inch of ground with the courage of despair."

**Colonel Broadhead's Statement.**

James O. Broadhead, who obtained a leave of absence and came home from Switzerland, expecting to resign his place of United States minister and try this case, had in sight, it is said, a fee of $500,000. When he was informed of the developments on the part of the counsel for the government he decided to retain the diplomatic position and cut loose from the Peralta grant. In a letter Mr. Broadhead said he went into the case on the strength of what the documents shown him by Reavis purported to be. He had no means of verifying them. He knew that if they were authentic Reavis had a perfect case, and he had no reason then to doubt their genuineness. Colonel Broadhead's connection with the case was undoubtedly honest. His high reputation gave the Peralta claim a certain standing which induced investments in it. Letters received from various parts of the country showed that shrewd men had invested considerable sums of money, impressed with the belief that there must be honesty in it if Colonel Broadhead was attorney for it.

One after another the eminent lawyers retained by Reavis withdrew from any connection with the Peralta grant. The last to give it up was Mr. Knaebel, of Denver, who stood in the foremost rank at the Colorado bar. Mr. Knaebel, according to common report, had a contract with Reavis by which he was to receive $25,000 a year for five years and a percentage of the expected judgment against the United States, which would have yielded him $250,000. Yet Mr. Knaebel, after the taking of testimony in Mexico and California by the government, refused to have his name further connected with the case.

**The Victims of Reavis.**

The ramifications of this fraud were country-wide. The victims of Reavis were scattered from Pennsylvania to California. Two letters came into the possession of the counsel for the government. One was from J. R. McMurran of Philadelphia addressed to William McGeorge, Jr., of the same city. It revealed the impression which the Missourian had been able to make upon eastern capitalists.

"By reason of your great familiarity with land titles," Mr. McMurran wrote, "and especially because of your long experience in passing upon many of the large and important land grants of the United States, I have been advised to

secure your aid in establishing the title to probably the largest and most important of these."

After rehearsing briefly the history of the Peralta claim as told by Reavis, Mr. McMurran continued:

"Hon. James O. Broadhead, present minister to Switzerland, and probably the greatest specialist in the United States on Spanish and Mexican land titles, and Hon. Philip B. Thompson, of Washington, have active charge of the interests of the owners of property. They both state unqualifiedly that they have examined with great care the archives and muniments of title, and pronounce the title perfect in the representative of Peralta. Last spring, Colonel Broadhead went to San Francisco and took the testimony establishing the identity of the present claimant, Mrs. Peralta-Reavis. Judge Reed, the chief justice of the court of private land claims, and Mr. Reynolds, the attorney for the government, sat with Colonel Broadhead when this evidence was taken, and they all agreed that the heirship of Mrs. Reavis was clearly established. The title has been carefully examined by some of the most prominent attorneys of the country; among others, by Harvey S. Brown, counsel for the Central Pacific railroad, who advised his company that the grant was good and bona fide, and under his advice the company some years ago paid the owners $50,000 for the 'right of way' of the Southern Pacific railroad across the grant and to relinquish their interest in the townsite of Maricopa. I have made a careful examination of the entire matter myself, and, as far as I am able to conclude, the title is perfect."

Mr. McMurran went on to say he had been authorized to place 2,000,000 acres of the grant at twenty cents an acre. For this the sum of fifteen cents an acre was to be paid on subscription and the remainder, five cents an acre, after the court rendered the decree confirming the grant. In explaining the magnificent opportunity for profitable speculation, Mr. McMurran added: "About 1,000,000 acres can be put in thorough irrigation for about four dollars an acre; it will then be worth from $100 to $150 an acre. The suit is to be tried next May, and it is the opinion of all attorneys connected with it that it cannot be lost. There has already been about one-quarter of $1,000,000 expended in the work of establishing the title, and twenty-five years of the lifetime of a very capable man, who has worked at infinite peril to himself in attaining what has thus far been secured."

The other letter was from Mr. McGeorge. It was addressed to a friend, and strongly advised the investment. Mr. McGeorge began by saying that he had all his life been prejudiced against putting money into such schemes, because of the uncertainty of title, the probable delay in litigation and the possible injustice to actual settlers. He wrote:

"When the proposition was first made to me I was disposed to decline it, but having carefully examined the documentary evidence, and subsequently having exhaustively gone over the case with Hon. Philip B. Thompson, who has devoted so much time and spent so much money working it up, I was compelled to admit that these objections did not exist in this case. There was no uncertainty in the title, because it was derived from royal grant, and the existing massive ruins of 'Casa Grande' and the later 'Casa Blanca' furnish monumental evidence of actual and long-continued possession by the original grantees. In view of all these circumstances, therefore, there being no legal, or moral, or even sentimental objection to joining in this arrangement to provide the funds for enabling the actual, and honest, and vigilant, and persevering claimants to maintain their rights, I have no hesitation in recommending that those who are willing and able to engage in such an enterprise should do so and reap the rich reward offered."

It came to the knowledge of the counsel for the government that a variety of schemes was advanced with this Peralta claim as the basis. A woman of means in the State of Washington wrote to the clerk of the court of private land claims enclosing a most amazing document. On the outside was a well-executed cut of Chief Justice Reed on the bench handing down to Reavis something on which was printed the word "Decree." Within the sheet was a printed copy of the order of the court in involved and technical verbiage permitting Reavis to file an amendment to his petition. It was a formality and bore no relation to the consideration of the claim by the court. The inference an inexperienced person would naturally draw was that the court had done something of great advantage to the claimant. Some might even conclude from the picture and the language that the case had been won and the grant confirmed. The woman wrote in considerable alarm. It appeared that she had advanced money on the grant and expected to put in more. But she had shown this picture and the order to a lawyer. He had told her it was not a decree and had advised her to write to the clerk about it. This Washington woman represented only one class of investors. Some of the shrewdest business men in Kansas City, Topeka and other Missouri Valley cities wrote confidentially to officers of the court, making inquiries as to the status of the case and the probable safety of their investments. A brokerage firm in San Francisco had $15,000 at stake. A San Francisco paper had been convinced all along that this was a bona fide grant. Denver men were into it. Wilson Waddingham, who placed the Maxwell grant in England and who was at the head of some great irrigation and development enterprises in the Southwest, at one time stood ready to invest heavily on the representations of Reavis. For a considerable period Reavis maintained offices in the Mills building in New York. Alluring statements as to the prospects of early realization on the Peralta claim brought a rich harvest.

**The Confession of the Claimant.**

After serving his sentence Reavis wrote a confession. He said: "I am of Scotch-Welsh antecedents with a traditional Spanish extraction in the remote generations. Three of my great grandparents fought in the Revolution. I was reared in Henry county, Mo. In May, 1861, at the age of eighteen, I enlisted in the Confederate army, and during my life as a soldier committed my first crime. I forged an order, and, being successful in this, I raised a furlough, and before this expired I surrendered to the Union forces. After the war I worked as a street car conductor, but subsequently opened a real estate office in St. Louis. I was successful in forging a title to sustain a tax title to some valuable land I had bought, not knowing the title was imperfect. But these are incidents in which there is little interest. However, success in these early evils sowed the seed that later sprang forth into the most gigantic fraud of this century.

"The plan to secure the Peralta grant and defraud the government out of land valued at $100,000,000 was not conceived in a day. It was the result of a series of crimes extending over nearly a score of years. At first the stake was small, but it grew and grew in magnitude until even I sometimes was appalled at the thought of the possibilities. I was playing a game which to win meant greater wealth than that of a Gould or a Vanderbilt. My hand constantly gained

strength, noted men pleaded my cause, and unlimited capital was at my command. My opponent was the government, and I baffled its agents at every turn. Gradually I became absolutely confident of success. As I neared the verge of the triumph I was exultant and sure. Until the very moment of my downfall I gave no thought to failure. But my sins found me out and as in the twinkle of an eye I saw the millions which had seemed already in my grasp fade away and heard the courts doom me to a prison cell.

"Now I am growing old and the thing hangs upon me like a nightmare until I am driven to make a clean breast of it all, that I may end my days in peace."

## CHAPTER XXXVII

## MISSOURI IN THE WARS

*Battle of the Everglades—The Gentry Family—When the State Compelled Military Service—Benton's Mexican Plan—A Political Ballad of '46—Missourians Start for Mexico Without Orders—The Army of the West—Doniphan's Marching and Fighting—Sterling Price's Memorable Part—The Revolt of the Pueblos—Sergeant Drescher's Ride for Mercy—Execution of the Revolutionists—The Battle at Rosalia—William Cullen Bryant's Tribute to Doniphan's Expedition—New Mexico Annexed by Kearny—The Doniphan-Hall Legislature—New Mexico's Territorial Birth—Doniphan's Tribute to His Men—The Nerve of the Rangers—Homeward Bound—A Missouri Welcome—Long Live Governor Lane—The Historic Brass Cannon from Mexico—Troubles on the Kansas Border—John Brown's Invasion of Missouri—William Hyde, War Correspondent—The Southwest Expedition—Trophies of the Civil War—Shelby's Story of His Expedition—What Lincoln Planned for the Confederates—Negotiations with Maximilian—Missouri and the War with Spain—Bland, Dockery and Cochran—Sedalia's Object Lesson in Loyalty—Grant and Doniphan on Mexico—Mullanphy and the Cotton Bales—The American Spirit in Upper Louisiana—George Rogers Clark's Tribute—Francis Vigo, the Patriot—Battle of Pencour—The British Plans to Take the Mississippi Valley—St. Louis in the American Revolution—Captain Beausoleil's Expedition.*

And this is Colonel Doniphan, who made the wild march against the Comanches and Mexicans. You are the only man I ever met whose appearance came up to my prior expectations.—*President Lincoln to Doniphan at the White House.*

A few days before Martin Van Buren was inaugurated in 1837, he talked to Senator Benton about the trouble the Seminoles were giving in Florida. Missouri's Indian problems had been settled so successfully and so easily that public men at Washington had often marveled. The President-elect sought an opinion from the senator as to what should be done with the Florida situation which was grave.

"If the Seminoles had Missourians to deal with their stay would be short in Florida," the senator said.

Mr. Van Buren asked Mr. Benton if he thought Missourians could do better in Florida than the regular army had done.

The senator said he certainly did think so, and told why. There the conversation ended. After the inauguration bustle had passed by President Van Buren one day asked Senator Benton if it was practicable to get Missourians to go to Florida and make a campaign against the Seminoles.

"The Missourians will go wherever their services are needed," was Senator Benton's reply.

Thereupon the United States government did the extraordinary thing of calling upon the governor of Missouri for two regiments of mounted men to

go to Florida and fight the Seminoles. The governor issued the call, and the rough riders and scouts of the Missouri valley headed by General Richard Gentry, Colonel John W. Price and Major William H. Hughes, twelve or fourteen hundred strong, came marching into St. Louis. They camped at Jefferson Barracks. Benton made a speech. Men and horses required several steamboats for transportation. They were taken to New Orleans, and thence to Tampa Bay. On the gulf a storm drove some of the vessels aground. Many of the horses were lost. The Missourians got ashore, and under the direction of General Zachary Taylor marched into the Everglades. At Okee-cho-bee lake they found the whole body of Seminoles under Sam Jones, Tiger Tail, Alligator and Mycanopee. The Missourians fought on foot. They depended upon the tactics and knowledge of Indian character which had never failed them. Gentry, shot through the body, and fatally wounded, kept his feet for an hour directing the movements of his men. The victory over the Seminoles was complete, but the ranks of the Missourians were decimated. Early in the following year, the object of the campaign having been accomplished, the Missourians returned to St. Louis.

**The Fighting Gentrys.**

The Gentrys came to Missouri from Kentucky in 1816 after Richard Gentry had served in the war of 1812. They passed on to the Boone's Lick country where the head of the family participated in laying out Columbia, the county seat of Boone. The Gentrys were of Kentucky fighting stock. They "had no fear of man or beast, the British redcoats or the savage Indian," according to one of a later generation. After the war of 1812 several Gentrys came to Missouri. They were some of the nineteen children of the Richard Gentry who fought in the Revolution. Richard Gentry, best known in Missouri history as General Dick Gentry, came in 1816, passed through St. Louis and sought the famous Boone's Lick country. He made one of the welcoming speeches when the first steamboat reached Old Franklin, was one of the founders of Columbia, voted for Benton, served in the state militia as captain, colonel and major-general, made trips over the Santa Fe Trail, and raised the regiment of rangers which he commanded in the Seminole war. The Missouri rangers carried a silk flag presented to them by the patriotic women of Columbia. On the flag was painted:

> "Gird, gird, for the conflict, our banner wave high.
> For our country we live, for our country we die."

Boone county contributed five of the companies of rangers which went to Florida to fight the Seminoles. The captains were Thomas D. Grant, David M. Hickman, Sinclair Kirtley, Elijah P. Dale and Michael Woods.

Mrs. Richard Gentry was the first woman put in charge of a postoffice. She performed the duties at Columbia more than thirty years, holding commissions under nine Presidents. The appointment was obtained by Senator Benton as a partial recognition of the services of General Richard Gentry in the Everglades.

Gentrys have been in every war fought on American soil. The Missouri Gentrys were in the Black Hawk as well as the Seminole war. They were in

GEN. RICHARD GENTRY
Commander of the Missourians in the Seminole war

ROBERT CAMPBELL
Who financed the organizations of Missourians volunteering for the Mexican war.

GABRIEL CERRE
The St. Louis merchant who financed General George Rogers Clark's expedition against Vincennes and "Hair Buyer" Hamilton in the Revolutionary war.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
Commander of Kaskaskia and Vincennes Expedition

Mexico. They fought on both sides in the Civil war. N. H. Gentry was on the Confederate side and fell at Wilson's Creek. Captain Henry Clay Gentry was on the Federal side and captured Gen. Jeff Thompson, the swamp fox of Southeast Missouri fame. A president of the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad was Joshua Gentry. There have been Gentrys in the pulpits of both Baptist and Christian churches. The historian, Thomas Benton Gentry, in what he called "a confidential talk to the Gentry family," said a few years ago: "They have made good soldiers, good preachers and teachers, good lawyers, good legislators, good surgeons, good county court judges, good civil engineers, good justices of the peace, good city councilmen, good road overseers, good jurors and good citizens generally."

And then he cautioned the Gentrys "not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think, but soberly." He reminded his relatives that "we have never yet furnished this country with a President, a cabinet officer, a United States senator, a governor, or a federal judge." And then he lectured briefly and excellently on eugenics:

> "The secret is, my dear relatives, we have not paid enough attention to education, and to keeping up and improving our stock. Our young women are often too thoughtless in the matter of selecting partners for life. And our men when not engaged in war have been busy with their farms, their stock raising, their fine horses, cattle, sheep and hogs and money making, and have too much neglected education and cultivation of the intellect. I most earnestly call your attention to these matters, and as a brother urge you henceforth to be exceedingly careful and wise in the contracting of matrimonial alliances. Choose none but the very best stock, and then with the proper education and training, you may expect to raise statesmen, orators, great preachers, lawyers, inventors, and men of genius, as well as the well balanced, solid farmer and man of business. The early training of your children is a most important matter. You cannot be too careful to teach and train them with the highest standards of morality and religion."

**The Militia Law.**

Missouri's militia law in early days required all able bodied men between eighteen and forty-five to organize in companies and elect captains. Battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions were formed with majors, colonels, brigadier-generals and major-generals. Once a month the company mustered in each township. Semi-annually the battalions were formed and drilled at the most convenient places. Yearly the regiment of the county was called together at the county seat. The regulations required all who had arms to bring them in good order to the muster. Those who had no arms drilled with sticks. The officers were compelled to buy their own uniforms, the honor of election by their commands and of commissions from the governor being considered sufficient inducement to do this. Under the operation of this law every Missourian learned something of the tactics and every part of Missouri acquired a fine assortment of men with military titles. Courts martial were held to try officers and men for failure to attend drills. The general muster at the county seat was the great day of the year. About the time of the Mexican war the militia establishment of the state became unwieldy. There were too many colonels. The privates grew tired of the muster calls. The legislature repealed the law.

**Missourians in the Texas Struggle.**

No other part of the United States had such close ties with Texas as did Missouri. Even before it had obtained statehood, Missourians in colonies were migrating to the land of unlimited range and no taxes. The Austins were leaders in the movement. It is tradition that a Menard founded Galveston. Flint in his travels about 1818 found many Missourians talking about emigration to Texas.

During weeks of suspense in 1838 all St. Louis excitedly watched for boats from New Orleans. A crowd flocked to the levee to meet each arrival. "What's the news from Texas?" was the eager question. In the fight for Lone Star independence St. Louis had more than the interest of a city of the American republic. Members of St. Louis families, scores of them, had settled in Texas while it was under the Mexican flag. Austin had led a colony from Missouri. At the opening of hostilities forty young men had gone from St. Louis to help the Texans establish independence. Boat after boat brought bad news. At Goliad there had been slaughter. Houston was retreating, retreating with his front to the enemy. He was covering the flight of the fugitive women and children from Western Texas. He was nearing the San Jacinto. A Mexican army, three times as large as that of the Texans, was pressing eastward. That was the situation on which the interest and impatience of St. Louis reached the crisis. The levee swarmed when the next New Orleans boat came in. A man with a broad brimmed hat leaned forward from the deck and waving his hand shouted:

"Sam Houston has whipped Santa Anna and got him a prisoner."

Did they cheer? One who was there said that joy coming so suddenly upon anxiety, the first response was a great "Ah!" of relief. The throng pressed forward for details. Texas was free. The Mexican leader was a prisoner. His army had gone back to Mexico. St. Louisians had given good account of themselves in the fighting. Then came the cheering. "Hurrah for Steve Austin!" "Hurrah for Sam Houston!" "Hurrah for Texas!" And they sang:

"When every other land forsakes us,
This is the land that freely takes us."

The lid of suspense was off. St. Louis celebrated the good news far into the night.

In the 1844 Presidential campaign the burning issue with Missouri was immediate annexation of Texas. Polk, who was committed to that policy, carried the state by 10,000 over Clay, who owned land in Missouri, visited here and was very popular. There were few of the old Missouri families which did not have representatives in Texas.

**Benton's Plan to Avert War.**

Benton believed in 1846 he could settle quickly the trouble with Mexico. His proposition was that he be made lieutenant-general in command of all forces and that he be given $3,000,000 to obtain peace. The proposition met with favor to the extent that the Missouri senator was given the commission of major-general. General Winfield Scott was a whig. The Benton movement was political on the

part of the democrats who feared that whigs might gain prestige by the war and that Scott might become a successful candidate for President. Congress failed to give the higher rank. Benton refused to serve under Scott and resigned his commission. He blamed members of Polk's cabinet for the failure of his plan and charged them with personal jealousy of him. The whole affair was made the subject of a ballad by D. Edward Hodges of New York.

"There was a man, so runs the story,
A Senator from far Misso'ri,
Who, as a soldier, fain would go
To try his luck in Mexico;
And oh! the way he raved and went on
As if grim death or vict'ry bent on.

"And so it chanced, that Congress kind,
Would not do all to suit his mind;
But, after votes which seem'd quite funny,
They granted much, in men and money.
Then, oh! the way he raved and went on,
This Senator, brave Mister Benton.

"Next, a commission was made out,
To put the Mexicans to rout;
By which our Senator became
A major gen'ral, seeking fame;
And lo! th' executive intent on
Further exalting Gen'ral Benton.

"To 'conquer peace,' it was agreed
That he some other force would need
That that of cannon, bullet, bomb;
And so was furnish'd quite a sum;
Dollars three millions to be spent on
Buying a peace, by Gen'ral Benton.

"All being ready, surely now
Th' ambassador had made his bow;
Then off, his duties to fulfill,
By means of powder, purse or quill,
But no; he stops, as though not sent on,
He stops, brave Major Gen'ral Benton!

"'Old Zach,' and Gen'ral Butler, too,
And Patterson, have naught to do;
All three, their victories forgot,
Must homeward hie with Gen'ral Scott;
And not a soul of them pitch tent on
The battle field with Gen'ral Benton.

"Nay; but we are not quite such fools
As to give up such glorious tools.
Benton had urged, but urged in vain,
And then resigned, in furious pain,
And how he storm'd, and raved, and went on,
Ex-Major Gen'ral, Mister Benton!

"A Senator, behold him now,
No martial honors on his brow;
His late commission cancell'd, done;
No treaty made, no vict'ry won,
In ages past, was ever gent on
Earth, half so brave as Mister Benton?"

**The Mexican War.**

When General E. P. Gaines in the spring of 1846, thought old Rough and Ready Taylor needed reinforcements on the Mexican border and called for volunteers, Missouri had a regiment of 650 men on the way within two weeks. The government at Washington did not approve the act of General Gaines. The Missourians were sent back after three months service. But the enthusiasm with which Missourians went into the Mexican war was irresistible. It ignored red tape. After the crack Legion had marched down Olive street to take the big steamer Convoy for New Orleans, Lucas Market place became the scene of more recruiting and mobilizing. Benton wrote from Washington that the "Army of the West" was to be organized to march overland to New Mexico. Then came the order to Stephen Watts Kearny to get together at Leavenworth 300 United States dragoons and 1,000 mounted volunteers, the rough riders of 1846. St. Louis was not asked to furnish any part of the Army of the West. Thomas B. Hudson and Richard S. Elliott, two young lawyers, began to organize a company of 100 mounted men. They called them the Laclede Rangers. As soon as the ranks were full the Rangers were sworn in as a state organization, uniformed and mounted. Samuel Treat, Charles Keemle, Joseph M. Field and Peter W. Johnson took the officers down to "the Empire," on Third and Pine streets and presented to them swords. No commissions had come, but the Laclede Rangers marched on board the Pride of the West and started up the Missouri to join Kearny. As the boat passed Jefferson City, the state commissions for the officers were sent on board. When the St. Louisans reached Leavenworth, there was no provision for their reception. General Kearny ordered that quarters be provided and that the command be sworn in at daylight. But no rations were issued. There was grumbling until Captain Hudson made a speech. He talked of the patriotism which had prompted the recruiting, of the rapid organization, of the trip up the river, of the acceptance of the company by General Kearny as a part of the "Army of the West" and he concluded: "Yes, we shall knock at the gates of Santa Fe, as Ethan Allen knocked at the gates of Ticonderoga, and to the question, 'Who is there,' we shall reply, 'Open these gates in the name of the great Jehovah and the Laclede Rangers!' But suppose the fellows inside should call out, 'Are you the same Laclede Rangers who went whining around Fort Leavenworth in search of a supper?'" The Rangers gave the captain a mighty shout, rolled in their blankets and went to sleep supperless.

The Rangers from St. Louis made such an impression on General Kearny that he made them a part of the regiment of dragoons. They were turned over to a young lieutenant to be drilled and made fit for regular troopers, graduates of the "school of the soldier." This lieutenant was Andrew Jackson

GENERAL STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY
Of Mexican war and California expedition fame

GENERAL ALEXANDER WM. DONIPHAN
Commander of Doniphan's expedition in the Mexican war

COLONEL DONIPHAN'S ARMY OF MISSOURIANS
Marching through the Jornado del Muerto, "The Journey of Death"

Smith, who became a major-general in the Civil war—"Old A. J."—settled in St. Louis and held office in the city government for some years.

Colonel Robert Campbell's activities did not stop with the shipping of the Laclede Rangers to Kearny. The recruiting and the drilling on the open country around Lucas Market, as Twelfth street was to be known for half a century, went on. There was no market. Mr. Lucas had built the long narrow brick structure down the center of the wide space, but the city's growth had not reached Twelfth street. The country was open all around the market house, except for a row of dwellings in course of construction on Olive street. St. Louis had sent her old and well drilled militia, the Legion and her Laclede Rangers. The city now offered artillery. Two companies, each 100 strong, the first captained by Richard H. Weightman, and the second by Waldemar Fischer, were accepted, with Meriwether Lewis Clarke as major. The artillerymen were made ready by the tireless Robert Campbell and sent up to join Kearny. Thus it came about that the city was represented by 300 patriots in the famous marching and fighting of the Army of the West.

**The Army of the West.**

Missouri sent 6,000 soldiers to the war with Mexico. Only two other states did more—Kentucky with 7,392 and Louisiana with 7,011. In his Army of the West, as at first organized, Kearny had two Missouri regiments under Doniphan and Price. There were four companies too many—those from Marion, Ray, Platte and Polk counties. These were formed into a battalion under David Willock.

The march across the plains to Santa Fe was only the beginning of the wonderful deeds of the Missourians. The Army of the West proceeded to occupy a domain that is now four states. Kearny, with a small force, went on to make sure of California. Colonel D. D. Mitchell, the former fur trader and Indian agent of St. Louis, was ordered to take a picked force of 100 men and "open communication with Chihuahua, hundreds of miles to the southward in the enemy's country across the Rio Grande." Did he hesitate? Not an hour. Major Meriwether Lewis Clarke, Captain Richard H. Weightman, Clay Taylor and one company of the St. Louis artillery had gone with Doniphan to the Navajo country. Mitchell and Doniphan joined forces just above El Paso. They had an army of 900 men. They fought the battle of Brazito, captured a cannon and marched on. At Sacramento, just above Chihuahua, an army of Mexicans got in the way, occupying a strong position, outnumbering the invaders five to one. What did those Missouri artillerymen do but, ignoring all of the rules and science of warfare, run their howitzers up within less than two hundred feet of the Mexican earthworks and fire away at pistol shot range! Mitchell and Hudson charged at the head of the rangers. The enemy fled, leaving seventeen cannon, some of which were brought to Missouri. The invaders entered Chihuahua to discover that General Wool, whom they had expected to find there, was seven hundred or eight hundred miles away. Headed by Mitchell with his 100 picked men the army of less than nine hundred marched over the tableland of Mexico toward Saltillo, found General Taylor and asked for more fighting.

**Doniphan's Battles.**

Of Doniphan's fighting and marching Colonel W. F. Switzler wrote this account:

"The battle of Brazito, or Little Arm of the Rio del Norte, on Christmas day, December 25, 1846, on a level prairie bordering on the river, was fought by Col. Doniphan and was very disastrous to the Mexicans, 1100 strong, under Gen. Ponce de Leon. Missouri troops, 800. The Mexicans were defeated with a loss of sixty-one killed—among them Gen. Ponce de Leon—five prisoners and 150 wounded; Missourians, eight wounded; none killed. The Mexicans were completely routed and dispersed. Two days afterward Col. Doniphan took possession of El Paso without resistance.

"On February 28, 1847, Col. Doniphan, with 924 men and ten pieces of artillery, fought and vanquished, in the pass of the Sacramento, 4000 Mexicans under Maj. Gen. Jose A. Heredia, aided by Gen. Garcia Conde, former Mexican minister of war. The battle lasted more than three hours, resulting in a Mexican loss of 304 men killed on the field, forty prisoners, among whom was Brig. Gen. Cuilta, and 500 wounded; also eighteen pieces of artillery, $6000 in specie, 50,000 head of sheep, 1500 head of cattle, 100 mules, twenty wagons, etc. Americans killed, one—Maj. Samuel C. Owens, of Independence, who voluntarily and with courage amounting to rashness, charged upon a redoubt and received a cannon or rifle shot which instantly killed both him and his horse; wounded, eleven. The rout of the Mexicans was complete, and they retreated precipitately to Durango and disappeared among the ranchos and villages.

"But Col. Doniphan did not follow the example of Hannibal after the battle of Cannae, who loitered on the plains of Italy when he might have entered Rome in triumph. On the contrary, he immediately followed up his successes by ordering the next morning (March 1, 1847) Lieut. Col. D. D. Mitchell, with 150 men, under Capts. John W. Reid and R. A. Weightman, and a section of artillery, to take formal possession of the City of Chihuahua, the capital, and occupy it in the name of the Government of the United States. On the approach of Mitchell's force the Mexicans fled from the city, and he entered and occupied it without resistance. On the morning of the next day Col. Doniphan, with his entire army, and with colors gaily glittering in the breeze, triumphantly entered the Mexican capital to the tune of 'Yankee Doodle Dandy' and fired a salute of twenty-eight guns in the public square.

"Col. Doniphan had been ordered by Gen. Kearny to report to Brig. Gen. Wool at Chihuahua, and hoped to find him there, but instead received the intelligence that he, and Gen. Taylor also, were shut up at Saltillo, and hotly beleaguered by Santa Anna with an overwhelming force. This, however, turned out to be untrue, and in a few days he heard of Taylor's great victory at Buena Vista, and not long afterward of the battle of Cerro Gordo. Nevertheless, Doniphan believed it his duty to report to Gen. Wool, wherever he might be found, and render him all the assistance in his power. Therefore, on the 20th of March he dispatched an express to Saltillo, hoping thereby to find Gen. Wool, and open communication with the army of occupation under Gen. Taylor. By this express, consisting of J. L. Collins, interpreter and bearer of dispatches, and thirteen others—among whom was Capt. John T. Hughes, author of Doniphan's Expedition—he sent an official report of the battle of Sacramento. Saltillo was nearly 700 miles from Chihuahua and the country intervening was occupied by the enemy, thus rendering the duty of Doniphan's express extremely difficult and dangerous. Yet they accomplished it in safety, reaching Saltillo on the 2d of April. Doniphan's official report, the only writing that could have betrayed them to the Mexicans, was sewed up in a pad of the saddle of one of the soldiers. Gen. Wool was at Saltillo, and on the 9th of April the express left on its return trip to Chihuahua, bearing orders to Col. Doniphan at once to march to that place. On the return trip the express was re-enforced by Capt. Pike, of the Arkansas cavalry, with twenty-six men, among them Mr. Gregg, author of Commerce of the Prairies. They reached Chihuahua on April 23, and on the 25th the battalion of artillery commenced the march, followed on the 28th by the balance of Doniphan's command. We can not record the incidents of the march to Santa Rosalia, Guajuquilla, Santa Bernada, Hacienda Cadenas, Palayo, San

Sebastian, San Juan, El Paso, City of Parras (where Col. Doniphan received a communication from Gen. Wool), Encantanda (near the battlefield of Buena Vista), and other places, to Saltillo, which Doniphan's command reached on May 22, 1847, and were reviewed by Gen. Wool. Ten Mexican cannon captured at Sacramento, Doniphan's regiment was permitted to retain as trophies of its victory. These were afterward presented to the State of Missouri. The Missouri troops, Col. Doniphan leading them, left Saltillo for Gen. Taylor's camp near Monterey, which they reached on May 27, were received with demonstrations of the warmest enthusiasm, and were reviewed by Gen. Taylor. Col. Doniphan's command then took up the line of march for home, via Camargo, to the mouth of the river, or Brazos Island, where it embarked on the sailship Republic for New Orleans, which was reached on June 15, 1847, thus completing a grand march of nearly 4000 miles by land and water through the Mexican Republic, and winning for its commander the honorable title of Xenophon of the Mexican War."

## Sergeant Drescher's Recollections.

William Drescher, son of an officer under Napoleon, was one of the young Missourians who enlisted in the Army of the West. He was a farmer's son and living in Marion county, joining the company raised there. At the age of ninety, he gave a Globe-Democrat writer his recollections:

"The long march across the plains to New Mexico was in August and September. The sun, heat and dust were very severe and we suffered untold miseries. Many took sick and some died on the march. We had a long string of wagons, with ox teams, four and six yoke of oxen to the wagon. Some days we would hardly march out of sight of the place where we had camped the night before. Occasionally we would strike a deep ravine, when we would have to double and treble teams to every wagon to get them across.

"At this rate we finally reached Santa Fe in October, 1846. In August, before our arrival, Gen. Kearny had arrived at Santa Fe and taken possession, without opposition, of New Mexico. A political programme had been instituted for a territorial government.

"After Doniphan left for the south, and during the winter, while our company was at Santa Fe, the Mexicans and the Pueblo and other Indians combined in an insurrection to throw off the American rule. They killed Gov. Bent, the sheriff and other Americans, and, gathering an army, arrived within twenty-five miles of Santa Fe, Col. Price's headquarters. The revolt was gaining serious proportions, so in January, 1847—on the 24th of the month, I believe—Col. Price separated his troops, leaving about 200 in Santa Fe, of which number I was one, and with about 300 or more marched out and met the Mexicans and Indians at La Canada, and, after an hour's fight, defeated them, killing thirty-six and wounding forty-five or more.

"The Mexicans retreated to El Embuda, where Col. Price again defeated them after a considerable battle. At Pueblo d'Taos the final battle was fought, the Mexicans defeated. The principal Mexicans and Indians were taken prisoners. They were confined at Fernando d'Taos, near the town where the battle occurred, and were afterwards tried for high treason.

## An Appeal for Mercy.

"I will now relate to you an incident in connection with this matter which I believe has never been published. I have searched all the histories of the Mexican war for it and have never seen it mentioned.

"These Mexicans and Indians—there were four Mexicans and five Indians—were found guilty of murder and treason and all condemned to be hanged. To condemn and sentence Mexicans and Indians for murder and treason leaves a stain somewhere. I may not have all the facts, but these were half-civilized Indians and Mexicans, intending to recover their country in a savage way, and they paid and suffered a murderer's penalty.

"Col. Willock was ordered with his battalion, which included our company, to assist the sheriff in carrying out the sentence of death. The Indians were large and powerful and the

handsomest specimens of brute strength I have ever seen. Col. Willock did not approve of the sentence, and in the kindness of his heart he sent for me and asked me if I would ride to Santa Fe, over eighty miles, and endeavor to secure a pardon for the condemned men. Col. Willock and I were Masons and close friends. There was one other Mason in our regiment. I was in sympathy with Col. Willock's views and readily assented to undertake the journey, though I knew its dangers.

"I selected a good government mule, not caring to trust myself to a horse over the mountainous roads. A mule is slow, but surefooted. Well armed and carrying papers addressed to the lieutenant governor and Col. Price, I started on the hazardous journey alone over the very ground where Col. Price had fought his battles. I was young and strong, yet it was very imprudent to send me and very risky for me to undertake the hazard over valleys, hills and mountains.

"On the way as I came over the top of a hill I saw a Mexican standing directly in my path. He did not move so I drew my pistol. He then dashed into the woods. I learned afterward that he was frightened out of his wits at the sight of my revolver. If he had known how frightened I was perhaps the running would have been done in the opposite direction.

"I proceeded to El Embuda, where Price's battle-ground was before me and around me. Night came on and I stayed with a friendly Mexican family. You can imagine how I felt —a Missouri lad hundreds of miles from home, with enemies all about. That night in the Mexican home I shall never forget. The house had one room. We slept on the floor—men, women and children in the same room. I did not take off my clothes, but slept with my saddle for a pillow and saddle blankets beneath me, and my army revolver at my hand.

"The next day I delivered my dispatches to Col. Price and after a council of officials I received orders and dispatches for Col. Willock. The pardons were denied and Col. Willock was ordered to see to the execution of the prisoners.

## Execution of the Condemned.

"Two scaffolds were erected, a large one for the five Indians and a smaller one for the Mexicans. Our battalion surrounded the place of execution. The condemned were made to stand on boards placed across army wagons. With ropes around their necks they were driven under the gallows, the ropes adjusted to the scaffolds, the teams started forward, the gallows shrieked and the souls of the unfortunates passed to eternity.

"During the execution the hills around us swarmed with Indians, but we were drawn up in battle formation and none were allowed to approach near the scaffolds, except the wives of the condemned. You should have seen the poor wives of the Indians, heard their moans and observed their despair. They did not cry nor make much noise; their grief was expressed only in whining, subdued sounds. After the executions the poor squaws strapped the bodies of their dead husbands on their backs. None of the executed Indians weighed less than 200 and some, standing far over 6 feet tall, weighed 275 pounds. The women, half carrying, half dragging their dead chiefs, started for Pueblo d'Taos, their homes, three miles distant, to give them Indian burial.

"I do not censure my superiors for this affair. Our government knows its duties and will carry them out. Even on the beautiful and bright sun there occasionally are dark spots.

"In June, 1847, the term of service having expired, the Second Missouri Regiment got ready to start for home. The Third Missouri, not having arrived, Price, now promoted from colonel to general, called for volunteers to hold New Mexico. Eleven of the Marion county company, including myself, enlisted for the war in Company A, Light Artillery, Santa Fe battalion. We were now New Mexico volunteers. Capt. Hassendeubel, of St. Louis, and Maj. Walker commanded our battery.

## Price's Battle at Rosalia.

"After the arrival of the Third Missouri, Col. Ralls commanding, Gen. Price prepared to march south to follow Doniphan, having heard of a Mexican army on the march north from Chihuahua. We started south with our battery, drilling along the way. We halted

at El Paso, until March. Receiving orders suddenly, our captain and part of our battery started in the night for Chihuahua to meet the Mexicans.

"The Mexican general, Troas, hearing of our approach, retreated south about sixty-five miles to a fortified town, called Santa Cruz d'Rosalia, to await the Americans. Gen. Price, with 400 men and part of our battery, followed them rapidly, taking up with them in their fortifications. Perceiving the necessity for more troops, Price surrounded the town. On the 16th of March, 1848, more of our troops having arrived, we prepared for battle.

"Gen. Price demanded the surrender of the city, which Gen. Troas declined doing. The battle commenced with a battery fire on both sides. The Mexicans were better supplied with ammunition than we were, and they had some 3,000 men, while we had perhaps 700. The bombardment proving ineffectual, Gen. Price ordered an assault of the city.

"I remember the beginning of that charge vividly. Our sleeves and pants were rolled up and we were in fighting humor—all calm and determined. The assault began at 5 in the evening. The cannon roared, the musketry fire illuminating the heavens and the city. For a short time the Mexicans fought bravely, but could not withstand the assault of the Santa Fe battalion and the Third Missouri. Giving three great cheers, we finally charged the batteries and captured them. The Mexican officers proved themselves brave men and soldiers; the rank and file were rather frightened and cowardly.

"As a sergeant I had charge of part of our battery. We had been living for twenty-one days on practically nothing but hard tack, our supply wagons having been left far to the rear when we dashed after the retreating Mexicans, and it was certainly good to taste a bit of fresh food, which was abundant after we had taken the city.

"Peace had been declared before this battle was fought, but, there being no telegraph or railroad, we did not hear of it until a month after the two countries had come to terms. We were compelled, therefore, to return the town to the Mexicans, with all the arms and supplies we had captured. We marched back to Independence, and were there mustered out of service."

Mr. Drescher was a judge of the Marion county court from 1895 to 1903 and mayor of Hannibal from 1876 to 1879.

**William Cullen Bryant's Tribute.**

Even writers on the Atlantic seaboard, often chary of tribute to western heroism, recognized the wonderful achievement of the Doniphan Expedition. William Cullen Bryant wrote: "This body of men conquered the states of New Mexico and Chihuahua and traversed Durango and New Leon. On this march they traveled more than 6,000 miles, consuming twelve months. During all this time not one word of information reached them from the government, nor any order whatsoever; they neither received any supplies of any kind nor one cent of pay. They lived exclusively on the country through which they passed and supplied themselves with powder and balls by capturing them from the enemy. From Chihuahua to Matamoras, a distance of 900 miles, they marched in forty-five days, bringing with them seventeen pieces of heavy artillery as trophies."

**Kearny's Annexation.**

Missourians did much more than march and fight in that wonderful expedition. Kearny and the Missourians took possession of Santa Fe on the 18th of August, 1846. Four days later was issued that remarkable proclamation. On the 22d of September the "organic law for the Territory of New Mexico, compiled under the direction of General Kearny," was published. Kearny wrote: "I take great pleasure in stating that I am entirely indebted for these

laws to Col. A. W. Doniphan of the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, who received much assistance from Private Willard P. Hall of his regiment." The second day Kearny appointed a governor and other officers, among whom was "Francis P. Blair, to be United States district attorney." Charles Bent, of St. Louis, was governor. Stephen Lee, of St. Louis, the brother of General Elliott Lee, was made sheriff; James White Leal, of St. Louis, a Laclede Ranger, was made prosecuting attorney. The Pueblo Indians at Taos rose in revolt and killed these three officials. Retribution was swift.

In a fight with the Indians, John Eldridge and Martin Wash of the Laclede Rangers were compelled to use one horse. A shot struck Eldridge in the corner of the eye, went into Wash's cheek and came out of his neck. When their commanding officer came up these St. Louis boys were still fighting. Wash, who was spitting blood, said:

"Lieutenant, I'll be hanged if I don't think I'm shot somehow."

That was the kind of nerve the Laclede Rangers carried with them.

When time dragged for the garrison in the ancient city, the detachment of the Laclede Rangers obtained the use of a hall and gave theatrical entertainments. Bernard McSorley, who came back to St. Louis to become a builder of sewers and a power in local politics, was the manager and the star. When the St. Louisans put on Pizarro in Peru, McSorley was Pizarro. Edward W. Shands played Elvira. Another Ranger, William Jamieson, was Cora. James White Leal of the Rangers was the leader of the minstrel part of the performance which followed the tragedy.

Kearny's proclamation annexing New Mexico to the United States reached St. Louis on the 28th of September, 1846. It declared "the intention to hold this department (New Mexico), with its original boundaries on both sides of the Del Norte as a part of the United States and under the name of the Territory of New Mexico."

There was considerable excitement in Missouri over this wholesale acquisition of territory. The Missouri Republican said: "For a strict constructionist of the Constitution, the President seems to us a gentleman of about as easy manners as any official we have ever met with, even in these days of a 'progressive locofocoism!'"

**The Astonishing Birth of New Mexico.**

Willard P. Hall, afterwards governor of Missouri, and James H. Birch were rival candidates for Congress in a district comprising all of Northwest and part of Northeast Missouri when the trouble with Mexico began. Hall had the regular democratic nomination. Birch, who had been beaten for the nomination, ran against him as an independent with whig support. In making a vigorous canvass Birch said that Hall had enlisted as a private with Doniphan to make political capital rather than from patriotic motives. Hall wrote his reply while on the march to Santa Fe and sent it back to the district where it was circulated as a campaign document. He had been a strong advocate of the annexation of Texas. The Mexican war having grown out of that agitation, Hall felt that consistency demanded he should enlist at the first opportunity. He became a private soldier. He was in Santa Fe when the election occurred. Doniphan, in his reminiscences, said:

"Soon after we arrived in Santa Fe, I received a letter from my father-in-law giving a sufficient number of the returns to ensure the election of Mr. Hall by a very large majority. I showed the letter to Mr. Hall and to General Kearny, and General Kearny at once, as a matter of courtesy, and as he should have done, released Governor Hall from all involuntary duty.

"General Kearny, having orders to go to New Mexico with a part of the troops, in the discharge of an order he had received from Washington to devise laws for the people of that territory, requested Governor Hall and myself to prepare laws for that territory to conform to the conditions of the territory and to be in conformity with the civil institutions of our own country. We organized a legislature consisting of Governor Hall, myself and about six clerks, and the work of legislation was never more quickly performed, each of us frequently dictating to two or three clerks at a time. In a few days we were able to present to General Kearny a code of laws, which he was kind enough to approve, sign as military governor, and promulgate for the government of the people. It is astonishing, considering the short time we had been there and our limited means of information, that we should have written a code that Congress, after the annexation of the territory, re-enacted, and which after thirty-five years I found still in vogue in 1881."

Governor Hardin told Doniphan that he had twice offered an appointment on the supreme bench to Governor Hall and that the offers were declined.

**Doniphan's Tribute to His Men.**

Doniphan was always exceedingly modest in his references to the Expedition. There was one incident, however, on which he dwelt with much pride. This is his account of it as told in an address which he delivered on the occasion of Clay county's semi-centennial celebration in 1872:

"An episode will enable you to form a more correct estimate of the moral status of the rank and file of the regiment than an hour of descriptive eulogy. We arrived at the government wharf in the lower part of the city of New Orleans after dark. Early the next morning, Claiborne F. Jackson, afterwards governor of Missouri, and the Hon. Robt. W. Donnell, then of St. Joseph but now of New York, came to pay their respects to the members of the regiment and to render us a favor. They were aware that for thirteen months we had been marching through a country, where clothes could not be obtained, even with money, and of that we had none, for we had not seen a paymaster during our entire service. With them were two wholesale clothing merchants, whose stocks they had examined, both being themselves merchants, and whose prices they esteemed fair. The wholesale merchants were informed that the regulations did not permit them to attend the pay table, like sutlers, but they would have to rely on the honor of the men alone. I said that as far as I knew or believed, their integrity might be relied on; that they were of the best families in Missouri. Promptly the wholesale merchants agreed to take the risk, and the men of our regiment being in need of everything in their line purchased of them more than $60,000 worth of clothing. This was two weeks before we were paid off and mustered out of service. I know that every cent of these purchases was paid for. I called on each of the merchants and ascertained the fact for myself. This is not told in a spirit of invidious comparison with other regiments in that or the late war. It is simply due to this regiment."

**Doniphan's Philosophy of Life.**

Years after the delivery of this address, General Doniphan yielded to the request of his intimate friend, Judge D. C. Allen, to permit its publication in pamphlet form. In doing so he wrote to Judge Allen a letter which affords a most intimate view of character, a revelation which may well add to the pride of Missouri in the name of Doniphan:

"This is my birthday; this day completes three-quarters of a century, seventy-five years behind me. Looking back at a glance, the time seems short. And when I estimate the few things I have done worth recording or remembering, the time seems shorter. The events in the life of the average man are poor meagre things. I am aware that I have some admiring friends who regard my professional life to have been active and successful. And it would be unpardonable, if not contemptible affectation, not to agree with them, that in some departments of the practice it was creditable. But what of it? If I had trusted less to native resources and delved deeper into the mines of learning, that others had dug up, and prepared to my hands, it would have been more like a jurist. The episodes of my life were lucky accidents, mainly. My only ambition was to be esteemed the best jury lawyer and advocate in the counties where I practised. This was a too limited ambition. But the book is closed. 'What is writ, is writ,' and cannot be changed. This is the candid truth. As far as moral honor and true manhood is concerned I have no twinges of conscience. Not what I have done, but what I have failed to do causes my regrets. It is a grand but fearful thought that although the lamp of life will soon be extinguished, the work that has been done, or failed to be done will continue through eternity. Blessed is the man who, having nothing to say, abstains from giving us wordy evidence of the fact, especially in writing, so farewell."

**The March Homeward.**

The Missourians who had been left to hold New Mexico while the other bodies pushed west to California and south to the heart of Mexico marched back across the plains when the war was over. They sang:

SOLO.

"Listen to me! Listen to me!
What do you want to see, to see?

CHORUS.

"A woman under a bonnet,
A woman under a bonnet,
That's what we want to see, to see!
That's what we want to see!"

One Missourian in the Army of the West was destined to be a conspicuous figure in the country traversed. William Gilpin, Pennsylvanian by birth, Quaker by inherited creed, was a major. He saw the plains and the mountains with the eyes of a prophet. He told his comrades in arms they were passing through "a great grazing region;" that it would become "the land of beef and wool." He pointed to the Rockies, called them "the domes of the continent" and predicted discoveries of precious metals in them. There was loud amusement over the major's predictions. But the territory of Colorado was created, becoming in 1876 the Centennial state. Gilpin was the first governor of Colorado.

St. Louisans were conspicuous individually as well as for numbers in the "Army of the West." Henry S. Turner utilized his early army experience in the capacity of adjutant to the commander, Kearny. Francis P. Blair, then a young lawyer, sent west by his doctor for the benefit of the mountain air, was a scout, prowling miles in advance of the column to report signs of Mexicans or Indians. William Bent shared in this most dangerous duty. As the army reached the Raton Mountains, Captain Waldemar Fischer, the St. Louis artilleryman, climbed the peak, to which the government gave his name. Fischer's Peak, it is on the maps.

JOHN J. ANDERSON
One of the officers in the Southwest expedition. Banker before the Civil war

DAVID D. MITCHELL
Who led the advance against Chihuahua in the Doniphan expedition

FORT ZAHAR

**A Missouri Welcome.**

In the summer and fall of 1847 St. Louis was full of "conquistadores," as they were called, strange looking, some with long mustaches, some with full beards, all swarthy. The Mexican war was over. Up to that time Missourians were, as a rule, smooth shaven men. They came back, outlandish in looks, with new speech, the heroes of the most marvelous campaigning the country had known. Senator Benton, at his best, in welcoming the returning volunteers told them they had even outdone ancient history. Doniphan had eclipsed Xenophon. The senator said: "The 'Ten Thousand' counted the voyage on the Black Sea, as well as the march from Babylon, and twenty centuries admit the validity of the count. The present age and futurity will include with the going out and coming in of the Missouri Volunteers the water voyage as well as the land march and the expedition of the One Thousand will exceed that of the Ten by some two thousand miles. You did the right thing at the right time, and what the government intended you to do, and without knowing its intentions."

A form of celebration which came into much popularity with St. Louis during the Mexican war, was the illumination. Citizens determined to honor the victories which had been won over Mexico. Cannon were placed in the vicinity of the Lucas Market, which was at Twelfth and Olive streets, to fire salutes. At a signal, lights were displayed in nearly every window of the city. Most of these lights were candles placed upon boards. The papers of that time spoke of the illumination of the market house as being especially fine. The boats at the levee participated in the illumination, displaying rows of candles along the decks. The boys built bonfires at the street intersections and on the commons. One of the events of the illumination night took place at sundown. From the office of the Reveille, the evening newspaper, an eagle was let loose, having attached to one of its legs a brass plate on which was engraved "Buena Vista."

When Doniphan's men got back to Clay county they were feasted with a cake five feet high, the handiwork of Miss Mary Dale.

**A Missourian Took Mesilla Valley.**

After the settlement with Mexico a dispute arose about the Mesilla Valley. This garden spot of wonderful fertility is on the Rio Grande north of El Paso. William Carr Lane, the first mayor of St. Louis, had been appointed governor of New Mexico. Without wasting much time on red tape correspondence he "took" the valley. Upon this action the Missourians who had gone to New Mexico based a song which they sang at Santa Fe with great enthusiasm on the 1st of January, 1853. Two stanzas were in these words:

"As friends of the country, around him we'll rally,
Long live Governor Lane.
And 'go to the death' for the Mesilla valley,
Long live Governor Lane.
Look out for your own, Uncle Sam, and beware,
The valley is ours, we'll have it we swear,
And you give it up, Frank Pierce, if you dare,
Long live Governor Lane.

"In sunshine and storm, in censure and praise,
Long live Governor Lane.
He speaks what he thinks and means what he says,
Viva Governor Lane.
No tricks, nor no bribes, nor no silly blunder
Shall steal our worthy old governor's thunder,
We'll stand at his back till the day we go under,
Long live Governor Lane."

**The Mexican Trophies.**

When the Southwest Expedition was mobilized in 1860, there came a demand for cannon. Somebody remembered that the Missourians who went to Mexico a decade before had brought back some captured guns. General James Harding, one of Walker's men in the historic filibustering expedition to Nicaragua, afterwards railroad commissioner, was inspector of the Fifth military district of Missouri. He found the Mexican cannon stored under the portico of the capitol, selected a light six-pounder, dragged it out of its hiding place and set the convict blacksmiths to work making a gun carriage. When Frost, the brigadier general, saw the outfit he said it wouldn't last a day over Ozark roads. The expedition marched without Harding's homemade battery. But that same gun carriage was taken to Lexington and another Mexican gun was mounted on it to become a part of Bledsoe's battery in Price's army. This gun was known to Price's men as "Old Sacramento." It was used in the Battle of Elkhorn, or Pea Ridge as the Union army called it. Afterwards it was recast at Selma, Alabama, and did duty later on for the Confederacy.

When the Missouri state government was getting ready to make its stand for states' rights, seven of the cannon brought from Mexico were taken out of storage under the portico of the capitol and sent to St. Louis where they were recast into four-pounders. A cannon was borrowed from the arsenal at St. Louis, taken to Jefferson City and used as a pattern for the manufacture of carriages and caissons. Harding had been appointed quartermaster general by Governor Jackson and remembered his experience in gun mounting for the Southwest Expedition. But while the preparedness plans seemed to be going all right, history was made too rapidly. The recast guns were captured in St. Louis by Lyon when Camp Jackson was taken. And when the state administration and state guard left Jefferson City so hurriedly Harding's gun carriages were left behind. Most of the cannon captured by Missourians in Mexico did duty on the Union side. They traveled all over the South.

After the war Fourth of July salutes were fired in St. Louis for a dozen years from those cannon. They were the pride of the gallant Simpson artillery company. When this company disbanded the guns were returned to the state. General Marmaduke saw the wornout wheels one day and sent them down to the penitentiary, where the convicts built, as a labor of love, entirely new carriages for the old guns. But before the new wheels and new axles had achieved harmonious relations one of the venerable cannon went all to pieces in the hands of some amateur artillerists at Tipton, who were trying to celebrate the Fourth of July. Nobody was killed, but a dozen would have been if they had been in the way of the jagged fragments which went in several directions. After that

accident the old brass guns were put on the retired list, and could only be borrowed for the harmless purposes of dress parade.

**Missourians and the Kansas Issue.**

William Hyde, in his recollections of the period, printed by the Globe-Democrat in 1892, said:

"History will never balance the account between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery agitators on the Missouri border, from the organization of Kansas territory down to the date of actual emancipation. None of the rigors of war, as seen 'at the front,' could exceed or equal the direful visitation brought upon the helpless settlers in this then sparsely populated region. It is a mistake to suppose that the emigration to the new territory from Missouri was composed entirely, or even in large proportion, of slave-holders. They were mostly men attracted thither by the cheapness and fertility of the lands, whereby they could acquire good homesteads and indulge the hope that by their own toil they might eventually secure competence. Of Kentucky and Tennessee lineage to a considerable extent, those who were even not of Missouri nativity had been brought up with a slavery bias and a strong antipathy to the abolitionists; but except in rare cases, they were not well to do enough to own slaves, and those that were so realized that Kansas was not a safe place to take them. The heavy slave-holders were interested, not so much in populating Kansas with slave negroes, as in pushing the line of anti-slavery feeling as far west as possible, to protect slavery in Missouri. It suited Atchison and Stringfellow just as well for pro-slavery Missourians to live in Missouri and vote across the border, and there was not the slightest compunction in advising them to ride over on election days and take the polls, leaving the question of residence to be determined afterward. Fully 50,000 slaves, or one-half the whole number in the state, belonged in the northwest quarter of it, and about 10,000 in the counties conterminous with the eastern Kansas line—chiefly along the Missouri river. But with all the agitation and excitement, all the incentives held out to them to strike for liberty, they showed the same dense indifference as was exhibited later on by the race throughout the South. There were, indeed, cases of slaves leaving their old homes, but in such cases it was rare, indeed, that they were not coaxed, to the point of actual kidnapping.

"For whilst the Missouri pro-slaveryites were 'colonizing' the new territory, the anti-slavery men were by no means idle. Neither party claimed indemnity on the ground that the other had begun hostilities. The situation seemed to each to proclaim war of itself. The long line of battle-field, for so it may be called, extended from the northern point of the 'Platte Purchase' to the then unorganized county of Barton, through Bates, Vernon and Cass, on the Missouri side, and the region from Fort Scott to the lower line of Johnson county in Kansas was the principal seat of the predatory operations. It will astonish many readers, no doubt, to learn that as late as 1855 the total real population of Kansas was not more than 3,000, though the Missourians on occasion polled more than twice that number themselves. Of the actual settlers the Missourians had from one-third to one-half. The free state people not having the advantage of a double residence were naturally obliged to camp on the ground, whilst many of their opponents could breakfast and sup on the eastern side of the line and have plenty of time to do their voting in the interim.

"Of course it presently developed there were two territorial governments, though Mr. Buchanan promptly recognized and continued to recognize the one established by the pro-slavery men, whose delegate to Congress was admitted without question. The more courts that were established the more lawlessness there was, as conflicting processes brought even the officers into belligerent attitudes. Raids from Kansas into Missouri and from Missouri into Kansas were of nightly occurrence. Kidnappings followed robberies. Dwellings were fired without compunction. Eternal vigilance was the price of human life. Questions of popular sovereignty were overwhelmed and lost sight of in the prevailing chaos of retaliation and anarchy."

**John Brown's Raid.**

In the last month of 1858 John Brown made one of his raids into Bates and Vernon counties. He "impressed," as he called it, several horses, induced ten or twelve negroes to leave their masters and carried a lot of household goods back to Ossawatomie. This was one of the boldest and most extensive raids made into Missouri from Kansas up to that time. It created a panic along the border. Governor Stewart offered a reward of three thousand dollars for the capture of Brown. President Buchanan offered $250. In January, 1859, Brown left Kansas, going into Iowa and thence to Canada. He appeared later among the anti-slavery people of Ohio and sold his Missouri horses.

After Brown's departure matters along the border became more quiet. Governor Stewart of Missouri and Governor Denver of Kansas exchanged expressions of regret and hopes for peace. At St. Louis and Jefferson City a proposition was advanced to raise a force of militia and patrol the Kansas border. The people of Bates and Vernon opposed this plan of sending militia, arguing that it would have the effect of increasing the excitement and would possibly lead to bloodshed. Nevertheless, a petition was laid before the legislature and a bill was passed appropriating $30,000. The governor was authorized to expend this amount in the capture of raiders from Kansas or in such ways as he deemed best to prevent further invasion. Nothing occurred for some months to require action by the governor. Harney, who was in command at Fort Leavenworth, sent some regulars to the old military post at Fort Scott and put Captain Nathaniel Lyon in charge of that post. In November, 1860, Judge Williams of the third district in Kansas sent a message to Washington saying that Montgomery's band of jayhawkers had broken up the court, compelling officers, including the judge, to flee for their lives. He stated that a grand juror named Moore had been murdered and that two men who had been engaged in returning fugitive slaves had been killed. The judge's report and his appeal for protection revived the alarm on the Missouri side. Invasions by Montgomery and Jennison were feared. The governor immediately acted under the authority given him to send militia to the border.

**The Southwest Expedition.**

Thus came about the famous "Southwest Expedition." William Hyde, as war correspondent for the St. Louis Republican, accompanied the expedition. In 1892 he wrote this account of it.

"It was in the last week of November, 1860, when an order was directed to Gen. D. M. Frost, commanding the 1st Brigade, Missouri militia, to proceed forthwith to the western border with men and arms enough to put an end to the troubles there. In forty-eight hours the general and his staff, with his brigade of 630 men, were at the Missouri Pacific depot ready to embark for the seat of war. On the general's staff the names are recalled of Capt. Hamblin, adjutant; Capt. Nick Wall, commissary; Dr. Cornyn, surgeon; Maj. John J. Anderson, paymaster, and Capt. Sam Hatch, quartermaster. The brigade consisted of a regiment under Col. John Knapp, and battalion of infantry under Col. John N. Pritchard, and a battery of artillery, Capt. Jackson. Mr. Weed, of the Democrat, and the undersigned had complimentary assignments on the staff of the commanding general, it being expected of us to enlighten the readers of the journals with which we were respectively connected

with thrilling accounts of all the battles, descriptions of the different fields of war, narratives of individual feats of valor, etc.

"The western terminus of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1860 was Sedalia, a little town with one street parallel with the track, and embracing not much more than the customary hotel, drug store, blacksmith shop and post office. Its principal product was George R. Smith, who used to figure to an extent in Missouri politics. Debarking there and unloading the train of quartermaster and commissary stores, the column took up its march to a point a little distance away from town, where at about dark the first serious work of the campaign began—pitching tents and issuing and receiving supplies, blankets, rations, ammunition, etc. It was great 'fun' the first night, but the weary soldiers went to bed half fed, to sleep on springless and mattressless couches.

"The line of march lay very nearly along the route of the present Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad—though that improvement had not been so much as thought of then—passing from Sedalia through Pettis, Henry, Bates and Vernon counties, to a point about four miles east of Fort Scott, which was reached about December 1. Nothing could surpass the magnificence of the weather. The roads were in excellent condition, and after the fatigue of the first few days had worn off, the troops were in fine spirits. At night around the camp fires the various messes sang and related adventures, and many a friendship was cemented to last through life. A finer country for agriculture never the sun shone on. Miles and miles stretched away in rolling prairie, fringed at the edge of water courses by the yellow leaves of grateful foliage. The whir of covies of quail was frequently heard, as the birds were startled in the underbrush. In the long grass grouse and woodcock, with occasionally a pheasant, hid from common observation. Where forest and prairie joined it was no unusual sight to see groups of deer, sometimes as many as a dozen together. It was too fair a country to be despoiled by civil feuds and torn by internecine strife. Truth to say, though the six hundred wore the uniforms and accoutrements of war, and were probably as valiant a troop as ever marched to battle, yet they regarded the whole affair as a prolonged parade and their nightly encampments but a school of military instruction. With them secession was a myth, a fevered dream of overheated southern brains. Their folks were mostly Union people. Whilst the names of John Brown, Montgomery and Jennison were frequently on their lips, and boyish threats were made of what would be done with them and their exaggerated forces, the thoughts of a real engagement rarely entered their heads.

"The command reached a point east of Fort Scott about the 1st of December. Capt. Nathaniel Lyon had been ordered to Fort Scott with a company or two of regulars from Fort Leavenworth, at that time the headquarters of Gen. Harney. On his way thither Mr. Weed and the writer called upon the captain in camp near Mound City. There was not at that time nor had there been any evidence whatever of disturbance since John Brown departed for Canada. Montgomery had retired to the Pottawatomie country and Jennison to his law and real estate office. Lyon could not find harsh words enough to condemn Judge Williams and Governor Stewart, and it did not appear to us that his language relative to the President of the United States kept within the limits prescribed by the articles of war. Capt. Lyon was an evident sympathizer with the free state idea for Kansas and not at all displeased that the 'old public functionary' would be displaced in about three months from that time by Abraham Lincoln.

## The Southwest Battalion.

"Gen. Frost, finding no enemy, started north through Vernon county to Papinsville, in the southeast corner of Bates, and having now marched up the hill, proceeded leisurely to march down again. Previous to this, however, orders were issued for the formation of a battalion to remain on the border for the protection of the citizens. Three companies of cavalry were raised, composed chiefly of volunteers from the returning brigade. One company was commanded by Capt. W. C. Kennerly, one by Capt. Emmet McDonald and another by Capt. (Dr.) Staples. These, with the battery of artillery commanded by Capt. Jackson, formed what was known as the Southwest Battalion, Col. John S. Bowen com-

manding. Col. Bowen, with the battery and two companies of cavalry, proceeded south to Balls' Mills, in Vernon county, where he established his headquarters. Capt. Kennerly was ordered to a point on the extreme border known as the Jackson farm, the dwelling on which had, the year before, been burned down and Jackson, with his son, killed by jayhawkers, the place at this time being unoccupied. On the ruins of the homestead Capt. Kennerly built a block house of hewn logs, winter quarters for the troops, stables for the horses, rifle pits and redoubts, putting the place, in short, in a complete state of defense. The border was patrolled by scouting parties every day for miles north and south of Garrison Jackson, but without particular incident.

"Col. Bowen was ordered to report at St. Louis and was directed to cause an election to be held for a major for the command of the Southwest Battalion. To this position Capt. Kennerly was elected. Maj. Clark Kennerly belonged to the old family of that name in St. Louis. He was in the Mexican war in the battery of Capt. R. H. Weightman, attached to the Doniphan expedition. It was Weightman who killed F. X. Aubrey in Santa Fe, and who, being a colonel under Price, was himself killed in the fight at Wilson's creek. Maj. Kennerly was a cousin of Mrs. Gen. Bowen.

"Capt. Emmet McDonald, after the capture of Camp Jackson in St. Louis, May 10, 1861, went south. He was in McCulloch's command on the invasion of Missouri and he, too, like Col. Weightman, lost his life at Wilson's creek.

"The battalion of which Clark Kennerly was major was, about the 1st of May, 1861, ordered to report at Camp Jackson in St. Louis. It reached that camp on the 9th, and the following day shared the fate of Gen. D. M. Frost's brigade, which was captured and marched to the United States arsenal. The greater part of the brigade which went to the borders returned to St. Louis about the 24th of December, 1860.

"Dr. Cornyn was the same who, as major of artillery, gallantly lost his life at Shiloh commanding a Union battery. Col. Hatch became a distinguished Federal officer. Gen. Bowen was a conspicuous officer on the Confederate side, in which service he lost his life.

"The expedition from its very inception was absurd and chimerical. It was antagonistic to the views of the border people, as given in their petition for relief, and on which the bill was passed putting the defense fund in the control of the governor. The policy the people of Bates and Vernon counties had advocated of pursuing the ring-leaders of lawlessness by rewards for their capture had done great work for pacification. And now, on the crazy and unverified statement of an old woman of a district judge to set an army in the field to create new alarms, was the quintessence of unwisdom. For the young men of the excursion—for such it was—it was just the thing in the way of military tuition, and such, let us suppose, was the thought uppermost in the minds of warriors like Banker Anderson and Capt. Wall of steamboat memory, not to speak of the West Point graduates."

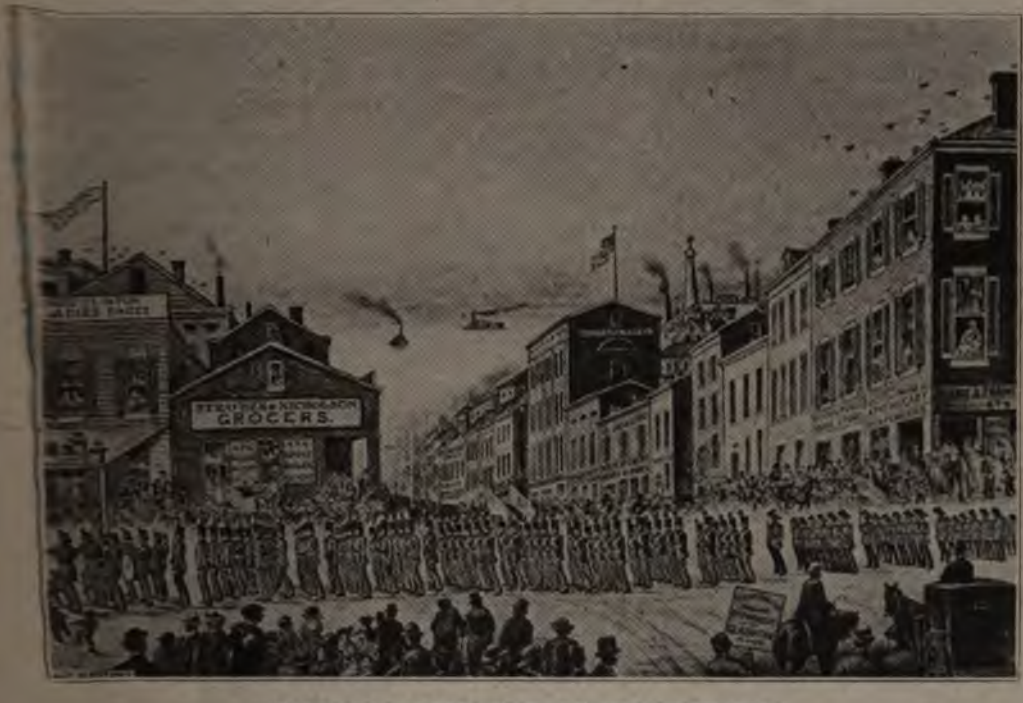
## The Beer Keg Battery.

A relic which Missourians brought home from the Civil war was "the Beer Keg Battery." Everybody has heard how big wooden guns, painted black, were mounted on breastworks and fulfilled the purpose of bluffing the enemy in the '60s. But how many people know that wooden guns were employed in active warfare, and were very effective? When the battery was deposited in the state armory at Jefferson City, the guns looked as harmless as fire logs. But in the stub end of each log was a hole and a clenched fist might be thrust in the length of the arm. The history of these wooden guns was told officially:

"This mortar was a part of what was known as the Sweet Gum Battery, composed of six 6-pounders and one 12-pounder, under the command of Capt. A. J. Campbell, Company C, 33d Regiment Missouri Volunteers, and were used at Spanish Fort, Ala., from March 27, 1865, to April 9, 1865. They were made of sweet gum wood, and banded at the muzzle and breech with a band of iron about one inch wide and one-quarter of an inch thick. The gun and carriage were separate, the carriage being a block of wood, with a

GEN. ALTON R. EASTON
Commander of the St. Louis Legion at the time of the war with Mexico

LT. GEN. JOHN C. BATES




ST. LOUIS MILITIA BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR
Parade of the St. Louis Greys, Montgomery Guards and Morgan Riflemen. The column is marching north on Fourth street, across Market street. From painting by Matt. Hastings in Missouri Historical Society collection.

socket for the breech of the gun, giving the gun an elevation of about 45 degrees. The ordinary 6 and 12-pound shells were used, the surface being coated with turpentine to secure ignition of the fuse. The usual charge was 5 ounces of ordinary rifle powder. The men became so expert as to be able to burst a shell within the size of an army blanket at 500 to 600 yards distance. They were dubbed the Beer Keg Battery."

The nickname was well chosen. The chunks were about the size of beer kegs and of nearly the same shape and color. At a little distance they might be taken for kegs.

**The Banner at Charleston in 1860.**

But the greatest curiosity in the form of flag or banner brought home by Missouri troops was that which hung in the first secession convention. This banner was square, of heavy silk, blue on one side and white on the other. On the blue side were the words, "South Carolina Convention, 1860."

On the white side was the palmetto tree, with an expanse of ocean and the sun just rising. At the foot of the tree were grouped bales of cotton, barrels of turpentine and a great open book. The book was the Bible, and it was open at this quotation:

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will not we fear though the earth be removed, though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. The Lord of hosts is with us. The God of Jacob is our refuge."

Above the palmetto was emblazoned in large letters, "Separate State Action." Missouri troops found this banner at Columbia, S. C., when they marched with Sherman to the sea. They took it as a trophy, and doubtless saved it from burning. It was hung in a very conspicuous place in the state armory hall. Perhaps the banner found a fitting place to rest. Political history maintains that Missouri held the balance of power at the National Democratic Convention in Charleston and might have used that power to prevent the split which occurred in the democratic party there, and which insured the first national success of the republican party and the election of Mr. Lincoln. The Missouri member of the committee on platform at Charleston cast the deciding vote on a principle which drove the southern and northern wings of the democracy apart.

**Lincoln and the Missouri Confederates.**

When it was evident that the Confederacy was doomed, President Lincoln gave thought to the future of the Missourians who had gone with the South. He realized that there were numbers of these who had cut the ties of home and kindred. With the surrender, many Confederates, especially from Missouri and other border states, would feel that they were men without a country. Houses had been burned. Farms had been laid waste. Property had been confiscated. Emancipation had wrought chaos in labor relations which might require years for adjustment. The conditions, which would confront the soldiers returning to the border states, were fraught with discouragement and, perhaps, danger. They might lead to feuds without number and much bloodshed. Mr. Lincoln talked with his closest advisers about this after-the-war problem. He consulted Frank Blair.

Across the Rio Grande there was revolution. European governments, taking advantage of the Civil war in the United States, were attempting to set up an empire. The United States had protested through diplomatic channels against this violation of the Monroe doctrine. Under Juarez the republican elements of Mexico were fighting against Maximilian, but they were with difficulty holding the northern part of their country. The closing act of Mr. Lincoln's cherished border states policy was to turn the western Confederates toward Mexico as soon as their own cause was lost. And, as on the former occasions noted, Mr. Lincoln looked to Missouri to work out this policy.

Francis P. Blair and Joseph O. Shelby were cousins. Early in 1861, when Blair knew that war was inevitable, he sent for Shelby, who was living in Lafayette county, to come to St. Louis. He exerted all of his powers of persuasion to induce Shelby to remain with the Union. On the strength of his close relations with Mr. Lincoln, Blair assured Shelby of a good commission in the army. Shelby, however, had made up his mind to go with the South.

With the war nearing the end, President Lincoln made Blair the medium of his communication to the western Confederates and Blair communicated the plan to Shelby. Not only was no obstacle to be thrown in the way of Confederates marching to Mexico but tacit encouragement was to be given. Moreover it was to be understood that Federal soldiers who had not had enough of the adventures of war might join the Confederates, cross the Rio Grande, join Juarez and help work out the salvation of Mexico. Shelby led an expedition to Mexico and was not interfered with. But the plan as President Lincoln conceived it was not carried through.

**Shelby's Story of His Expedition.**

"Shelby's Expedition to Mexico" is worthy of prominence in the chapter on "Missouri in Wars." When Lee surrendered, the trans-Mississippi army of the Confederacy numbered fifty thousand men, under Kirby Smith. There was held at Marshall, Tex., a council attended by the leading officers of the west. It was decided that Smith should be asked to resign; that General Buckner should assume command; that the army should concentrate and march to Mexico, there to ally itself with Maximilian or Juarez, as should be determined after negotiations.

The plot seemed ripe enough until the last moment, when Kirby Smith backed out of the arrangement, Buckner began to have hopes of recovering some Chicago property, and the order went out calling in division after division to Shreveport, where arms were laid down. Shelby had nursed the Mexican project from the first, and when he saw the plans given up he issued an address to the Missourians, which, for want of anything better, was printed on wall paper. It was circulated in the ranks, and when Shelby called for volunteers to go to Mexico, a thousand men responded. They helped themselves to the best there was left of the Confederate commissary and arsenal stores, and marched away to Mexico. In 1868-69 the exiles began to find their way back to Missouri.

In 1877 Shelby had reestablished himself. He had become a farmer and was cultivating 700 acres near Page City in Lafayette county. Revolutionary conditions were again prevalent in Mexico. Along the Rio Grande border was much

disturbance. General Ord was there with United States cavalry but the raids and the cattle stealing by Mexican bandits on the Texas frontier continued. There was not a little talk in the newspapers of an invasion of Mexico by Americans looking to conquest and annexation. The seeming inability of the Mexican government to maintain peace along the Rio Grande offered the provocation. The suggestion was especially interesting to Missourians. Naturally! Had not this state been foremost in the Mexican war? Recruits from every community had gone to join Scott. The glory of Doniphan's Expedition still flamed. Mexican veterans were local heroes. As the talk of an invasion in 1877 grew, Shelby's name was mentioned freely as the most eligible leader of it. Rumor was that he knew of the movement; that secret organization had already made progress; that Missouri ex-Confederates were actively planning. What were the facts? An authoritative interview was desired. It was obtained through Major John N. Edwards who had accompanied Shelby through Mexico, as a staff officer, immediately after the Civil war, and who had been the historian of that expedition. Major Edwards was at the time editor of a St. Louis newspaper. In reply to several questions General Shelby said, with emphasis: "I know of nothing being done in the way of enlistment. I have never been approached directly with any proposition looking to the inauguration of such an enterprise. I am no longer a soldier, as you may see, but a farmer and a man of peace."

"But you led an expedition in Mexico once, general."

"Yes, an expedition of a thousand men. It could have been fifty thousand just as well."

"Tell me something about the first expedition then."

"There were several things which led to that. Some have been told and others haven't. Perhaps the time is as good as any to make them known, inasmuch as the attention of the people and the government is diverted somewhat toward Mexican matters. There were a thousand men in my division who did not want to surrender. If there had been but two I would have felt it my soldierly duty to have stood by those two and to have gone with them into the unknown. Then again I had ideas, or dreams, or ambitions. I saw or imagined I saw an empire beyond the Rio. This river they call the great river.

**Lincoln's Plan for the Confederates.**

"Through Gen. Frank P. Blair I had received, long before the killing of Lincoln, some important information. It was to the effect that, in the downfall of the Confederacy and the overthrow of the Confederates of the east, the Confederates of the west would be permitted to march into Mexico, drive out the French, fraternize with the Mexicans, look around them to see what they could see, occupy and possess lands, keep their eyes fixed steadfastly upon the future, and understand from the beginning that the future would have to take care of itself. In addition, every disbanded Federal soldier in the trans-Mississippi department, who desired service of the kind I have indicated, would have been permitted to cross over to the Confederates with his arms and ammunition. Fifty thousand of these were eager to enlist in such an expedition. On my march south from San Antonio to Pedras Negras I received no less than two hundred messages and communications from representative Federal officers, begging me to wait for them beyond the Rio Grande."

"Do you mean to say, General, that President Lincoln was in favor of the movement you have outlined?"

"I do mean to say so most emphatically. I could show nothing official for my assertion, but I had such assurances as satisfied me, and other officers of either army had such assurances as satisfied them. There was empire in it, and a final and practical settlement of this whole Mexican question."

"Why did the scheme fail?"

"I will tell you why. Before marching into the interior of Mexico from Pedras Negras, a little town on the Rio Grande opposite Eagle pass, I called my officers and men about me and stated to them briefly the case. Gov. Blesca, the Juarez governor of the state of Coahuila, was in Pedras Negras. I had sold him cannon, muskets, ammunition, revolvers, sabres—munitions of war which I had brought out of Texas in quantities—and had divided the proceeds per capita among my men. Gov. Blesca offered me the military possession of New Leon and Coahuila, a commission as major general, and absolute authority from Juarez to recruit a corps of fifty thousand Americans. All these things I told my followers. Then I laid a scheme before them and mapped out for the future a programme which had for a granite basis, as it were, that one irrevocable idea of empire. But to my surprise and almost despair nearly the entire expeditionary force were resolute and aggressive imperialists. I could not move them from the idea of fighting for Maximilian. They hated Juarez, they said, and they hated his cause. Maximilian had been the friend of the South, so had the French, and so had Louis Napoleon. They would not lift a hand against the imperial government. I did not argue with my soldiers. They had been faithful to me beyond everything I had ever known of devotion, and so I said to them, 'You have made your resolve, it seems—so be it. I will go with you to the end of the earth, and if Maximilian wants us we will bring him fifty thousand Americans.' That afternoon late I thanked Gov. Blesca cordially for all he had done and all he wished to do, and marched with my men toward Monterey, where there was a heavy French garrison under Gen. Jeanningros. Jeanningros had heard of the sale of the war munitions to the Mexicans, and he was furious in his wrath and threatenings. We marched, however, to within two miles of Monterey, drew up in line of battle in front of the cuirassiers covering the northern road, dispatched a flag of truce into the town to know whether it was to be peace or war, and Jeanningros made haste to send back word that it was peace. Then we entered the French lines promptly, and were known from that on until the evacuation as being in full sympathy and accord with the French."

## Negotiations with Maximilian.

"And how did Maximilian receive you, General, and what did he say in answer to the proffer you made to him of your services?"

"There is another feature of those plans which were never fulfilled which might be mentioned. Gen. Preston, of Kentucky, was our negotiator, sent forward to represent to Maximilian and Marshal Bazaine the necessity of organizing for immediate service a corps of fifty thousand Americans. Preston talked eloquently and well, but received simply courteous attention for his pains. Neither yes nor no was said to him. Three times he was accorded an audience by the emperor, and three times he came out from it as he went in. Meanwhile we were marching rapidly and fighting our way toward the capital. Guerrillas beset us night and day. There was an ambushment in front and sometimes on both flanks at once. We whipped everything that encountered us from the Salinas river to Queretaro, losing in killed on the rugged march over one hundred of my best and bravest soldiers. I never left a wounded man except in a town where there was a permanent French garrison. Of wounded there were over one hundred more. On reaching the City of Mexico I sought an interview with the emperor at once, and obtained it through Commodore Maury, then Maximilian's commissioner of immigration. It was a brief but emphatic one. The emperor was gracious yet reticent. He asked me what my men and myself desired. I told him service under the empire. He enquired further of the number of men I had with me, the number I could recruit in six months, and the uses that could be made of them after they were recruited. In six months I promised him fifty thousand veterans. As to their uses my answer was about in substance this: 'I speak as a soldier, and I ask your majesty's pardon for so doing; but my men expect me to bring them back word of this interview. Without foreign help you cannot keep your crown. The French will be forced to evacuate Mexico. Mr. Seward has sworn it, and a million of men in arms are anxious to begin today the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine. The Mexicans are not for you. The church party will not fight; the priests—ostensibly your friends—are as enemies working against you secretly; your Austrian and Belgian troops are too few to hold even your

plicitly upon themselves in their belief that right will prevail, and the right policy will be pursued. We are not in a hurry to go to war with any one. We know our strength, and, relying upon the strength and patriotism of this people, we can wait and bide our time. But when war does come, and God forbid that it should, yet our people make a swift and victorious decision of the contest. (Applause.) I am glad to know, Mr. Speaker, that we have the means in the treasury to furnish the appropriation without taxation. I am glad to know that if we must go to war we can engage in the contest without bonding our people to the money changers of the world."

Mr. Dockery, sturdy economist and strong party man, as he was, said:

"The time for discussion has passed, and the hour for action arrived. Confronted as we are with the present emergency, I believe that no American citizen will falter or hesitate. Divided we may be among ourselves upon questions of domestic policy, as to our relations toward other nations we present an unbroken front. (Applause.) Party lines fade away, and we are ready on this side of the chamber to join the other side in support of all proper measures to protect the country and to uphold the national dignity and the national honor. This bill places at disposal of the President, for the national defense, $50,000,000. I supported it in committee; it was reported unanimously, and I give it my hearty and enthusiastic support now. I am willing now and at all times to vote to maintain the majesty of this government and to promote its vigor and power.

"Mr. Speaker, we have inherited through great tribulations the priceless blessing of liberty and self-government from the illustrious military and naval heroes of this republic. Let us show ourselves worthy of our forefathers of the revolution and of our other patriots who, in all the later wars, have upheld upon land and sea the principles of republican government. Sir, let there be no discordant note in our response to the universal voice of the American people summoning us here and now to stand by the government and support this appropriation."

Mr. Cochran, of the St. Joseph district, voiced like patriotic sentiment:

"I shall vote for this bill because I regard it as another step in the attainment of manifest destiny; because I believe it is another step in the direction of dedicating this new world to liberty and republicanism as tradition and history have dedicated the old world to monarchy; because I believe it is but signalizing the passage of another of the great powers that has wrecked and accursed and incumbered the earth, and the building up of another commonwealth so that men may be happy in the sunlight of liberty. I vote for it because I believe that it is an admonition to Spain that Cuba is forever lost—a notice to the world that this great country has at last arrayed itself on the side of liberty and against the murder, the rapine and barbarity that characterize the oppression of the Cuban patriots. I know it sounds well to the ear to say that this is a peace measure. It is an admonition to Spain to let go of Cuba, or it is a war measure; and we had as well understand it that way. The history of the Cuban struggle is one long succession of abuses, outrages, murders and unheard-of atrocities. The forbearance, the patience with which the American people have witnessed its struggle signalized their devotion to peace. This is the signal that they are at the same time prepared for war."

**Missouri Loyalty Illustrated.**

The orator of the day at Sedalia in September, 1898, began: "Veterans of the Confederacy of the Division of Missouri, soldiers of the present war, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, citizens all of the greatest nation of the world, I greet you." The scene was inspiring. A long column had marched from the center of the city out to Liberty Park. Mark the name! In blue

service uniforms a company of the Fifth Missouri was the escort. The commanding officer of these United States volunteers, Capt. J. J. Fulkerson, wore the badge of his camp as a Confederate veteran. Following were the men who had been with Price and Shelby. After the Confederates marched the Sedalia Post of the Grand Army of the Republic. Probably in no other state of the Union was there witnessed just such a scene at the close of the Spanish-American war. One of the Confederate veterans was Rev. Thomas M. Cobb of Lexington, presiding elder of the Methodist church. His son, Thomas M. Cobb, Jr., was the adjutant of the Fifth Missouri. A poll of Fulkerson's company showed that of the eighty-seven members in the escort all but five were sons of fathers who had served on one side or the other in the Civil war.

In the Spanish-American war the northwestern section of the state furnished the Fourth Missouri, which went down to Camp Alger and marched by the President the day after it arrived as an object lesson in citizen soldiery right from the stores, the shops and the farms without waiting for arms, uniforms or equipment. The Fourth created a great sensation on its first appearance. Its energetic officers got it equipped to perfection and then worked it into one of the very best regiments in the service. The Fourth was the first Missouri regiment under orders to go to the front, and was about to move when the war suddenly collapsed. When the war was over and public attention was diverted from fighting and big things to minor incidents and details of camp life, the Fourth Missouri didn't contribute extensively to the harrowing tales of hardships. At the time the wave of fault-finding, helped on by partisanship and by sensational publications, was highest, an old Confederate stood up in St. Joseph and announcd his position:

"I've got a boy in the Fourth Missouri," he said. "If he'd make one of these fool complaints about the hard lines of soldiering I'd travel all the way to Camp Meade and I'd warm his anatomy so that he wouldn't sit down to his meals with comfort for a week. I fi't in the Wilderness a week on one ear of corn."

**Grant and Doniphan.**

The difficulty with Mexico in 1914 and the talk of possible annexation prompted Judge D. C. Allen of Liberty to give for publication this reminiscence of an interchange of opinion between U. S. Grant and A. W. Doniphan, both of whom had been in the war with Mexico: "Near 1880 they were summering in Colorado, and while there, at Denver or Colorado Springs, they were several times in the society of each other. As all know, the annexation of Mexico has been in discussion among Americans, off and on, for more than fifty years. It was so when these eminent men met in Colorado. At one of their meetings the following interchange of opinion occurred between them:

"General Grant: 'What do you think, Colonel Doniphan, of the annexation of Mexico?'

"Colonel Doniphan: 'I think, General, that there is now as much black blood on the stomach of the American people as they can well digest.'

"General Grant: 'I think so, too.'

"This interchange was communicated to me by Col. D. a year or so before his death, which occurred on August 8, 1887."

**Mullanphy at the Battle of New Orleans.**

The story of John Mullanphy and his cotton bales belongs to the record of Missouri in foreign wars. Mullanphy was the first Missouri millionaire. At the time of the war of 1812 he was speculating in cotton. He had on hand a considerable quantity at New Orleans. General Jackson took this cotton to make the breastworks behind which he waited for Packenham, the English general. Mullanphy went to "Old Hickory" and protested. "This is your cotton?" said General Jackson. "Then no one has a better right to defend it. Take a musket and stand in the ranks." When the war was over, Mullanphy tore the breastworks to pieces, shipped his bales of cotton to England and cleared a million dollars. In the biography of General Andrew Jackson this version of Mr. Mullanphy and the cotton bales is given: "An additional number of bales was taken to defend the embrasures. A Frenchman whose property had been thus without his consent seized, fearing of the injury it might sustain, proceeded in person to General Jackson to reclaim it and demand its delivery. The general, having heard his complaint and ascertaining from him that he was employed in no military service, directed a musket be brought him and placing it in his hand ordered him on the line, remarking at the same time, 'that as he seemed to be a man possessed of property he knew of none who had a better right to fight to defend it.'"

The error of the biographer in calling Mr. Mullanphy a Frenchman may be easily explained by the fact that the Irishman had obtained a good knowledge of the French language and might easily have passed for a Frenchman. The most accurate version of the New Orleans experience was undoubtedly that which Mr. Mullanphy gave to John F. Darby and which Mr. Darby made public:

"After the battle was over, Mr. Mullanphy said he could hear people on all sides saying they would look to the government for their cotton; and he knew it would take a long time to get money out of the government. Great delay, much expense, and an act of Congress would have been required. He went to General Jackson, and said if he would order the same number of sound bales, not torn by cannon balls or damaged in any way, returned to him as had been taken from him, he would give a release for all claims upon the government. General Jackson directed his quartermaster to do this, and Mullanphy received the same number of sound bales as had been taken from him. All the balance of the cotton used in the breastworks was put up at auction and sold for a mere trifle.

"No cotton could be sold for more than three or four cents a pound. After the battle Mr. Mullanphy seemed to have a premonition that peace would be made soon. The mails were carried to New Orleans at that time all the way on horseback via Natchez. No steamboats were running there at that date, and no mail coaches ran in that flat swampy country. Mr. Mullanphy hired a couple of men to take a skiff and row him up the Mississippi river to Natchez. They ate and slept in the skiff. No one knew the object of his visit; the men with him knew nothing of his purpose, and were left in charge of the skiff on their arrival at Natchez, with injunctions to stay in the boat all of the time, as he did not know what minute he might want to return. He went up into the town of Natchez and sauntered around, when late in the evening the post rider came riding at full speed, shouting, 'Peace! Peace!' having, it is said, got a fresh horse every ten miles to hasten the glad tidings and prevent the further destruction of life. Mr. Mullanphy ran down to the river, jumped into his skiff and ordered his men to row with all their might for New Orleans, as he had important business there to attend to. The men knew not what had occurred, and rowed all night and all next day with the swift current of the Mississippi, reaching New Orleans in

Silas Woodson, 1873-1875

C. H. Hardin, 1875-1877

John S. Phelps, 1877-1881

Thomas T. Crittenden, 1881-1885

John S. Marmaduke, 1885-1887

GOVERNORS OF MISSOURI

good time. Mr. Mullanphy was the only man in the city who had the news of peace. He was self-composed—showed no excitement. He began purchasing all the cotton he could buy or bargain for. He had about two days the start of the others. Late in the evening of the second day, from the large amount of cotton purchased by him, people began to talk and to suspect that he had some secret information. The third day, in the morning, the whole town was rejoicing; the news of peace had come, and cannon were announcing it, but Mr. Mullanphy had the cotton. Mr. Mullanphy chartered a vessel and took the cotton, which he had purchased at three or four cents a pound, to England, where he sold it, as was reported, at thirty cents a pound. And a part of the specie and bullion brought back with him as the returns from his cotton was sold by him to the government of the United States on which to base the capital for the Bank of the United States."

**The American Spirit in Upper Louisiana.**

Long before Missouri was known by name, the American spirit was there. It was indigenous. "Our friends, the Spaniards, are doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship," George Rogers Clark wrote from St. Louis in July, 1778. Here the Hannibal of the West found money, gunpowder and clothing secretly stored and awaiting delivery to help the American cause. The wonderful exploits of George Rogers Clark and his 350 Virginians and Kentuckians in 1778 and 1779 are thrilling chapters of American histories. Scarcely mentioned in these histories is the fact that before he started on his campaign, Clark sent two of his trusted lieutenants to St. Louis to sound sentiment toward the American colonies and to determine in what degree the leading men of the community could be depended upon for cooperation. After he received the encouraging reports from St. Louis, George Rogers Clark started down the Ohio to make his bloodless capture of the British post, Kaskaskia, July 4, 1778.

Very practical was the sympathy with which St. Louisans redeemed the promises they had given to George Rogers Clark's advance agents. A St. Louisan, Francis Vigo, made the trip to Vincennes and brought back to Clark the information he needed to make the expedition against that British post successful. As Vigo was leaving Vincennes to return the British stopped him. He asserted his right as a resident of St. Louis. A pledge that "on his way to St. Louis he would do no act hostile to British interest" was required. Vigo came back direct to St. Louis. He had barely landed when, having fulfilled the pledge, he jumped back into his boat and went as fast as he could to Kaskaskia with the news that the French were waiting to welcome the Americans and that Vincennes could be taken. Clark made repeated visits to St. Louis before he started in February, 1779, across the Illinois prairies. He needed money and provisions. St. Louis raised nearly $20,000 for the little American army. Father Gibault, the priest who alternated between St. Louis and Kaskaskia, gave his savings of years—$1,000. When the expedition, with recruits from St. Louis and Cahokia and Kaskaskia, marched away to the eastward, Father Gibault and his Kaskaskia parishioners knelt and prayed for American success at Vincennes. Fifteen months later the firing line of American independence ran along the stone, brush and log ramparts of St. Louis.

The St. Louis of 1764-80 came well by its Americanism. For two or three generations, the governors-general at New Orleans had been writing home to the French government about the growth of a republican spirit. The youth who came out to New France with the intention of bettering their material condition

brought with them the theories and the arguments that were spreading in France. Governors-general complained and warned that the tendencies threatened to make trouble. Laclede came from the Pyrenees with companions at a time when revolt against monarchy was in many minds. As he grasped the opportunity to found his settlement he drew to him some of the lower Louisiana people who had become imbued with republican ideas, but more of Canadian and Illinois parentage, to whom the ties with the mother country were traditional rather than positively loyal. St. Louis in the first six years of its existence progressed farther than any other community of the continent toward what were to be American ideals.

**St. Louis and the Revolution.**

The late Bishop C. F. Robertson, of the diocese of Missouri, became deeply interested in what St. Louisans did to aid the American colonies during the Revolution. He was especially impressed with the services rendered in 1778 by Francis Vigo, of whom he wrote:

"There had been resident in St. Louis for several years Colonel Francis Vigo, an Italian by birth, but one who had been in the Spanish military service. He had, however, left the army and was engaged in the Indian trade on the Missouri and its tributaries, much respected in St. Louis, and enjoying the confidence of the governor in the highest degree. A Spaniard in his allegiance, he was under no obligation to assist us, but, on the other hand, as his country was at peace with Great Britain, any breach of neutrality on his part towards that country would subject him to loss and vengeance. But in spite of all this, from his attachment to republican principles and sympathy with a people struggling for their rights, Colonel Vigo overlooked all personal consequences, and so soon as he had heard of Clark's arrival at Kaskaskia, he left St. Louis, crossed the line, went down there and tendered his means and influence, both of which were gladly accepted. Knowing Colonel Vigo's influence with the inhabitants of the country, and desirous of gaining some information from Vincennes, from which he had not heard for some months, Colonel Clark proposed to Vigo that he should go and learn the actual condition of things at the post. Colonel Vigo immediately started with but one servant, but on approaching Vincennes was captured by a party of Indians and brought to Governor Hamilton, who was then in possession of the place. Being a Spaniard and non-combatant, he could not be confined, but was only compelled to report himself every morning. He learned the condition of the garrison, its means of defense, and the position of the town.

"In the meantime, Hamilton was embarrassed by the detention of Vigo, and the French inhabitants threatened to stop the supplies unless he was released. The governor consented, on condition that Vigo should sign an article 'not to do any act during the war injurious to British interests.' He refused to sign this, and the pledge was modified, 'not to do anything injurious to British interests on his way to St. Louis.' Colonel Vigo put his name to this, and the next day departed down the Wabash and the Ohio, and up the Mississippi, with two voyagers accompanying him. He faithfully kept the very letter of his bond. On his way to St. Louis he did 'nothing injurious to British interest.' But he had no sooner set foot on shore, and changed his clothes, than in the same pirogue he hastened to Kaskaskia and gave the information by means of which Clark was enabled to capture Hamilton and the most important post of Vincennes.

"A citizen of St. Louis had thus an influential part in bringing to success a result than which few others have done more to shape all the fortunes of the West.

"More than this, when Colonel Clark came to Kaskaskia, it was with great difficulty that the French inhabitants could be persuaded to take the continental paper which alone Clark and his soldiers had with them for money. Peltries and French coins were the only currency used by the simple inhabitants. It was not until Colonel Vigo, the adopted citizen of St. Louis, went there and gave a guarantee on his property for the redemption of this paper that Colonel Clark could, with difficulty, induce the unsophisticated Frenchmen to take the cur-

rency. Even then twenty dollars of this continental currency had only the purchasing power of one silver dollar. The douleur, as they called the dollar, meant pain and grief to them.

"It was only by such aid that Colonel Clark was enabled to maintain the posts which he had conquered on the Wabash and the Mississippi until the close of the war, by which he saved to the nation the vast territory lying between the Ohio and the lakes.

"Colonel Vigo, at the close of the war, had on hand more than twenty thousand dollars of the worthless continental money for which he had surrendered his property and for which, to the end of his life, he never received one penny. He was given a draft on Virginia, which was dishonored, and died almost a pauper, holding the same dishonored draft in his possession. After his death the State of Virginia acknowledged the justice of the claim, and furnished evidence to prove that it was one of the liabilities assumed by the general government in consideration of the act of cession of the land to it by the state.

"Mention ought also to be made of Father Gibault, who lived at Vincennes, but who had the curacy of Kaskaskia and who was there when Clark took possession of the place. He it was who was influential in procuring the release of Colonel Vigo from his detention at Vincennes, and who joined with him in contributing from his cattle and his tithes for the maintenance of the American troops, without which aid they must either have surrendered or abandoned their enterprise. Judge Law says, that next to Clark and Vigo the United States are more indebted to Father Gibault for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original Northwestern territory than to any other man."

**The Battle of Pencour.**

American historians have given little or no international significance to the British attack upon St. Louis. When they refer to it, they call it an attempted Indian massacre. This is readily explained. Record evidence regarding the attack, from the St. Louis side, is wanting. Recently more has been learned. The source has been the Canadian archives. It abundantly verifies the hitherto doubted assertions of Reynolds in his History of Illinois that the expedition was planned and conducted by the British. By word-of-mouth the St. Louis narrative was handed down. The French settlers had won a great victory, one of far reaching consequences. They did not know it. They realized that they had saved their homes from savages. From this point of view they told their children the story of "the great blow."

In local annals it became "L'anne du grande coup." More than a century was to pass before "the year of the great blow" obtained its full historical significance. In the Carolinas the tide had turned against the British. In 1778-79 George Rogers Clark had occupied Kaskaskia with his Virginians. He had made friends with the Spanish officers and with the French settlers at St. Louis. Francis Vigo, a Sardinian by birth, had brought to Clark the information that Vincennes might be taken by a quick march across the prairies of Illinois. Vigo with Charles Gratiot, the Swiss, and Gabriel Cerre had backed Clark with money and credit. Frenchmen from St. Louis and Cahokia had enlisted for the expedition with the handful of Virginians. The French women of Cahokia had made the flags for the American allies to carry. Vincennes had fallen. Its British commander, General Hamilton, "the hair buyer," they called him because he paid Indians for American scalps, had been sent a prisoner to Virginia. These events in rapid succession preceded the attack of the Indians on St. Louis—"the great blow"—of 1780.

This attack was attributed at the time to British influence, but historians have been inclined to treat the affair as "a raid by the savages inhabiting the northern

lake country incited by guerrillas, probably for plunder." Quite recently, within the past few years, copies of important documents from the Canadian archives, coming into possession of the Missouri Historical Society, have revealed the facts about the expedition against St. Louis.

Pencour is the name given to St. Louis in all of these documents. Patt Sinclair, as he signed himself, lieutenant-governor of Michilimackinac, organized the expedition. He reported from time to time the progress and results to the British general, Frederick Haldimand, in command at Quebec. From these documents it is made apparent that the movement directed by Sinclair was to be general against St. Louis, Kaskaskia, and other Illinois settlements. The recovery of Vincennes was even contemplated. Anticipating the easy capture of St. Louis, Sinclair intended the column sent in that direction to proceed down the river capturing and destroying the settlements as far down as possible.

How much Haldimand and Sinclair had staked on this expedition against St. Louis the later correspondence between them showed. On the Atlantic seaboard the British for a year and more had carried on their most active operations against the southern colonies. They held Savannah and had overrun part of Georgia. Their armies were in the Carolinas. The policy was to move northward from Georgia, making use of the slave conditions as an element of weakness to the American patriots. The British leaders thought in this way to subdue colony after colony. Their plan to cut the colonial military strength into parts by taking possession of the Hudson and a line of communication with Canada had failed signally after the defeat at Saratoga.

With the British navy and land forces concentrating about Savannah and Georgia, Haldimand and Sinclair counted upon a naval demonstration against the mouth of the Mississippi and New Orleans, at the same time that their forces of Canadians and Indians swept southward down the Mississippi and the Illinois and over the prairies between the Mississippi and the Wabash. It was a campaign well thought out. It enlisted more than the military element. It appealed to the self-interest of the Canadian fur traders. The savagery and rapacity of the Indians were inflamed.

Had the plans of Haldimand and Sinclair succeeded, had St. Louis fallen, had the naval demonstration by the British fleet been made against New Orleans, the war of the Revolution would have left the west bank of the Mississippi, the whole Louisiana Territory, under the British flag.

But even while Sinclair was informing Haldimand of the details of intended occupancy of St. Louis and other places on the west side of the Mississippi, the expedition had failed, the three divisions were in full retreat. In the correspondence Sinclair refers to cypher messages. He also mentions, significantly, the non-support of this expedition by the expected movement against New Orleans. Treachery among his own forces he gives as the cause of defeat.

**The British Plans Revealed.**

Of the proposed "reduction of Pencour by surprise" Sinclair wrote confidently to Haldimand in February. He was assembling the expedition. The rendezvous was on the Upper Mississippi, at the mouth of the Wisconsin. Canoes and corn were collected. The Minominies, the Puants, the Sacs and the

Rhenards were assembled. The force was not to start "until I send instruction by Sergeant Phillips of the Eighth Regiment." Sinclair contemplated not only the capture of St. Louis. He expected to hold it. He wrote: "The reduction of Pencour, by surprise, from the easy admission of Indians at that place, and by assault from without, having for its defense as reported, only twenty men and twenty brass cannon, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends, the rich fur trade of the Missouri river, the injuries done to the traders who formerly attempted to partake of it, and the large property they may expect in the place will contribute. The Scious will go with all dispatch as low down as the Natches, and as many intermediate attacks as possible shall be made."

In his next report, Sinclair told General Haldimand that the expedition had started down the Mississippi. In that body were 750 men, "including traders, servants and Indians." "Captain Langdale with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians will join a party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by the Illinois river, and another party is sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi. I am now in treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the rebels at Post St. Vincents (Vincennes), but as they are under the management of two chiefs, the one a drunkard and the other an avaricious trader, I meet with difficulties in bringing it about. Thirty Saginah warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the island band can furnish as many more."

Sinclair's announcement of the preliminary successes of his campaigns reveals how St. Louis was cooperating with the American rebels: "During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at La Prairie du Chien, detachments were made to watch the river to intercept craft coming up with provisions and to seize upon the people working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident. Thirty-six Minominies have brought to this post a large armed boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and rebel commissary. From the mines they had brought seventeen Spanish and rebel prisoners, and stopped fifty tons of lead ore. The chiefs Machiquawish and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the western Indians."

In a postscript, after the several parties were well on the way to St. Louis and the Illinois country, Sinclair unfolds his plans for permanent possession:

"Phillips, of the Eighth Regiment, who has my warrant to act as lieutenant during your excellency's pleasure, will garrison the fort at the entrance of the Missouri. Captain Hesee will remain at Pencour. Wabasha will attack Misere (Ste. Genevieve) and Kacasia (Kaskaskia). All the traders who will secure the posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive trade of the Missouri during that time. The two lower villages are to be laid under contributions for the support of their garrisons, and the two upper villages are to send cattle to be forwarded to this place to feed the Indians on their return. Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there, who looks for receiving quarter—and the Indians have orders to give none to any without a British pass. This requires every attention and support, being of utmost consequence."

**An Account by an Eye Witness.**

The Canadian archives preserve a version of the attack on St. Louis, by an eye witness. This account written down as soon as the defeated expedition

returned to Mackinaw is titled "Information of a William Brown." Although a prisoner of the British, Brown talked willingly. He owned up to having served as a hunter for the British lieutenant-governor, Hamilton, before Vincennes was taken by George Rogers Clark in 1778. Then he volunteered with Clark to fight the Shawnees, but deserted and went to Misere (Ste. Genevieve). In March preceding the attack, Brown reached St. Louis, or Pencour, as his statement to Sinclair has it. Brown was taken prisoner by the British allies about three hundred yards from the hastily constructed defenses of St. Louis. This is what he told Sinclair:

"About the latter end of March John Conn, a trader, went down the Mississippi with the report of an attack against the Illinois by that route. Upon the arrival of Conn, the Spaniards began to fortify Pencour. The report was afterwards confirmed by a French woman who went down the Mississippi. The woman mentioned was the wife of Monsignor Honroe. The post at the entrance of the Missouri was evacuated and the fort blown up, all the outposts called in, and the videttes of their cavalry (for all are mounted except the garrison) were placed around the village of Pencour. Platform cannon with a parapet were placed over a stone house. An intrenchment was thrown up and scouts sent out. Two days before the British detachment appeared before Pencour, Colonel Clark (George Rogers Clark) and another rebel colonel, we believe named Montgomery, arrived at Pencour, it was said, with a design to concert an attack upon Michilimackinac, but whether with that design or to repel the expected attack by the Mississippi it was agreed that one hundred from the west side and two hundred from the east side should be equipped and in readiness to march when ordered. We believe Clark and Montgomery to have been in the village of Cahokia when the Indians were beaten off. Colonel Montgomery, or some rebel officer, was killed with a private of the rebel troops who wore a bayonet marked 42nd Regiment. They imagined that no others were killed at the Cahokias as they filed off early to a rising ground lower down the river than the village where all of the rebels were concealed in a stone house and could not be drawn out. Indeed, few stratagems were used, owing to Canadian treachery.

"In the Spanish intrenchment numbers were killed, as the Indians occupied a ground which commanded the greatest part of it and made several feints to enter it in order to draw the Spanish from such part of the works as afforded them cover. Thirty-three scalps were taken on the west side and about twenty-four prisoners, blacks and white people. Great numbers of cattle were killed on both sides of the river. The inhabitants were very much spared by all of the Indians excepting the Winipigoes and Scioux. They only scalped five or six who were not armed for the defense of the lines."

This is the story of eye witness Brown, as taken down for the British official records of the expedition against St. Louis.

Acknowledging Sinclair's bad news and accepting his version of the unsuccessful "attacks upon Pencour and the Cahokias" General Haldimand wrote from Quebec the 10th of August, 1780: "It is very mortifying that the protection Monsieur Calve and others have received should meet so perfidious and so ungrateful return. The circumstances of his and Monsieur Ducharme's conduct, you are best acquainted with and to you I leave to dispose of them as they deserve. If you have evident proof of their counteracting or retarding the operations committed to their direction, or in which they were to assist, I would have them sent prisoners to Montreal.

"I am glad to find," continued Haldimand, "that although our attempts proved unsuccessful, they were attended by no inconsiderable loss to the enemy." The congratulation is over the following which appears in Sinclair's report: "The rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias and five prisoners.

At Pencour sixty-eight were killed and eighteen black and white people made prisoners, among them several good artificers. Many hundreds of cattle were destroyed and forty-three scalps were brought in."

Thus St. Louis received a baptism of blood in the war for American independence. Intimations that this British movement against St. Louis and the Mississippi Valley were directed from London appear in the correspondence. Sinclair speaks of "a copy of My Lord George Germain's letter" as having relation to the expedition. He says "the Winnipigoes and the Scioux would have stormed the Spanish line at St. Louis if the Sacks and the Outgamies under their treacherous leader, Mons. Calve, had not fallen back so early."

Concluding his narrative of defeat, Sinclair adds: "A like disaster cannot happen next year, and I can venture to assure your excellency that one thousand Sioux without any admixture from neighboring tribes will be in the field in April under Wabasha."

**The Capture of St. Joseph.**

St. Louis did not wait for Sinclair's April campaign. On the second day of January, 1781, Captain Beausoliel, with sixty-five St. Louisans and the same number of Indian allies, left St. Louis to strike a return "coup." Beausoliel was not the captain's real name. Eugene Pouree he had been christened. But he was a bold man, a born leader, who followed the dangerous vocation of operating a bateau between New Orleans and St. Louis. A man who amounted to something in those days, who was admired by his fellow citizens, was likely to be known by a nickname. It came about that Eugene Pouree as a tribute to his popularity was called Captain Beausoliel. The home of the captain was on Market street. By reason of his qualities of leadership, Pouree had been made commander of the militia company organized among the men of St. Louis.

The expedition made its way up the Illinois valley, encountering severe winter weather and suffering hardships. Some distance south of the present Chicago, Pouree led his command to the eastward, passed around the head of Lake Michigan and reached the British post at St. Joseph. The attack was a surprise. The capture was complete. The St. Louis expedition took what furs and other property could be transported, raised the Spanish flag and marched back to St. Louis, delivering the British flag to Governor Cruzat. The expedition was well managed. Leaving St. Louis Pouree carried goods with which he successfully bought his way through the Indian tribes encountered. The route took the expedition near the present city of Danville, where years afterwards bullets of Spanish manufacture were found by American settlers. Pouree's force turned northward near South Bend. The gifts made to the Indians not only secured a peaceful journey, but insured the surprise of St. Joseph, which was complete. The St. Louisans assaulted the fort and took the traders and British soldiers prisoners. They found a considerable stock of furs, which they divided with the Indians. The return was made to St. Louis in March. Sinclair attempted no April campaign. The honors of both defense in 1780 and offense in 1781 were with the St. Louisans.

MISSOURI'S CORN PAVILION IN PALACE OF AGRICULTURE AT WORLD'S FAIR, 1904

constructive legislator Mr. Lawson had much to his credit but the act in which he took most pride was this promotion of the college of agriculture.

When the curators of the university went to Jefferson City to present the needs of the university, a farmer member said: "I don't know about the things you are asking for the university, but there's one man up at Columbia who is doing so much for us farmers that I'm willing to take for granted what you say and vote for what you ask. That's that man Waters."

**Dr. Waters' Achievements.**

Dr. Waters, a native Missourian, was the head of the college of agriculture. He built it up to two hundred students and fairly started on the way the regeneration of Missouri agriculturally speaking. Dr. Waters was the man who worked year after year until he found the solution of Texas fever which was giving the cattle raisers of Missouri their annual scare. He carried on the feeding experiments and tests winter and summer until he had shown Missouri feeders how to make three pounds of beef where one was made before in the feed lots. One of Dr. Waters' first graduates carried off the honors two years in succession at the Fat Stock show. A model dairy proved to the young Missourians that they could make as good cheese as Wisconsin turned out. A machinery laboratory taught the uses of the latest improvements. Under Dr. Waters' direction, the members of his faculty traveled the plateaus and knobs of the Ozarks. They brought back to Columbia barrels of Ozark soils. They found that bokhara clover, a distant and unpopular cousin of alfalfa, accounted a disreputable weed on vacant lots of cities and towns, would flourish on the Ozark lands and prepare the way for blue grass sod. Soil conservation was impressed with a telling object lesson. From a number of counties soil was brought to fill rows of pots. Clover was planted in every pot. The first pot contained nothing but the soil taken from a corn field where the production was not what it had been in earlier years. The second pot had the same soil with an important chemical constituent added. The third pot was doctored differently. The last pot was the soil with only the addition of a little natural fertilizer from a Missouri barnyard. The first pot showed the poorest clover. The clover in the last pot surpassed all of the rest in growth and color. Dr. Waters showed his students by actual experiments how to feed steers to weigh 1,700 pounds and to top the Chicago market year after year. Above all, his curriculum was planned to teach the young Missourians to save for themselves and their children the inheritance which their fathers and grandfathers had been impoverishing.

Kansas called Dr. Waters to take the presidency of her college of agriculture. After the great plant at Manhattan with its imposing buildings and many acres of experimental farms had been put on the same kind of practical basis as had characterized the Missouri institution, Dr. Waters took the editorship of the Kansas City Weekly Star to devote his experience to the betterment of the agriculture of the whole Middle West.

**Evolution of the College of Agriculture.**

Following the ideals of Dr. Waters and developing and expanding the Missouri college of agriculture, encouraged by support as the benefits came to be

more fully appreciated by the state, Dr. F. B. Mumford added immensely to the prestige of the institution. The close of the century of statehood finds Missouri in possession of a college of agriculture in the first rank. When the time came to mobilize the state for its part in the winning of the World war, the chairmanship of the Missouri Council of Defense and the head of the food conservation organization went by common recognition of fitness to Dr. Mumford. To the far-reaching influence of the college of agriculture was due the showing of food resources which put Missouri forward to fifth place among the states. More than that, close following the World war, came new appreciation by the urban Missourians of the existing agricultural wealth and of the possible agricultural development of the state. Lawson and Waters and Mumford had pioneered the way and the cities were realizing the opportunities. When the St. Louis committee on arrangements for the celebration of Missouri's centennial of statehood came to the consideration of plans, the proposition advanced by James A. Houchin and his associates was that the celebration take the form of a permanent agricultural fair to be held annually at or near the city. Dean Mumford came to the support of the project with an argument which was impressive:

"Most great cities are located on the edges of great waterways, oceans or lakes. Waterways are good to carry land-produced goods. Water is only valuable when land about it makes it so. Most of the great cities have oceans on one side and no great agricultural resources on the other.

"St. Louis lies in the center of the greatest agricultural area in the world. It has millions of acres on every side where most other large cities, including those that have recently passed it in population, have water on one or more sides and have no such land on any side as St. Louis has on every side.

"The shop has been developed at the expense of the farm. The pendulum has swung as far towards industrialism as it is going to swing. It will swing back to the farm.

"Missouri's investment in agriculture is larger than its investment in any other two industries. It is $4,000,000,000. The annual income of Missouri farms is $700,000,000."

**Pike County Soil for Seed.**

There is no better soil than that of Missouri valleys. There is no finer climate than that of Missouri plateaus. When one has traveled from Alexandria on the Nile-like delta of the Des Moines to Cowskin Prairie just below Neosho and from the Platte Purchase to Pemiscot he has seen a diversity of farming conditions such as no other commonwealth between the oceans can duplicate. In range of natural resources and natural advantages Missouri is incomparable.

Calumet township, where the Bankheads, descendants of Thomas Jefferson and of Pocahontas, settled eighty years ago, is the southeastern corner of Pike county. It borders on the Mississippi river and extends westward over the bottoms and up the rolling slopes. The people who live there are very proud of Calumet. They say that during a national campaign Thomas B. Reed of Maine rode through on a railroad train, and surveying as much of Calumet as he could see from a car window, voiced his admiration:

"Great heavens! Such a country! Such lands! Why, if we had such soil back in New England we would sell it by the peck for seed."

Champ Clark told this story in a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives, and Speaker Reed did not deny it.

**Missouri's Strip of Loess.**

A peculiar distinction belongs to the range of bluffs along the Missouri river, more especially on the east and north sides. These bluffs have long been recognized by fruit growers as of wonderful fertility for orchards. Corn, in time of drought, suffers less on the tops of the hills than it does in the rich bottoms. Travelers by river marveled at the erect fronts presented by the bluffs from fifty to 200 feet high. And yet these striking elevations were not, in most places, of rock formation. Geologists for years found a fascinating problem in the forms and composition. They describe the material as loess. They say that this Missouri river loess is almost exactly like that found along the Rhine in Germany and in the valley of the Yellow river of China but not known elsewhere.

The Missouri strip of loess is widest where the river leaves the southern boundary of Iowa. It gives to the western edge of the Platte Purchase a very valuable section. Diminishing in width as they reach the vicinity south of Columbia, the loess hills are more scattered and near the mouth of the Missouri are represented by a few low elevations. The soil of which the bluffs are built up is loose, and hence the German name of loess given by the geologists. It absorbs an extraordinary amount of rain or melted snow without draining. At the same time it has the ability of standing in vertical fronts toward the river or where creeks or gullies have cut through. Wells sunk in these deposits of loess, show the same material to the bottom as that at the top of the elevation. The looseness of the material permits the roots of trees to make their way to unusual depths and this ,the scientists of the University of Missouri, say explains the success which attends orchards on the summits. What has puzzled the geologists is the origin of the bluffs of loess which rise from an old drift plain of clay and gravel. The most recent theory is that they were blown by the winds into their present positions. The practical discovery of the fertile possibilities of these hills has resulted in advances of value over the apparently richer river bottoms. The Missouri farmer on the loess strip is in the favored class.

**The Missouri Hen.**

Missourians were amazed a few years ago when Jefferson City announced that the poultry products amounted yearly to more than all the mineral products of the state. And in mineral products were included coal, lead, zinc, iron, copper, nickel, cobalt, marble, terra cotta and all building stones. After that no one could question the legislative wisdom which established and encouraged a poultry experiment station in one of the favored localities of the Ozarks. The people of that part of the state seemed to have awakened earliest to the great possibilities offered by climate, pure water and other natural conditions for the poultry industry.

Twenty years ago Missouri poultry and eggs were classed in the markets as "southern." That meant the lowest price. Now the Missouri products rank with the best in the country and the figures on quantity are amazing. In one shipment twenty-four carloads of Missouri poultry went to Manchester, England. An order for fifty carloads in a single shipment to one destination is not extraordinary. The business has doubled again and again in the past two decades.

Once a hen was a hen and an egg was an egg in Missouri. It is not so now. There are "broilers" and "roasters" and "mediums" among the spring chickens of today. There are "No. ones" and "culls" among the hens, and, perhaps most remarkable of all, there are Missouri capons. As for the egg that once was an egg and nothing more, it grades as "western extras," "small and dirtys" and "seconds." The assorting and dressing and grading and packing are done at central points in the state. The finished product, ready for the tables of the world, goes hence.

With the development of the poultry and egg industry have come radical changes in methods. The peddler who went from farm to farm and traded a tin cup for a hen, which he deposited in a coop on the back end of his wagon, has disappeared. His place has been taken by a buyer at every railroad station. The business is spot cash unless the country merchant is able to still tempt the farmer's wife with barter. Every day the local train gathers up the accumulated product at the stations and carries to the central packing and shipping plant of the company operating on that line of railroad. Each of the great poultry states, among which Missouri is now conspicuous, has from three to a dozen of these central poultry and egg depots. As the cars come in with the daily loads they are run upon sidetracks along the dressing, storage and shipping houses and unloaded. The bulk of the poultry product now goes from Missouri in dressed form. Such markets as take live fowls receive them in elaborately constructed coop cars. One of these cars has 128 compartments or coops and will carry 4,000 head of poultry. It contains a state room for the man who accompanies the car and space for food and water. A few years ago there were no coop cars and the shipping of dressed poultry, save in winter, was unknown. The poultry intended for the eastern market was loaded in coops on flat cars. Barrels of water were taken on the car and tarpaulins to spread over the coops in bad weather. As soon as the journey began eternal vigilance was the price the man in charge of the car paid to save his chickens from the levying fingers of all who could get near enough to help themselves from the unprotected coops. Sedalia, Clinton and Springfield are great central points for the collection and shipment of Missouri poultry.

**The Methods of the Industry.**

"Candling" is still the name of the process of testing eggs, although the candle has gone out of date. In the dark room of the poultry and egg house hangs an electric light. It is in a case with two bright eyes. The egg testers sit on either side of the electric light. They raise two eggs at a time from the cases in which they come from the buyers, and hold them for a moment between the electric eyes and the human vision. The decision is instant. The movement which follows is so rapid that it is hard to follow. Examining two eggs at a time, the tester must conclude at once in which of five directions each egg shall go. There are three grades of merchantable eggs. But there are also two tubs to receive eggs of a fourth and fifth classification. If an egg is sound and whole it may be a "western extra," a "small and dirty" or a "second." But there may be a crack in the shell. The wear of transportation means the cracking of a great many eggs. The moment the tester detects a crack his hand goes toward

one of the tubs. With a deft turn of the wrist he completes the fracture, empties the contents of the shell into the tub, and tosses the shell to the second tub. Then there are the bad eggs. They go into the other tub as quick as the tester can drop them. The economies of the business have not yet developed use for a spoiled egg. Shells of the cracked eggs and bad eggs are hauled away and thrown on the ground. They have some fertilizing value, but not enough to pay for the cartage. The egg house pays for the removal and disposition of the bad eggs.

"Extras" hardly need explanation. They are the large, clean and sound eggs. The "small and dirty" speaks for itself. But there is this to be said, the "small and dirty" must be perfectly sound. Then come the "seconds," which betray signs of age. The "second" is the egg that is only a little off and passes very well where tastes are not too critical. The extras go into new cases with perfect packing. In them the dealer finds his profit.

**Some Scientific Aspects.**

After the rigid inspection of the central plant, the poultry company is prepared to guarantee the soundness of the eggs, and does so to the eastern customer. Care of the product does not end with the examination and packing. Cold storage has become a very essential feature of egg handling, as well as in the preservation of poultry. But in the case of eggs, cold storage does not mean simply even and low temperature sufficient to cool and not to freeze.

"An egg is something alive," is the way one of these expert poultry men of Missouri put it. "It will not do to put the eggs in the cool room and leave them there as we do poultry. A smell will be created. That musty taste which you may have noticed, especially in winter time, is the result of eggs being packed in a cool place and left. Eggs to be kept perfect must have ventilation as well as even and low temperature. I don't care how clean and sound the eggs are, without ventilation of the cold room they will generate an odor. And, notwithstanding the shells, that odor will affect the flavor of the eggs. We ventilate as part of the process of egg preservation."

Ventilation of the egg chambers in these cold storage plants means not a barred window and a natural current. The air of the room is blown out so thoroughly as to insure complete change. Then the air fanned in for the eggs is rendered artificially wholesome by being drawn through water, which absorbs all gases and impurities.

Frozen eggs in great masses are not bad to look upon. They are not allowed to thaw until the time comes for use. They are shipped in refrigerated cars, and such consignments as go to Alaska for the gold regions are put into cold storage on board of the steamships. The Klondike demand does not begin to take all of the frozen eggs. Missouri alone furnishes millions of cracked eggs in the course of a year. Nine eggs will average a pound. The frozen egg product is sold by weight. With the large bakers and cracker makers in the cities the frozen eggs are in demand. Some restaurants also buy the big tin buckets of the frozen article. Certain classes of restaurants serve scrambled eggs and omelets in winter made from the frozen eggs, and patrons are none the wiser.

BREAKING PRAIRIE IN 1835
Missouri pioneers found the sod too tough for wooden mold boards

A FARM ADVISER IN THE FIELD IN 1920

The improvement in the poultry stock of Missouri which removed it from the cheap "southern" class and gave it place with the best in the country is going on rapidly. It received a start from the poultry buyers, who brought into the state well-bred chickens and traded them pound for pound to farmers for the ordinary dunghills. Brief experience has shown the farmer's wife, if not the farmer, the advantage in prices with the better breeds. And now on thousands of farms may be found the Plymouth Rocks, the Langshans, the Brahmas, the Leghorns, and other high bred varieties most recommended by the buyers.

Chicken business goes on the year round. Other kinds of poultry have their short and special seasons. For instance, the buyers try to impress upon the raisers the necessity of getting in all of their male turkeys by the 10th of December. The reason is interesting. Thanksgiving and Christmas are the visiting times. The big turkeys are in special demand because the tables will have added plates for guests. After Christmas the turkeys suitable for the family alone, the hen turkeys, will be the ones more in demand. Turkeys are scarcely marketable in summer. But the buyers take them and the central plants hold them in the cold rooms.

**The Feed Lot of the Continent.**

In winter time Missouri becomes a vast feed lot. As field after field passes in review from the car window, the scene of cattle browsing on the cornstalks or gathered about the feed boxes or racks repeats itself. The hay and fodder from farm after farm, are being transformed by nature's laboratory into the more valuable flesh, bone and blood. The magnitude of this industry of winter feeding in Central and Western Missouri is astonishing to farmers where the old crop-selling methods prevail. An old farmer who got off the train at Rockville told this by way of illustration of the Missouri way: "One of my neighbors wrote back to his father in Ohio that he was winter feeding four hundred head of cattle. The old man answered that he wished his son would be a little more close in his figures; he said he doubted if there were that many cattle being winter fed in the whole county. I knew that the young man had told the truth, but just to satisfy my curiosity I raised the question at our next county farmers' meeting. We got up an exact statement of the number of head which were being winter fed in the county. The number was 12,000."

This state used to furnish a very large amount of corn for outside consumption. It figured conspicuously in the five or six corn surplus states. But while corn crops have been growing in the aggregate, Missouri has been selling less and less corn. And now practically the whole corn crop of Missouri goes to market on the hoof. When Missouri learned to feed the corn raised within its borders it added 50 to 100 per cent to the value.

Probably in no other of the five or six great corn states is the proportion of the crop fed to stock so large as in Missouri. Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois feed extensively, but none of the four so nearly exhausts its corn production in the feed lots. Throughout the central and northern sections of the state the common sight is the bunch of steers around the corn troughs, while the pigs scamper all about picking up every stray kernel. Hour after hour the

traveler rides through the corn counties with the feeding of stock almost continuously before his eyes.

The practice has been of slow development. Experience has proven educational, until nowhere has the science of feeding advanced further than in this state. Results tell. Bunches of steers from Missouri feeders were the first to bring $10.40 per 100 pounds in 1914. There are few spectacles on the farm more fascinating to the vision than a fattening bunch of steers that has turned from the corn troughs satiated and is standing in the cooling hour before sunset contemplating the rest of creation with an air of supreme content.

Stock feeding in Missouri once consisted of hauling the stuff into the lot and throwing it down. The successful feeder was the man who fed most. Fattening stock was a matter of muscle and industry. It is not so now. Stock feeding has undergone a revolution of methods in ten years. Headwork enters largely into the vocation. The Missouri feeder today counts the bushels of corn and measures the results in flesh production. Feeding has become so much a matter of skill that there are men who, having acquired it in a notable degree, give their whole attention to it. They do not raise corn, but buy from farmers at the market price, and depend for the whole profit upon the gain from the cattle.

The successful Missouri feeder of today does more than buy his stock cattle on personal inspection and with careful regard to the breed. He gauges closely the amount of shelled or ear corn which will put on the most weight. But these are not all of the elements that he considers. The kind and amount of by-feed are in the problem and figure in the calculations. And in this connection the experimental farm attached to the State University at Columbia is pioneering the way for the feeder. Economies that a few years ago had no place now enter into the great industry of stock feeding in Missouri.

**The Place to Pack.**

"The place to kill the hog is where he grows" is a first principle in pork packing. It has been supplemented in practice with another cardinal truism of the business—"the place to make beef of the steer is where he is primed." And so, with the new conditions of cattle and hog production, the packing industry is showing its greatest development in the Missouri Valley.

A man with ability to drive a nail straight could build stock yards as they were twenty-five years ago. The work now demands the services of architects and engineers. An elaborate network of sewers went underground as the first thing toward the modern stock yards at St. Joseph. Then came paving, not only of alleys and streets, but of every pen of the yards. The 12,000,000 of vitrified brick were put down, not haphazard or on a level, but with such regard for grade as would carry the drainage of each pen direct to its own sewer trap. Each pen—and there are hundreds of them of all sizes, from the largest, with capacity for two or three car loads of cattle, down to those not much more than stalls for a single animal—has its water trough and its feed trough. Into the water trough flows a steady stream of, not Missouri, but artesian water, sweet and pure and tempting of look. Every additional pound of water the animal can be induced to swallow is so much additional weight to tell on the scales.

There are cities of 10,000 to 15,000 people in the United States which have

house he never voluntarily will go into the back yard, hold a squawking chicken on a block of wood and hack off the head with a dull ax. Colored people make the best handlers of poultry. They stand in rows before the iron racks, stripping off feathers with astonishing rapidity. The chicken killer is as much an artist in his way as the man who gives the stunning tap on the frontal of the big steer. A helper snatches a chicken from the coop, and, putting the legs in the frame, swings it along suspended from the overhead rail, with head downward, in front of the killer. The latter grasps the head, inserts the narrow blade of a long knife in the mouth, and gives it two quick turns. Each twist severs a blood vessel at the root of the tongue. A third movement is in the nature of a thrust which penetrates the brain. This is all done so quickly that the operation at first sight is confusing. The marvel comes when the looker-on has seen the killer dispose of two fowls and has come fully to comprehend the dexterity. As the killer withdraws the dagger-shaped knife, a second helper seizes the chicken, still suspended, and draws it over a trough, where he attaches a weight to the head. For a minute or two the chicken hangs motionless, while the blood drains into the trough. Then, still traveling on the overhead way, and without being taken from the frame in which it was hung by the feet when taken from the coop, the chicken passes in front of one of the dozens of pickers, who proceeds to strip off the feathers. At this stage the process of preparing fowls at the packing houses may be divided. There is the dry pick and the wet pick. The chicken picked without being dipped in hot water commands a better price than the wet-picked fowl. It is of a higher grade.

From the picker the chicken goes to the dresser, and then to the cooling rooms. In due time the poultry is put in dry boxes and is shipped in refrigerator cars with beef, pork and mutton for the consumption at all markets.

Since the Missouri packers began the handling of poultry, prices have gone up cent by cent a pound. Today the Missouri hen is to be reckoned with as one of the notable sources of the state's wealth. Marvelous statistics come annually from the bureau at Jefferson City. The handling of 25,000 chickens, ducks, geese and turkeys in a week by a single packing house is not extraordinary. Nothing is too small to escape attention in the economy of the business. The blood from a chicken goes into the common receptacle with the blood of all the animals. The blood is dried, and in that form becomes one of the important by-products. A shipment of 1,000,000 pounds of dried blood from these establishments is not uncommon. And for the benefit of those who do not know, it may be stated that the dried blood of packing houses is neither bad looking nor ill smelling, but can be handled with as little discomfort as cocoa husks.

Cleanliness is next to economy in the conduct of the packing business. My lady need not lift her skirts high nor wear rubbers to go through the modern and model packing houses. Neither does she need her smelling salts if she will leave imagination behind. The floors are water-proof. The flushing hose removes all offense. There is no dripping from above; no bad smells from beneath.

**Uncle Rufus Hatch on Cattle Paper.**

A nephew of Rufus Hatch came out into the great Southwest to grow up with the country. He found the cattlemen paying 1 per cent a month for their

accommodations and very glad to get money at that. Having looked into the business and satisfied himself that it was just as sure as the ventures which in New York City command unlimited loans at half the rate and less, he began to figure on bringing Uncle Rufus and the cattlemen into closer relations. Selecting one of the best of these new friends, the nephew suggested a trip to New York and explained what he had in mind. With the opportunity offered to get his loan at a saving of half of the interest he had been paying, the cattleman fell in with the proposition. The two journeyed to New York. They had an enjoyable time. The nephew called upon Uncle Rufus, and after telling that the customer he had brought was one of the most reliable men in the business, arranged for the meeting.

"You want to borrow some money, do you?" asked Uncle Rufus, as soon as introductions were over.

The cattleman said that was the purpose of his trip to New York.

"What interest do you expect to pay?" asked the capitalist.

The cattleman thought he could afford to pay 6 or 7 per cent.

"Very well," said Mr. Hatch, "I expect we can let you have all the money you want. What is the security?"

The cattleman was ready with the answer he would have made to his banker in the great Southwest. He had so many head of cattle, on such and such a range, and of such a brand. He rated them at so much per head. Uncle Rufus listened attentively until the cattleman had completed his inventory and description of his property, then he asked.

"How is the pasture fenced?"

The cattleman replied that his cattle were on the range; that the range was not fenced. He commenced to explain about the brand being registered and the security it gave. Uncle Rufus interrupted:

"Young man," he said, "I would as soon loan my money on a school of mackerel off the coast of Newfoundland as upon the kind of security you offer."

**Honor among the Cowmen.**

Since that early day capital has become acquainted with "cattle paper." The commission firms doing business in Missouri began in a small way to lend money to farmers who had not capital of their own in order to enable them to buy and carry cattle to eat their feed. This business developed until it reached a volume of from twenty to thirty millions of dollars in loans to farmers to carry cattle. This was the basis of cattle paper. Of course, the commission companies had no such sum of their own to lend. Most of them acted as middle men, agents or brokers between capitalists and farmers. Gradually money from Maine, Massachusetts, New York and all parts of the East sought the cattle paper. As the bank deposits in Missouri grew local institutions financed the farmers more and more. Losses on cattle paper have been remarkably small. The security proved to be so well maintained that the amount of capital offering increased steadily. Investors were timid at first but they gained confidence.

A live stock commission man caught in a dishonorable transaction goes out of the exchange and out of business. Not only is his occupation gone at Kansas City or St. Joseph, but he is barred at every live stock yard in the country. A

committee sits and tries members charged with offenses. The punishment is as speedy in its way as that which overtakes the cattle thief. It is commercial death. One day a member of the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange was brought before the committee. He had sold sixty fat hogs. As the stock was being driven from the yards the seller cut out three fat hogs and slipped in three of inferior quality. The act was charged. The commission man confessed to the committee, cried and pleaded for mercy. He was out of business four years, doing penance. A commission merchant received a consignment of stock from a man who owed him some money. The sale brought $5,000. A bank out in Kansas held a full mortgage on the stock. The commission man applied $2,000 on the debt which the man owed him and turned over the rest of the money. The bank complained. It was a transaction which might have engaged the attention of the courts for months, and which would have furnished fat fees for lawyers. The committee of the Live Stock Exchange heard the statement of the banker. The commission man was sent for, and this verdict was announced to him:

"Pay the full amount received from that sale, and show the receipt from this gentleman by to-morrow night."

By such methods the live stock men weed out the unworthy and sustain their individual commercial standing with the moral force of the whole exchange.

**The Pioneer of the Kansas City Stock Yards.**

The man who "brought the first bunch of cattle to Kansas City" was not only living but able to give the Kansas City Star a virile talk on the 19th of July, 1914. L. A. Allen was one of the founders of the Kansas City Stock Yards. He was the moving spirit in organizing a convention for the purpose of starting that stock market. He wrote letters to every cattle man in the West, Southwest and Northwest, men of his personal acquaintance.

"I walked through Kansas City when I was sixteen years old," said Mr. Allen. "I came here to buy and sell cattle when there wasn't even a market. We started it, and one or two commission houses were able to take care of all the work. We got two or three carloads a week. Last year there was received here in cattle and calves alone, 2,157,620." Kansas City started with that convention organized by Mr. Allen and attended by five hundred cattlemen and bankers. It met in the old Frank's Hall at Fifth and Main streets in 1873. For a number of years the cattlemen's convention was an annual event in Kansas City and the live stock industry grew steadily.

**Missouri Bacon.**

Several Missourians on a cross country wagon trip got into a discussion about things good to eat. They discussed oysters and terrapin and turkey and so on. Their driver closed the debate with, "Give me a piece of Missouri bacon about so long," indicating six inches, "and there's something that will stay by you." George B. Clark, Jr., wrote of bacon:

"You're salty and smoky and greasy as sin,
Yet of all grub we love you the best.
You stuck to us closer than nighest kin,
You helped us to win out in the West.

You froze with us up on the Laramie trail,
You sweat with us down in Tucson.
When Indian was painted and white man was pale,
You nerved us to grip our last chance by the tail,
To load up our guns and hang on."

Bacon to the Missourian means something different from the commercial article. "Hog killing time" has not been banished entirely from the farm by the mammoth packing houses. It is possible in wintry weather to see in the back lots the long poles strung with white, scraped carcasses hanging downward from the cross sticks. "Country curing" is not a lost art. What it means George B. Ellis, when he was secretary of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture, wrote:

"For thirty years I have used a method for salting and curing meat that has been very satisfactory and our meat has been complimented by a great many people who have eaten at our table. I do not think this is the only way, but it is surely a good way, and I will give it to you for what it is worth. Some people prefer dry salting, but I prefer the brine method, as it keeps the meat cleaner and, I think, safer in a very warm spell of weather.

"It is necessary to have good, healthy and well-fattened hogs to start with, and to know how to properly divide and trim the carcass, but that phase of the question I will not take up. I would prefer to butcher when the weather is not only moderately cold, and when it is just a little below freezing. If the meat is allowed to become frozen hard before it is put into the brine it will not take salt readily. After the carcasses are cut up, spread the hams, shoulders and sides upon a table or boards in the smokehouse, but where they will not freeze; do not pile them up. Rub a little salt on each piece, particularly the hams and shoulders and let the meat cool out for twenty-four to thirty-six hours. Then pack closely in a clean barrel and cover with a brine made as follows: Soft water, 3 gallons; good salt, 2 pounds; brown sugar or a good quality of sorghum, 1 pound. Make this proportion a sufficient amount to cover the meat well. The brine should be boiled and skimmed and cooled. It will require from four to six weeks, owing to the size of the hams, for the meat to be salted properly. The sides require less time—usually four weeks is sufficient for them, but the proper time to take the meat out of brine can be determined by sampling it.

"For curing I use clean corncobs or hickory and maple wood. I hang the meat in a dark, tight closet, made in the coolest corner of the smokehouse. I put the fire for the smoke in a stove and conduct the smoke into the closet through a pipe, thus avoiding too much heat under the meat. It is best to take plenty of time to allow the meat to cure, and I would like to have a smoke under the meat about half the time each day, and it will require about three weeks. Then the meat should have a nice straw color and be sufficiently cured that it may be immediately sacked and hung back in the same place. The butchering should be done early, so that the meat may be salted and cured before the warm weather in March sets in."

### The Lesson Taught by Dr. Waters.

Kansas came to Missouri to find an educator to take charge of her agricultural college at Manhattan. Before Dr. Waters left Columbia for his new field he said the one great problem in the evolution of Missouri farming was the maintenance of the soil's fertility:

"We have been using clover more or less in Missouri for this purpose, but it is very difficult to get a stand. Clover, we find, is liable to freeze out in Missouri. We are peculiarly located. We are neither north nor south, agriculturally speaking. We are not quite far enough south to have two crops, yet the seasons are long enough to furnish some

sunshine and growth to spare. We have been trying to find how to grow two crops, one of which shall restore the fertility which the other, the paying crop, takes from the ground. We have tried a great many things and have come now to the cow peas as the crop best suited to our soil and climate. The cow peas crop not only restores needed constituents to the soil, but it proves to be a very valuable crop. We have grown crops of rye and cow peas the same season, and occasionally a crop of wheat followed by cow peas with beneficial results to the land. We can say that we get a better crop each year that we have the experiment on the same land.

"In the first place insects do not bother cow peas. If the peas are sown at the right time, and that should be not too early, the Missouri farmer is reasonably sure of a crop. When drouth prevails through this section of the United States it cuts the corn crop, ruins the pastures and kills clover, but it doesn't affect the cow peas to the same degree. The plant is the only one of economic importance which will stand the drouth. We have tried it as a main and as a supplemental crop. Our experiments in feeding show that the cow peas crop makes the best hay food for this state. We have tried cow peas on land that has grown corn steadily for fifty years and found that the soil improved rapidly. For a long time it was the unsolved problem to get a crop that would leave the land better than before it was grown. As the result of the investigations of Atwater and others the peculiar effects of the leguminous plants upon the soil were discovered. If you will examine the roots of the cow pea you will see attached to them many nodules containing the nitrogen drawn from the air. The plant draws this nourishment from the air and leaves a share of it in the soil. Cow peas can be sown in June, about the 10th, or later, after the soil becomes warm. The crop can be cut any time after the 1st of September, whenever the weather is suitable. The yield is from one to two tons an acre. The crop is a fine one to clean land as well as to improve the soil, and at the same time we have demonstrated its value as the best hay feed for stock of all kinds, horses, cattle, hogs and sheep. We are advising Missouri farmers to put in cow peas, as a crop vastly preferable to timothy for feeding purposes, to say nothing of its benefit to the ground."

**Hardeman and Henry Shaw.**

"Hardeman's Garden" revealed to early Missourians about 1830 the horticultural possibilities of their state. It was in the wooded bottom of the Missouri not far from Boonville. John Hardeman cleared and laid off ten acres in a perfect square. He developed the wild fruits and brought other fruits from various parts of the country to demonstrate what Missouri climate and soil would do. He even imported grape vines from Spain. Flowers and ornamental shrubs were added until Hardeman's Garden became the show place of the Missouri river country. It was in its generation what Shaw's Garden became fifty years later. A season of unusual floods ate away the bottom where Hardeman had planted and at last the garden went into the river.

"The Eden of St. Louis" was the name given to Shaw's Garden by Prof. J. D. Butler, who visited the place and was the guest of Mr. Shaw in 1871. At that early day was pointed out by an intelligent observer the great benefit which Mr. Shaw's experiments might be to western forestry. Prof. Butler advised those interested in tree planting throughout the West to look to Shaw's arboretum "to learn how and what to plant." He spoke of the good influence already evident upon the growth of St. Louis. He made a very interesting statement obtained from Mr. Shaw himself upon the inception of the garden, including the reason for the location at St. Louis. Prof. Butler said of Mr. Shaw: "He first spent about six years in travel, penetrating into other countries and surveying them laboriously but systematically. Meantime, however, he had begun to realize the garden which from childhood had been his ideal.

the New Madrid earthquake the streams of that region overflowed their low banks with almost annual regularity. Large areas, some of them hundreds of thousands of acres in extent, became subject to inundations so frequent that the settlement of them, which had begun before the shocks, was abandoned. These floods came in the spring months. The water stood from one to four feet deep over the face of the country. The people knew that the surface of the ground had been much disturbed by the earthquake. There were huge cracks in the alluvial. To account for the water covering land which had been dry before the shocks, the theory was advanced that the convulsions had caused the sinking of great tracts. It was asserted so positively and with such apparent support of conditions that "the sunk lands" became historical. Until about 1880 this theory was maintained tenaciously. Propositions for the reclamation of these lands provoked local scepticism. Kochtitzky, Houck and other Southeast Missourians became satisfied, upon prolonged investigation, that there were no sunk lands, or at least if any land had dropped to a lower level by reason of the shocks it was of very limited extent. They found a different and a more reasonable explanation for the overflowed territory. The earthquake had thrown down great numbers of large trees in this heavily wooded country. The channels of the streams, always sluggish in the flat surface, had become clogged with drift in many places. They were thus rendered unequal to the carrying off of the surplus rainfall of the springtime and overflow resulted. The clogging drifts increased with the years and the overflow was of longer duration. These bottoms of Southeast Missouri, of fertility almost beyond conception, came to be designated as swamps and to be considered of no particular interest to any but hunting parties.

In 1850, or about that time, the Missouri legislature, in a fit of sarcastic generosity, for probably not one member in ten looked far enough into the future to realize what the gift meant, apportioned great blocks of swamp lands to Southeast Missouri counties for school purposes. The distribution was of hundreds of thousands of acres. County courts were made the custodians of the tracts. The gifts were looked upon with such indifference that it was an easy matter for individuals and for corporations to secure considerable tracts at nominal prices. The railroads built through that part of the state were given grants which, with the current opinion on the sunk lands, were regarded as of little value. The awakening came about thirty years ago with the explorations of this region by engineers and others who were not willing to believe in the sunk lands theory. Gradually sentiment throughout the section underwent change. Pioneer canal digging showed that at least some of the overflowed land could be reclaimed. But not until recent years has Southeast Missouri come to realize the immense possibilities of the aforetime swamps. Some of the counties received from the state grants which, if they had been conserved and rightly handled, would have built all of their bridges, made their roads and given them the finest schoolhouses in Missouri, all free of cost to the taxpayers.

**Missourians with Vision.**

John B. Henderson was one who held confidently to the belief that the time would come when "Sunk Land" would disappear from the map of Southeast

RECLAIMING THE LAND IN SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

FINISHED DRAINAGE CANAL NEAR MOREHOUSE

Missouri. In the late eighties, he told the writer, during a conversation at Washington, that the theory of the land dropping below drainage levels and being ruined by the New Madrid earthquake was a fallacy. He said that this theory had been advanced and supported by parties interested in the legislation which gave the owners of these lands government certificates to locate on other public land elsewhere. The certificates were known as "New Madrid claims." Ex-Senator Henderson predicted that the time was not far distant when drainage of the so-called "Sunk Lands" would be found to be entirely practicable and that one of the most fertile sections of Missouri would be developed.

Not long after this interview with the ex-senator, the "Swamp district" convention to nominate a democratic candidate for Congress was held at Poplar Bluff. Nomination was equivalent to election. At that time Southeast Missouri was called "the Gibraltar of Missouri Democracy." The delegates came from twelve or fourteen sparsely settled counties. They traveled, some of them, long distances, by roundabout routes, for these counties were without easy means of inter-communication. Likewise the counties were without community of interest in that day. Voting for favorite sons, the delegates cast several hundred ballots, exhausted the larder of the only hotel in town, went out to the edge of the swamp and ate blackberries, and finally departed homeward without making any nomination. At that convention acquaintance was made with Otto Kochtitzky and Louis Houck. Kochtitzky's engineering talent had demonstrated to his entire satisfaction that drainage was entirely feasible and he was trying to inspire others with his faith. Louis Houck was beginning to build that gridiron of railroads over the ridges and through the swamps which was to become the most profitable division of a great railroad system two decades later. The miracle in Missouri agriculture since 1900 has been the evolution of Southeast Missouri.

**Drainage and Its Results.**

In these swamp and sunk lands is being carried through the greatest drainage project of this country, and that, too, without government aid. The main canal, the Little River, is ninety-eight miles long. It was begun in 1907 and finished in 1920. It is from six to 122 feet wide at the bottom. The removal of the 42,000,000 cubic yards of earth cost $6,000,000. The fall is ninety feet. There have been dug 3,000 miles of ditches to connect with the main canal and there are thousands of miles of laterals yet to be excavated. But the fruits of the project are already being realized. Where, in the days of the deadlocked convention at Poplar Bluff, only the ridges were cultivated, where only six per cent of the total acreage was cropped, where the population was composed largely of "tie packers," there are now farms of 10,000 acres turning off 5,000 hogs and 1,000 to 2.000 cattle yearly. A single one of the eight counties now partly redeemed, Dunklin, yielded in 1919 cotton to the amount of 80,000 bales; and it was cotton of the short staple which, by reason of the extraordinary fertility, increased its usual length. Land which was sold, when Kochtitzky began to run his levels, and when Houck began to lay rails in swamps with seemingly no bottom, at from $1 to $2.50 an acre now changes hands at from $150 to $300 an acre.

"'Did you ever eat any of the Ben Davis apples grown down in Howell county?' I asked.

"'No,' he said, 'I don't know as I have, but I have eaten Ben Davises enough to know what I'm talking about.'

"'Well,' said I, 'there's a difference in Ben Davises.'

"I took him over to a place where I knew there were some of our apples in storage and asked the man who had them to go down in the cellar with us and open a barrel. He did so, and when the head was out the sight and the smell were something to remember. It was late in the spring, and the apples were just right. I picked up one and handed it to the man who knew all about apples. He ate half of it and asked:

"'Is that a Ben Davis?'

"I said it certainly was a Howell county Ben Davis."

"'Then,' said he, 'all I've got to say is, I never tasted a Ben Davis apple till now.'"

**The Pioneer Farmer on the Missouri River.**

The first English-speaking farmer who located on the Missouri river bottom in what is now St. Louis county was John Lewis. He came to the Illinois side of the Mississippi on the 5th of January, 1795. The Indians and the French gathered about him and marveled at the big wagon in which his wife and six children were riding. Lewis could not make the Frenchmen understand what he said and he could not comprehend them. The second day a negro called Uncle Henry belonging to Auguste Chouteau came over the river and acted as interpreter. The wagon which conveyed the Lewis family was so large that it was necessary to build a raft from canoes and logs bound together with strips of hickory bark in order to ferry to the St. Louis side.

Lewis started to clear a farm of a thousand acres near the Bonhomme creek. He produced maple sugar, furs, tobacco and hemp which he hauled to St. Louis and exchanged for lead, salt and coffee. Travel out the Bonhomme road and what is now the Olive street road increased to such an extent that John Lewis established a ferry across the Missouri river near his farm. His ferry boat was a section of a pontoon bridge; the floor was supported by two canoes. A horse and a treadmill were the motive power. After the ferry got into operation Lewis began the manufacture of salt on Saline creek. He had two kettles. Into them he poured the salty water from the creek and boiled it until evaporation left a layer on the bottom. For this salt he obtained five dollars a bushel in St. Louis. At a later date Mr. Lewis put in operation a water power saw mill on Creve Coeur lake, utilizing the water from Creve Coeur creek. Still later, desiring to know more of the country he made a trip to Texas. On the way he wrote home addressing the letter in this way: "Martrom Lewis, St. Louis County, Living at the Ferry on the Missouri, Leading from St. Louis to Boone's Lick Settlement. Goes by the Name of Lewis Ferry."

Lewis had six sons. One of them, a boy, climbed a bluff overlooking the Missouri and saw two deer. He threw his hat at them and shouted. The deer jumped over the edge of the bluff and broke their legs. The boy ran back to the farm and told his father. That night the choicest cuts of venison were on

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

OLD MENARD HOME AT STE. GENEVIEVE
With bearing fruit tree one hundred years old

TRAIN OF CORN WAGONS FROM ONE FARM
The myth of the so-called "Sunk Lands" of southeast or "Swampeast" Missouri dispelled

grazing fields, covered with herds of cattle. It is not possible, however, that the interior of these prairies can be inhabited; for, setting aside the difficulty of obtaining timber, it is on other accounts unpleasant and uncomfortable. In the winter the northern and western blasts are excessively cold, and the snow is drifted like hills and mountains, so as to render it impossible to cross from one side of the prairie to the other. In summer, on the contrary, the sun acting upon such an extensive surface, and the southerly winds, which uniformly prevail during this season, produce a degree of heat almost insupportable.

"It should not, by any means, be understood that these objections apply to all prairies. The smaller ones are not subject to these inconveniences; on the contrary, they are by far the most desirable and pleasant situations for settlement. They are of this description in the county of which we are treating; surrounded by forests, and containing here and there groves of the finest timber, watered by beautiful running streams, presenting an elevated, rolling or undulating surface, and a soil rarely equaled in fertility."

**The First Breaking Plow in Henry County.**

Rev. Henry Avery was one of the pioneers who proved that the prairies of Central Missouri were fertile. He was a man of enterprise and declined to accept the first impressions of settlers that the only good and productive soil was along the streams where the timber and brush must be cleared. In 1830, Mr. Avery went to St. Louis in search of a plow which would break prairie. He couldn't find such an implement in the city but did get one several miles below St. Louis. With the plow and a four-wheeled wagon, the first plow and the first wagon of that kind seen in Henry county, Mr. Avery selected a piece of prairie land in what is now Morgan county and broke twenty acres. The motive power was four yoke of oxen. No tractor and gang plow ever excited such intense interest on the prairie as did Avery's oxen and breaking plow that first day on the prairie of Central Missouri. The crops of corn raised there revolutionized sentiment among the settlers of that part of the state.

Rev. Henry Avery was a man of note in the early days of Henry county. The house he built was the first one in that part of the state with window glass in it. Two sash with four panes each gave the Avery home its distinction. When the house was ready for occupancy, the children no longer slept in the wagon bed. However the time was July and outdoor bedrooms were no hardship. In 1831 Mr. Avery was "recommended to the governor of this state as a proper person to be appointed justice of the peace for Tebo township." He received his commission and the first marriage took place in Henry county. The date is remembered. It was the 15th of May, 1832. But the names of the two that were joined have been forgotten. It is tradition that they came from down near Springfield and that they had ridden their ponies four days in search of some one with authority to perform the marriage ceremony. Sympathetic Osages, down in what is now St. Clair county, had directed the couple to Squire Avery's, telling that he was a "heap big white man, plenty law."

In the fall of 1832 was the Presidential election. Justice Avery was one of the clerks of the election. On his way to John Brummet's house, the polling place, he lost his quill pen. There was a serious question about the means of recording the vote until Drury Avery produced a toothpick. One end was split and a stick was whittled and stuck into the other end for a handle. Then the recording of the votes proceeded, with twenty-four votes for Andrew Jackson and six votes for Henry Clay. In that primitive way the political faith was determined.

the soil, but it was nothing like as varied as Missouri's scattered exhibits. California, with an expenditure of $800,000, gathered under one roof such a show of fruit as was worth a journey of 500 miles to see. A clergyman, the Rev. Cameron Mann, of Kansas City, came. He saw the Illinois and California buildings and their contents. He also saw the Missouri building, and he went home so full of indignation that on Sunday he devoted a sermon to his impressions. He drew the contrast sharply between Missouri and those states which grouped their best exhibits under one roof. He lamented that Missouri had no art, and he referred bitterly to the picture of the home of the late Jesse James which hung in one of the rooms of the Missouri building. The criticisms were not just. They showed that the clergyman had made use of his eyes, but not of his legs.

**Normal Opportunities for Missouri.**

J. Sterling Morton, who was secretary of agriculture in the second term of President Cleveland, said in 1897: "The Missouri valley presents fine opportunities for normal manufacturing. That is the reduction of the products grown here to manufactured forms with the labor of our cities and towns located along the Missouri. This muddy stream, ugly as it looks, abused and ridiculed as it has been, is of great advantage from a manufacturing standpoint. When we were establishing the starch factory here we sent a sample of the Missouri river water, just as it is, to the chemist. We also sent a sample of it filtered. The analysis showed that the water, which is of such unprepossessing appearance, is exceptionally pure. A few days ago we received the report of comparative tests made at London of starch from several countries. The result gave to this starch manufactured at Nebraska City the first place in excellence."

The starch was made from white corn grown in the Missouri Valley. The labor that produced it was local. That was what Mr. Morton meant by normal manufacturing in the Missouri Valley. Forty years ago the Missouri Valley, with rapidly increasing population, attempted to insure permanence of prosperity by wholesale encouragement of manufactures. The purpose was laudable but misdirected. Towns were laid out under suggestive names to manufacture steel and machinery and other things which would necessitate the shipment of the raw material from long distances. The ambitious movement fell hard. For years some of the factory buildings stood deserted, with the glass disappearing from the windows and the doors sagging and breaking from the hinges. This was abnormal manufacturing. It was the exaggeration of mistaken opportunity from which the whole West suffered in those flush times. But while some Missourians were sinking large sums of capital in these directions, an industry that was strictly normal was quietly taking possession of its natural field. The packers of meat, one after another, were coming west, buying ground, and building plants with no other inducements than the normal conditions presented, of making meat where the steer and the hog grow and fatten. The packing industry grew to the employment of an army of people, and to the annual killing of millions of cattle and hogs. Each year has shown an increase in this industry, the employment of more people and the manufacture of more meat from the raw material. Soups and soaps of various kinds and a great assortment of products other than meat

## CHAPTER XXXIX

## SOME EXTRAORDINARY ASSETS

*Iron Mountain—James Harrison's Start—The Gift to Joseph Pratte—Valley Forge—Plank Road and Toll Gate Days—A Five Dollar Bill in Every Ton—From Mountain to Crater—Cleaning the Ore—One of the World's Wonders—Scientific Speculation—Little Mountain—The Iron Industry of St. Louis—Pilot Knob—Surface Deposits Exhausted—Coke from Illinois Coal—A New Era for Missouri—Ore Banks of Crawford County—Model Management of the Midland—Governor McClurg's Venture—The Tragedy of Knotwell—Missouri's Iron Furnaces—Taney County's Iron Mountain—The Twelve Minerals of Mine La Motte—Copper Smelting in Franklin—Theory About Gossan—Prodigious Banks of Coal—Geology Confounded in Morgan—Shale-Made Brick—Missouri Manganese in Demand—Cantwell's Forecast—Evolution of the Yellow Cottonwood—Senator Rozier's Protest—De Soto's Search for Silver in the Ozarks—Later Came Antonio and then Renault—The Mississippi Bubble and Missouri Silver—Traditions of Hidden Mines—An Ounce of Silver to a Ton of Lead—Schoolcraft's Exploration—The Deceptive White Metal—"Flickers"—Geology Against the Precious Metals—A Scientific Investigation—The Second Cornwall—Tin Mountain's Collapse—"Silver Mountain"—Madison County Discoveries—The Garrison Cave—Radium Possibilities—The Granite Mountain Bonanza.*

It is about a mile broad at the base, four hundred feet high and three miles long, and has the appearance of being composed of masses of iron ore. It is literally a mountain of ore, so pure that it yields from seventy to eighty per cent under the ordinary process of converting it into malleable iron. At the base the ore lies in pieces from a pound weight upward, which increase in size as you ascend, until they assume the appearance of huge rocks, which would remind the beholder of those "fragments of an earlier world" of which the Titans made use. Six miles southeast is another mountain called Pilot Knob, composed of a micaceous oxide of iron lying in huge masses. This ore will yield about eighty per cent of metal.—*St. Louis Newspaper Description of Iron Mountain in 1843.*

The time was when the people of the Atlantic seaboard called the Iron Mountain of Missouri a fable. They referred to it as a mineralogical joke. At a White House dinner, the President, with a sceptical smile, said to the wife of a senator from Missouri, Mrs. Linn, "I hear you have, in your state, iron ore so pure that it doesn't have to be smelted; that you forge directly from the ore."

"Yes, Mr. President," the lady replied, "that is true." And when Mrs. Linn got back to Missouri, she sent to the President a knife made by a Missouri blacksmith from a chunk of ore.

Eighty-five years ago, in 1836, Featherstonhaugh, mineral expert of that generation, reported to Congress that Missouri ore was 70 per cent iron. He told the national government "there was in Missouri a single locality of iron offering all the resources of Sweden, and of which it was impossible to estimate the value by any other terms than of a nation's wants."

Another expert, C. A. Zietz, a year later, reported on Missouri ore, "That it is readily wrought into good bar iron from the native ore, in a common blacksmith fire; and that horseshoes, knife blades and hatchets of this ore are frequently made in common blacksmith shops."

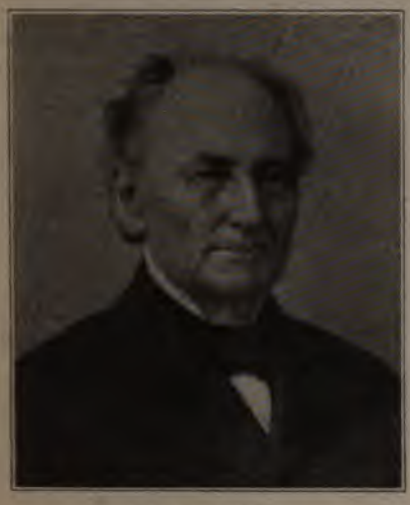
Much missionary effort was required to impress the people of the East with the truth about the mineral riches of Missouri. Senator Linn obtained from the much ridiculed Iron Mountain a lump of ore weighing two tons and sent it to Paris for examination by men of science. Those experts gave formal judgment that this Missouri ore was the best of iron, and, for many purposes, far superior to any they had ever seen. They were so much interested that they had made a set of ornaments from this ore and sent it to the wife of the senator. Mrs. Linn wore her Paris-made jewelry of iron for the benefit of Washington doubters.

**James Harrison, Pioneer Ironmaster.**

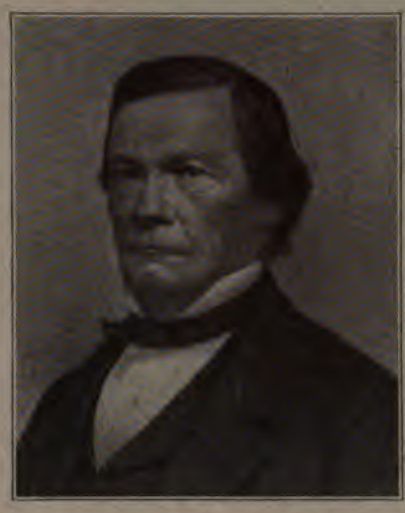
The pioneer of the Iron Mountain enterprise was James Harrison, who built the Laclede rolling mill. A picture of this first president of the company shows the bulging perceptive faculties and the square, massive jaw—a face a little more rugged, but otherwise wonderfully like that of his son, Edwin Harrison. This elder Harrison was the master of his own fortune. He told of having split rails in Howard county to get a start. Later he traveled the Santa Fe Trail, first for the Glasgows, then for himself, with wagon trains. In 1840 he was a man of means and had won the confidence of capital. In some way his attention was called to Iron Mountain, then a natural wonder and nothing more. It was the smallest of a large group of hills. Trees grew to the summit. Chunks of iron ore were scattered over the crest, but mixed in with them was enough strong red clay to give the cedars and scrub oaks their rooting. The presence of ore had been known many years. But the enterprise for development had been lacking. Nobody knew whether this collection of ore chunks, ranging in size from a pea to a peck measure and larger, was four or forty or 400 feet thick.

Away back about the beginning of the century the Spanish government conveyed the mountain to Joseph Pratte. The grant covered a tract five miles square, with the mountain in about the center. Pratte was a man of great influence in Southeast Missouri, or, as it was then, Upper Louisiana. He had made himself especially useful to the government in adjusting Indian troubles. There was no man in all those parts who could go out and pacify the redskins as Pratte could. He was frequently in demand to act as an arbitrator in the differences which arose between the settlers and the Indians. One of the largest of the Indian towns in that part of the country was at the base of Iron Mountain; and it is probable that Pratte gained his knowledge of the mountain from the visits he made to this town on his peace errands. However that may be, when the governor of Upper Louisiana suggested to Mr. Pratte that his services entitled him to recognition and asked him what he should recommend to the government as a suitable honorarium, the peacemaker said he would take this mountain. In due time there came a patent making the grant of five miles square, including the mountain and the site of the Indian town.

Joseph Pratte died and the grant remained in the possession of his heirs for nearly half a century. Then James Harrison and Conrad C. Ziegler made an examination of the mountain and began to pick up the interests of the various heirs. In 1845 they had obtained control and formed the American Iron Mountain company, with the following members: James Harrison, Conrad C. Ziegler, August Belmont, Evariste F. Pratte, John Scott, Felix Valle, Samuel Ward and



JULES VALLE
Pioneer promoter of mineral industries of Missouri



JAMES HARRISON
Developed the Iron Mountain property

MOSES AUSTIN
Pioneer miner and smelter of lead

AN OZARK PROSPECTOR
His exhibit of galena nuggets and black jack specimens

the policy with which he had started. He got out ore and made iron right along. When the market was dull he stacked up his ore and his iron and let the product stand. The company had no debt. There were no fixed charges to meet. When no sales were made no dividends were declared. When a period of activity came, part of the money realized from profits was promptly divided and part was held as surplus to continue work. This was President Harrison's policy, and it was the policy to the end. Work went on at the mountain even when there wasn't a dozen car loads a day shipped off. The iron market had its alternate periods of activity and depression. When the demand developed the accumulated product at the mountain was shoved upon the market as rapidly as cars could be obtained.

**Flush Days of Iron Mountain.**

One of these periods of activity came about 1866 and 1867. Stock had been accumulating all through the war period. The company was prepared to ship faster than cars could be had. From 100 to 120 cars left the mountain daily. There were 1,500 men on the pay rolls. Money was made faster than ever known before in iron mining in this country. This great run on the mountain lasted, with but little decline, until the Jay Cooke failure and panic in 1873. For the five years from 1867 to 1872 the profits on the Iron Mountain output were more than $1,000,000 a year. They went into the hands of representatives of the three families. In 1869, as the charter was expiring, the company reorganized, dropping from the title the word American. The corporation became the Iron Mountain company, the members being James Harrison, Mrs. Julia Maffit, Charles P. Chouteau, Felix Valle, Jules Valle and Henry Belin. The holders of the stock were so few that it was necessary to transfer a few shares in order to get the requisite number of qualified stockholders to form a board. Mrs. Maffit was the sister of Charles P. Chouteau; they inherited their Iron Mountain interest from their father, Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Between 1880 and 1890 there were more stockholders than there had been at any previous time. The Rozier brothers were largely interested through their wives, who were the Misses Valle. Charles C. Maffit, the son of Mrs. Julia Maffit, held a considerable portion of the Iron Mountain stock his grandfather bought forty years earlier, and became the president of the company. The interest of James Harrison, the founder of the company, passed to his son, Edwin Harrison. It was the largest single holding in the company.

Early operations were primitive. The ore was picked from the crest of the mountain in chunks, trundled down the mountain side on tramways, and loaded on the cars ready for shipment. Pick and shovel dislodged the masses. Gravity furnished the power, for the loaded car going down pulled the empty one up. That was picking up dollars. One workman was good for six or eight tons a day. Ore was worth nine and ten dollars a ton, and 100 cars a day left the mountain for the furnaces. There were periods when the shipments went over 1,000 tons a day, and every ton meant a five-dollar bill to the stockholders. A net income of $5,000 a day!

"Um! Um!" said old Tom Dwyer, "but them was the days when the mountain made money."

Charles F. Mersch. Ziegler was a Ste. Genevieve capitalist and conducted negotiations with the Pratte heirs. Ward was a glass manufacturer. Mersch was a wealthy German. Belmont was the New York representative of foreign capital and handled the Rothschilds' investments in this country. John Scott was the first Congressman from Missouri. He was a resident of Ste. Genevieve. Felix Valle was greatly interested in various mining enterprises in Southeast Missouri.

**Relics of Missouri's Tollgate System.**

The company began operations soon after getting control of the property. Harrison was the president and the brains of the enterprise. He even took the active management for a time. There was no railroad. The only outlet to market was by wagon eastward forty miles or so to the river. About midway between the mountain and the river, near Farmington, furnaces were built for the reduction of the ore, and these were operated for many years under the name of Valley Forge. But the forge was a part of the Iron Mountain enterprise. The ore was loaded upon wagons, hauled to the forge, there converted into blooms, and thence transported to the river to be distributed throughout the Mississippi Valley. To expedite the business a plank road was built, and the traveler thirty years ago encountered at two or three places on "the pike" the long bar which was lifted only when he had paid the regulation toll. This was the last relic of the toll-gate system in Missouri. The forge was located near Farmington for the reason that wood was plenty in the vicinity. Fuel-getting in the early days of iron making was a problem even more vexing than the transportation question. Vast quantities of charcoal were used in the furnaces. To keep up the supply the company bought tracts of land solely to acquire the timber on them. This accounted for the possession at one time of 32,000 acres, nearly double the amount conveyed by the Pratte grant. The grant with its 20,000 arpents lay in one body. The other tracts were scattered over a stretch of country thirty miles long and a dozen miles wide.

Wagoning iron ore and blooms proved too slow and too costly. But even with that method of transportation, President Harrison made such a showing of enterprise that capital was tempted to build a railroad to him. The Iron Mountain road was the result. Its construction was prompted and encouraged by the prospect of ore and iron carrying. It reached Pilot Knob, five miles below Iron Mountain, in 1858, and that remained the terminus until after the Civil war.

**The Iron Mountain Policy.**

President Harrison's faith in the Iron Mountain enterprise never wavered. But that is more than can be said of some of the others who went in with him at the beginning. Belmont dropped out when the early dividends failed to reach expectations. Valle held his interest and acquired more. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., transferred a portion of his fur-trading capital to the Iron Mountain enterprise. After a time the whole property was held by members of three families—Chouteau, Harrison and Valle. For twenty years the profits were comparatively small. First the company had to wait for the railroad, and after that came the war, preventing anything like continuous working. At times two or three regiments of soldiers were camped at the mountain. But President Harrison steadily pursued

feet thick in places. When the chunks had been cleared away, then came veins of all sizes and extending in all directions. Some of them curved and twisted into the most fantastic forms. Some were almost perpendicular; some were almost horizontal. Theory accounted for the layer of chunks on the surface by the supposition that at some time there was an upheaval and the molten ore spouted into the air to a considerable height and fell back to be broken and scattered about over the mountain top. The same theory supposed that when the upheaval came, lifting the porphyry and limestone and sandstone, the molten ore poured through the broken masses and filled innumerable crevices; and thus the bewildering confusion of ore veins and deposits was accounted for.

**Scientific Theories for Iron Mountain.**

Scientists had to construct theories for the Iron Mountain alone. Conditions there had no parallels anywhere else. But it must be admitted that the gentlemen were equal to the demand upon their theorizing powers. They came, wandered over the mountain and gazed at the formations through their spectacles. They sat on the gallery of the comfortable Iron Mountain hotel, while the evening breezes played, and told Superintendent Pilley how it all came about. To be sure, the theories varied a great deal. One man thought the formation was aqueous; that the upheavel took place when these mountain tops were covered with water. Another was just as sure the molten ore spouted up after the water receded. Mr. Pilley listened. The professor who had spent two days there knew ten times as much about Iron Mountain as the superintendent, who had been there a quarter of a century, did. That is, if the hearer might judge from the emphatic assertions of one and the guarded expression of the other. But the superintendent had learned by long experience that nothing was certain at Iron Mountain except the existence of ore. He knew what he saw, and that was enough.

After the surface chunks were removed, the veins and deposits were followed down, some of them a hundred feet and more. There used to be a Little Mountain. It was in the nature of a western annex, for there was a depression between the two summits. Little Mountain became a great hole in the ground. It had a thick vein, which dipped at an angle of thirty-eight degrees. This vein was worked as an open cut, until all that was left of Little Mountain was the hole. The vein was followed to a depth of 280 feet. For a long time the ore was hauled up to the edge of the cavity and then run down the outer side to the railroad track. This became too long a haul. A shaft was sunk at the base of Little Mountain, and ore was taken out by underground passages.

**The Hope of St. Louis in 1854.**

The greatest of St. Louis' expectations, in 1854, was manufacture of iron. At the gates of the city was the coal. Near by and in forms for working almost without parallel in facility were ore bodies thought to be practically inexhaustible. Why should not St. Louis become another Workshop of the World? The fur trade was losing its glamour. There were mistaken forebodings that the lead deposits of counties contiguous to St. Louis were being worked out. To the field of iron manufacture the Garrisons and other captains of St. Louis industry turned

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

CHARLES P. CHOUTEAU

PIERRE CHOUTEAU, Jr.

EXCAVATION OF ORE AT IRON MOUNTAIN BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

their attention. They planned for generations. Science encouraged them. Business acumen justified the undertaking. The possibilities for St. Louis were pointed out at that time in this glowing language:

"The ore of the Iron Mountain covers an area of some 500 acres. It rises to a height of some 260 feet above the general level of the country and is estimated to contain above the surface over two hundred million tons of ore. The ore is found in lumps from the size of pebbles of a few ounces to those of 200 or 300 pounds in weight, and is gathered from the surface from base to summit to the extent of thousands of tons without any difficulty."

Quality as well as quantity of the ore encouraged the belief that St. Louis "should have the most extensive iron manufactures in the United States." Of the ores of Iron Mountain and of contiguous mines it was said that they "usually yield some 68 to 70 per cent of pure iron, and it is so free from injurious substances as to present no obstacle to working it into blooms. The metal is so excellent that much of it and also that from the Pilot Knob is now used by the manufacturers on the Ohio river for mixing with the ores found there, and is especially esteemed for making nails. Combinations of the ores from Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, it is said, will form the best iron in the world for railroad car wheels, and all other purposes requiring great strength and tenacity; and no doubt rails for roads, made from our own mines, would be stronger, consequently safer, wear longer, and for these reasons be cheaper than any other rails that can be made. The ore from the Shepard Mountain, in the same vicinity, is different. It is analogous to the Swedes' iron and possibly may be even better than that for the manufacture of steel. It has been tried for this purpose and found excellent. The farmers in the vicinity now lay their plows with it, while it is used for making cold chisels. The agent of Jessup & Sons of Sheffield, England, has ordered ten tons of this particular iron shipped to England for experiment. They make large quantities of steel."

**Deposits Believed to Be Inexhaustible.**

With perfect confidence the Missourian before the war spoke of the iron deposits near by as "inexhaustible." At Iron Mountain a shaft had been sunk one hundred and forty-four feet. It gave "fifteen feet of clay and ore, thirty feet of white sand, thirty-three feet of blue porphyry and fifty-three feet of pure iron ore in which they are still at work." This was at the base of the mountain. These explorations were thought to justify the conclusion that "no other country in the world of the same extent has so abundant and accessible supply of iron as Missouri."

Economy of production seemed to be greatly in favor of St. Louis iron manufacturers. It was pointed out that "at the Tennessee works and at the Pennsylvania works it costs from two dollars to five dollars a ton to get the ore to the furnaces. On the Cumberland River, after getting out the ore at the mines and boating it in many instances for miles to the furnaces, it has there to be burned and considerable expense incurred to get it into the furnaces. But at the Knob, the cost of quarrying and hauling, all preparations for smelting the ore, is only from forty to fifty cents per ton, while at the Iron Mountain it is even less."

Two companies in St. Louis were making iron, Chouteau, Harrison and Valle at Iron Mountain, and the Madison company, in which Lewis V. Bogy was a leading spirit, at Pilot Knob and Shepard Mountain. All of the iron they could turn out was taken by the foundries and machine shops in St. Louis.

"The favored child of the mighty valley of the Mississippi, the city of the Iron Crown," Charles P. Johnson called St. Louis in his address to the state immigration convention, April, 1880. The words were not extravagant. At that time it was confidently believed St. Louis was adjacent to a region "where they have enough ore to run one hundred furnaces for one thousand years."

**Pilot Knob.**

In 1847 Pilot Knob was considered one of the greatest deposits of iron ore in the country, but it was forty-seven miles from the Mississippi, and the building of a railroad from St. Louis to Iron Mountain had not begun. Lewis V. Bogy purchased an interest in Pilot Knob. The other stockholders became discouraged at the long delay in securing transportation. They offered their shares for sale and Colonel Bogy bought them. The colonel presided over the Pilot Knob company for some years and gave his attention to the development of the mineral resources. He became president of the Iron Mountain railroad.

John Magwire was a national authority on iron production in 1872. Eight years before he had made an exhaustive examination of the advantages and adaptability of St. Louis as a manufacturing city for all things manufactured in other parts of the United States. Upon the subject of iron production Mr. Magwire had reached conclusions which influenced the investment of considerable St. Louis capital. In November, 1872, he announced:

"Everybody now knows that owing to the richness and fusibility of Missouri ores, furnaces using those ores and raw Illinois coal mixed with coke, yield from 25 to 35 per cent more iron per day than furnaces of the same dimensions in any other locality of this country, or in Europe, and that the quality of the iron is excellent; that enough good iron can be produced from Missouri ores and Illinois coal to supply the wants of the country; and the fact is now also well known that good pig iron can be produced in Missouri and Illinois at a cost of labor varying not far from that required in Wales, which is the most favorable country of Europe for making iron. There are greater facilities for obtaining ore and coal in Wales than any other country of Europe, but neither in Wales nor upon any other part of the earth's surface, so far as my information goes, are ore and coal so accessible as in Missouri and Illinois."

Mr. Magwire pointed out that in Wales it required equivalent of the labor of thirteen men one day to produce a ton of pig iron, while in Missouri the requirement was eight men one day. But he added that the Missouri ton would make rail which would last three times as long as the Welsh rail.

**Coke from Illinois Coal.**

Perfect confidence was felt in the purifying process which was to make good coke out of Illinois coal. The Illinois Patent Coke Company, of which Adolphus Meier was president and in which St. Louis capital was invested, used what was called the Osterspeys process. The plant was elaborate. With the minimum of hand labor, three men only being required to convey the coal from the cars through the crushing and washing to the ovens, it was to produce two thousand five hundred bushels of coke daily.

The manufacture of coke was carried on experimentally by this process some years, but without practical success. St. Louis waited nearly fifty years for the development of a coke oven which would turn out metallurgical coke from the

cheap Illinois coal. And while St. Louis waited, Pittsburg gained the lead as an iron manufacturing center. The second half of the last decade in Missouri's century of statehood has witnessed great development in this industry. Blast furnaces in the St. Louis district in 1920 were turning out 900 tons of pig iron daily. Rolling mills in the district were melting 470,000 tons of iron a year, and foundries were taking 285,000 tons. The various iron industries of the St. Louis district were using five years previously, in 1914, only approximately 200,000 tons of iron. Of this only 25,000 tons was made in the district. From 1860 to 1880 the products of Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob were brought to the district and supplied the various iron industries. In addition large shipments of ore and pig iron were made to other iron manufacturing centers. About 1890, the Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob deposits failed. After that St. Louis, having neither the ore nor the coke, drew supplies of pig iron mainly from sources outside of the district. Notwithstanding this handicap, iron manufacturing gradually had grown into investments of $30,000,000 and into annual production of $45,000,000 when these industries received a great impetus from the discovery of practical processes for manufacture of coke and by-products from the Illinois and Indiana coals. The vision of Adolphus Meier was realized. From Missouri's centennial was dated the establishment of one concern with a capacity for coking 2,000 tons of coal and turning out 500 tons of iron daily, the plant so located as to deliver its iron in molten state as it came from the furnace to manufacturing industries near by.

The new methods of coking these cheap, soft coals produced by-products of not small value. Among them were coal tar, ammonium sulphate, benzol, tolulol, fuel gas. From the time, more than a century ago, when the curious Missourian saw a fire burning night after night on the Illinois side in one of the nearest bluffs across the American Bottom and went out to investigate, the discovery of the Illinois soft coal beds dates. A tree had burned down to the roots and set fire to the underlying coal. There it was, just under the surface. And the century has brought not only revelation of an incomprehensible quantity but of a marvelous variety of uses for this gift of nature laid down at Missouri's front door.

The new era in iron manufacture with coke from the coals of the St. Louis district dates back less than a decade. The Laclede Gas company installed some Kopper ovens and succeeded in getting good metallurgical coke from Kentucky coal. What a revolution this meant was shown when in the first half of 1920, the company produced besides its primary product, gas, $1,708,787 worth of coke, tar and ammonia. Then came the Roberts by-product oven which produced from a ton of Illinois coal 72 per cent of its weight in metallurgical coke, upwards of three gallons of light oils, twenty-eight pounds of ammonium sulphate, between eight and ten gallons of pitch and tar, besides gas.

The $45,000,000 in iron and steel products which St. Louis produces yearly includes $16,000,000 in steel castings and foundry and machine shop output, $15,000,000 in tin enameled and galvanized iron, $6,750,000 in stoves, ranges and furnaces. Manufacture of railroad and street cars counts for $18,000,000 a year; plumbers and steamfitters supplies for $7,000,000; electric industries, $18,000,000; paints, paint oils and white lead, $14,500,000. Four million pigs of lead

and 4,500,000 slabs of zinc and spelter come to St. Louis annually from the mines of Missouri, contributing the raw material to a variety of industries.

**Crawford County's Banks.**

A common saying is that "every hill in Crawford county contains some kind of mineral." In Crawford was located the first iron furnace "blown in" in Missouri. In 1847 this county's industries included not only the manufacture of pig iron but a rolling-mill turned the crude metal into blooms and bar iron, and the manufacturers had branch stores in Springfield and other interior points in Missouri for the sale of their product. But the most significant thing about this industry was that the coal used in the rolling-mill was mined right in Crawford. There, in the southern part of the Ozarks, without a railroad dreamed of and with days of wagon transportation to the nearest river point, the mining and manufacture of iron flourished generations ago.

The brown hematite is never taken into consideration. It is everywhere. When a native of Crawford talks about ore he doesn't mean the common stuff of low grade which certain parts of the country are proud to possess. He means the very best of the red and the blue specular. This ore is found in what are called "banks." You hear of a bank, not a mine, yielding so much. The term in a sense explains the peculiar formation. There are no veins, but the ore bodies are heaped or banked up here and there in various sizes and shapes. These banks sometimes project a little above the surface, and there have been many thousands of tons of ore picked up on top of ground and hauled or shipped to the furnaces. Usually the process is to strip off a few feet of earth and rock which cover the bank, and then take the ore out of an open cut or crater-like hole.

As early as 1818 Crawford county had an iron furnace. It was located on the Thickety, in the northeast part of the county. The enterprising proprietors were Reeves and Harrison. This is said to have been the first furnace in Missouri, and if so it was also the first in the Mississippi Valley. In 1826 the Meramec, or, as they were first called, the Massey, iron works were in operation, turning out nine tons of iron a week. Later the product reached twenty tons a week.

**The Model Midland.**

The Midland of Crawford county in the days of its successful operation was a model industrial community. William H. Lee, who afterwards became the head of the Merchants-Laclede National bank in St. Louis, was first the superintendent and later the president of the Midland company. He organized this model community. The Midland, under Mr. Lee's management, never knew a strike nor a conflict of any kind with labor. To say a word against Mr. Lee in the presence of workmen was dangerous. All the places of trust and confidence were filled by promotion as vacancies occurred. A ten months' school instead of the usual two months by the district was sustained by the company. Education of the children of the employes was required. A fine large school house was equipped with a stage and entertainments were given at frequent intervals throughout the winter. One illustration of the company's policy was seen in the free distribution of ice during the summer. Every family was furnished a ticket good for ten pounds of ice at the door of the company's ice house each day

during the summer. When mid-winter came and the crop on the river was ready for harvest the superintendent called for volunteers. The workmen turned out and in a very short time filled the ice house to the eaves.

The Midland company had over three hundred men employed at the furnace, nearly a hundred more at the ore banks and about three hundred cutting wood and making charcoal. A community of two thousand was supported directly by this industry. The employes were paid in cash, but between pay-days they could obtain a statement of what was due them, and the statement could be used for trading at the company's store. To that store people came to buy from all parts of the county, and the business often ran up to $1,000 a day. Employes of the company lived in neat cottages scattered in the woods. Many of them had been there for years. They had carpets on the floors, flowers in the windows and organs in the parlors. Their daughters attended such seminaries as that of Mrs. Anna Sneed Cairns. Perhaps nowhere else in the country was there another community of iron workers so admirable as the Midland.

**The Camden County Experiment.**

Governor McClurg's venture in iron production is part of the history of Camden county. In the days when Linn Creek was the metropolis for South Central Missouri, McClurg's store did an immense business. At that time twelve steamboats navigated the Osage river. Above Linn Creek the river makes a mighty bend. The distance around by water is sixty miles. Across the neck of land is only three miles. In this rough region are vast quantities of iron ore. Red hematite and blue hematite abound without limit. No prophet was on hand to warn the governor of the changing conditions of transportation then impending. No expert was present to point out that ore and charcoal would not alone make iron smelting profitable. Governor McClurg put $50,000 of his profits from merchandising into an iron furnace, and the plant stands there at a place shown on the county maps as Iron Town. Ore to the amount of 100 tons or more is piled up. The Osage runs by, carrying railroad ties to civilization, but no pigs of iron. Iron Town is a monument of misdirected enterprise in the wilderness. It was built too early. The day may be nearer than appears when coal banks of Morgan and the great deposits of marvelously pure iron ore of Camden will get together, when smelters side by side will turn out lead from the Cambrian formation and zinc from the great fissures, and Camden will take an important place in the world of metal production.

**The Tragedy of Knotwell.**

An industrial tragedy of the Ozarks was Knotwell. The site was a slope overlooking the Little Piney and the Beaver. About forty-five years ago one of the model towns of Missouri was built. It had neat cottages, several fine residences, a hotel, a store of mammoth proportions for the Ozarks in that period, an iron smelter with complete equipment, ore sheds, coal bins and a pretty church structure. Water was piped from a huge spring a mile or more distant, and stored in a brick and cement reservoir and thence distributed to all of the buildings. Charcoal ranges were installed in the cottages. A public hall, a library and a schoolhouse were added attractions. To furnish fuel for the smelter

the company purchased 15,000 acres of land. Ore was mined and transported from Crimmons' bank on the Beaver. The Ozark Iron Works became known far and wide as a promising enterprise. Then came exhaustion of the ore bank. Other deposits were found but they proved to be of small account. After a time it was found necessary to go forty-six miles away to banks on the Cuba branch of the Frisco for ore. The margin of profit on the pig iron dwindled and finally disappeared. The company, which consisted mainly of William James of St. James, and James Dunn, employed experts to look for nearer ore bodies and carried on the works at a loss until there seemed to be no hope of success. William James had one of the show places of the Ozarks when he undertook this smelting enterprise. He sacrificed much of his wealth. Common report had it that hundreds of thousands of dollars had been sunk when the works closed down. The workmen and their families moved away. A watchman was put in charge of the property. The hotel and store were closed. Brush grew around the cottages. Windows disappeared. The place was given the name of Knotwell, by N. L. Knotwell, keeper of the hotel at Newburg, who represented the New Yorker who had purchased the property for a song. The name grew more and more appropriate as the years passed.

**Missouri Iron Furnaces in 1920.**

In 1920 the manufacture of iron from Missouri ores was still carried on. Iron furnaces were in operation at Sligo and at Midco. It had been demonstrated that charcoal iron better adapted for the highest grades of steel than the ordinary grades of pig iron, could be turned out with profit in Missouri. A third charcoal iron furnace, with a capacity for 125 tons, was constructed at Haigart, near Brandsville in Howell county. The conditions which favored this new enterprise were the Carson mine of high grade ore with a very small per cent of sulphur, the forests of oak covering the southern slopes of the Ozarks and the great Greer spring with the possibilities of electric energy up to 5,000 kilowatts. The combination of ore, wood for charcoal and water power presented the possibilities of electric steel manufacture which tempted the investment at Haigart.

**A Second Iron Mountain.**

South of White river, in Taney county, is another Iron Mountain. Nobody knows how much of the great hill is ore, because Iron Mountain waits, like many other resources of the Ozarks, upon practical development. But scattered over the mountain are what seem to be rocks and bowlders, but which upon examination are discovered to be masses of red hematite. Specimens of this ore have been tested, and analyses have shown high average of purity. Many years ago a company was formed with a plan to barge this iron down White river 300 miles to the nearest railroad point. A road was built to the river, warehouses were erected, some tons of ore were hauled and stored. With that the exploitation of the Taney county iron ore ended.

**The Twelve Minerals of Mine La Motte.**

In 1838 the owners of the Mine La Motte discovered that they had something valuable besides lead. Copper sulphides in paying quantity were found, but were

not worked on any extended scale. In 1844 Henry Marie took some specimens to England. When he returned his brother came with him, and they, with Janis and Valle, opened up a copper mine within two miles of Fleming's lead furnace. Work was carried on from 1845 to 1848, only three years, and in that time the net profits from the copper taken out were $150,000. The Maries sent their product to England. Janis and Valle sold their copper in Missouri and cleared $98,000.

No fewer than twelve minerals were found in the tract of Mine La Motte. They were gold, silver, nickel, copper, bismuth, antimony, zinc, lead, manganese, iron, arsenic and cobalt. Not all of these were produced in paying quantities. As late as 1876 mineralogists claimed for Madison county the largest and richest deposits of nickel and cobalt in the world. In three years, from 1872 to 1875, the shipments of nickel from the county amounted to $500,000.

**The Exploitation of Copper.**

About 1849 two St. Louisans of scientific attainments prospected Franklin county for copper. They were Archibald Gamble and Edward Bredell. They employed a practical smelter man and built a furnace near the location of Stanton's gunpowder industry. The plan of operation was to have the farmers mine the ore from the scattered ledges, haul it to the furnace and sell it for a stipulated price per ton, following the custom of early lead mining in adjacent counties. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Bredell satisfied themselves that there was much ore in the southern part of Franklin county. At the first trial the furnace chilled and the practical smelter man accounted for it by the change of the wind to the north. Other St. Louisans went into copper mining in Franklin county. The Stanton mine was opened, a furnace was built, a pump was put in. Copper to the value of thirty thousand dollars was produced and hauled by wagon to St. Louis.

Great hopes were entertained for several years about copper deposits in Missouri. The St. Louisans, exploiting the Stanton mine, were sanguine. Copper produced from this mine was put on exhibition at the real estate office of Leffingwell and Elliot in 1854. This optimistic announcement was made:

"The proprietors regard it as a lode of great power, and believe that their explorations warrant the conclusion that the copper region of Missouri will reward capital, skill and labor better than the Lake Superior region. The furnace of the Stanton company converts their ore at one process into copper wanting only from three to five per cent of absolute purity. So that by this process, pig copper is produced at one heating in Missouri equal to that produced by five processes in the great Swansea works in Wales, or in the Baltimore smelting establishments. The copper produced at the Stanton mine is said to command in the eastern markets the very highest price of pig copper. In the same county of Franklin and in Washington there are other valuable mines known to exist, and in many other places on the Southwestern railroad, where the indications are just as good, the land can now be purchased for two and one-half dollars an acre. There is a mine belonging to Andrew Park which promises to be very rich. This mine was first discovered in 1846, by some persons who, having heard a tradition that early Spanish miners had found silver in that region, determined to sink a shaft in quest of that metal, and in doing so discovered red oxide of copper of very rich quality. By the removal of a few inches of surface earth, some 7,000 pounds was taken out, pronounced to be a combination of sulphuret, red oxide, gray copper and malachite. This ore was shipped to Baltimore and smelted there with very satisfactory results."

Dr. Silas Reed was given the credit of starting in St. Louis the interest in this near-by copper mining. St. Louisans were told that "ores of copper in many localities have been found associated with the ores of iron, and very often in the same vicinage have been found extensive deposits of lead; and it is believed that many of the iron mines containing massive ore are the surface gossan of copper mines. All of the practical miners from Cornwall and Cuban mines, who have visited and examined the copper mines opened in Missouri, recognize the gossan as the unfailing sign of lodes of copper at the depth of from one hundred to three hundred feet." Predictions were made that the Southwest Branch, now the Frisco, would derive a great deal of revenue from the copper mining along its line within one hundred miles of St. Louis. A shipment of fifteen or twenty tons was made over the road while it was being built through Franklin county. Discoveries were made also along Current river. New York as well as Missouri capital was interested in these copper prospects.

**Slater's Lost Copper Mine.**

Near Eminence, in Shannon county, is one of the "lost" mines of Missouri. Local tradition has it that an Englishman, named Slater, came up Current river and found a very rich vein of copper. He sunk a shaft and built a mill, swore his six employes to secrecy and produced $100,000 worth of copper. It is said to be an historical fact that when parts of Missouri were thrown open to settlement by entry, the government reserved 250 square miles as copper land. Subsequently this restriction was removed. A settler filed on Slater's land where he was mining. Slater, as soon as he heard of this, filled up the shaft and destroyed all signs of the location. Litigation followed. Slater died. Subsequent owners of the land were never able to find the lost vein. Low grade copper ore exists in Shannon in considerable quantities but too low to justify development. According to the tradition, Slater was accustomed to float his copper down the Current river and on to New Orleans.

**Coal Banks of Morgan and Saline.**

The Ozarks abound in things that puzzle the wise men of science. Morgan county seems to be especially favored in the direction of resources which by some of the earlier rules of mineralogy ought not to be there. The geologist who told the people of the county that they need not expect to find coal in paying quantities shall be nameless. If the people wanted to be retributive they could put the mistaken scientist on a four-horse wagon, haul him into a tunnel of coal and carve his name on a solid bank 70 feet high. They do not talk of veins of coal in Morgan. They say "banks." They think it must have been deposited by a chain of deep lakes. How otherwise is it possible to conceive of the formation of such bodies of coal?

This Morgan county coal comes in the bituminous and the cannel formations. The bituminous is in the largest bodies, but there is a bank of cannel coal 28 feet thick. The cannel coal can be taken out in slabs and sticks. It can be split with a hatchet like a piece of well-grained pine. If a hot fire is wanted the slabs of cannel coal are placed on edge. If a slow fire is the purpose the cannel is laid flat and smolders slowly as planks would. Sandwiched in the crevices are found

both lead and zinc ore. This last statements will be questioned by the students who know all about geology and mineralogy as read in the books. It was made to Prof. Jenney, the expert on lead and zinc.

"Oh, no! You are mistaken," Prof. Jenney said. By way of reply the Morgan county man went into his cellar and brought up a slab of the cannel coal. Prof. Jenney split the coal, examined the mineral in the cracks, and said he wouldn't have believed it if he hadn't seen it. The professor admitted that zinc was sometimes found in coal, but he was of the opinion that lead couldn't occur there. Nevertheless, examination of this Morgan county cannel showed layers of lead an eighth of an inch thick. This cannel coal burns to a pure white ash. It is so clean that it can be handled without gloves, and leaves no black marks.

What has been called "a mountain of coal" is found on the Blackwater in Saline county. It is only six feet below the surface of the ground. Distance from the railroad has delayed development. Prospecting has shown a thickness of sixty feet of coal.

**Moberly's Shale Banks.**

Some years ago a canny Scotchman, James Sanderson by name, settled in Moberly. He established a brickyard of the ordinary kind just outside of the city, and began to make the common building and pavement product from the surface clay. One day he approached citizens with a proposition that they form a stock company to build a kiln and utilize the shale which he had found and experimented with. He told them he could turn out a vitrified brick that would do for street paving. The proposition was entertained, but nobody showed any disposition to corner the stock. Subscriptions of $100 were about the average. The stock was passed around in blocks of about that size. Public spirit rather than the expectation of a good thing promoted organization. Sanderson went to work. His paving brick made from the shale turned out to be exactly the proper thing for the paving of streets of cities of the class where economy was a chief consideration, and where the traffic did not demand the heaviest material. Vitrified brick has taken its place with asphalt and granite, as of proven value. It is not so costly as either. Where asphalt can not be afforded and where the traffic does not demand granite, vitrified brick comes in to make possible the luxury of well-paved streets. Moberly proved on her own streets the utility of the vitrified brick, and then began to supply other cities, as the fame of Sanderson's kilns spread. Shale is blasted out of the inexhaustible banks and hauled by tramway to the place where it is pulverized, pressed and burned. The product is shipped to all parts of Missouri. There is scarcely a city or town of considerable size which does not show some of the Moberly paving. Railroad officials have demonstrated that this vitrified brick paving is better than the usual plank platform and have adopted it widely.

**Missouri Manganese.**

In September, 1914, the Globe-Democrat published this information. "Ferromanganese, a necessary ingredient for producing many forms of steel, was mainly an import from Europe prior to this war. The price within the last few weeks has jumped from $30 to $100 a ton. Manganese ore, from which ferro-

manganese is obtained, is found in considerable quantity in various parts of the northern part of Shannon county, Mo., in the iron and copper districts there. This region, hitherto inaccessible for want of transportation facilities, is now being entered by a railroad coming north through Shannon county, its present temporary terminus being about thirty miles south of Salem, Dent county, to which town it is coming, to connect there with the Frisco railroad, and thus give direct railroad connection with St. Louis. So this mineral region, with its manganese, iron and copper ores, is now ready for the prospector and investor to enter and annex to St. Louis as a new field for industries based on these ores."

**Rapid Review and Expansive Prophecy.**

The Missouri Ozarks have yielded over $500,000,000 in lead, zinc and iron. This was the calculation made by H. J. Cantwell, an authority on the mineral production of this region. Cantwell was brought to Missouri from Pennsylvania by his parents when he was four years old. He was one of the earliest exploiters of the Flat River district. He opened the first deep mine for lead south of Mine La Motte in Madison county. He sunk the first diamond drill hole in Washington county. In a rapid review of what has been and may be realized, Mr. Cantwell said:

"Take the eastern tier of counties, consider their endowment in mineral wealth, aside from the precious metals, and match them elsewhere on the habitable globe, if you can! Commence at the first county south of St. Louis: Jefferson, with her known zinc deposits at Frumet, unworked for the past forty years; Valle mines, where no more modern devices than pick, shovel and hand windlass have ever been applied, yielding by these several millions of dollars in lead values; the extensive kaolin deposits near Hillsboro, from whence the crude unwashed material has been shipped for years to eastern manufacturers; the extensive and valuable glass sand deposits utilized at Crystal City only; Franklin county, rich in lead, iron pyrites and fire clays; Washington county, which has produced more than $10,000,000 in lead from 'gophering' in the clay only, although the deeper lead deposits have been proven to exist and although many reliable experts predict this county will eventually prove to be the most valuable of all of the lead fields of the world. Here is the most productive baryta region known, the deposits being at the surface, but most of the ore is shipped crude and but little even washed in the county. This county also has known deposits of zinc carbonates, and in it and the adjoining county of Crawford are valuable iron deposits, unworked.

"St. Francois county, great in the production of lead, but her iron industry neglected or suspended. Iron county, with many workable iron deposits and her wonderful granite quarries, idle. Ste. Genevieve county, becoming famous for the lime and cement materials now beginning to be utilized, but her copper deposits unworked. Madison county, with at least forty square miles of limestone deposits at the base of which, in zones of fracture, lie lenticular bodies of copper, nickel and cobalt sulphides, having a gross value of more than $15 per ton. Many acres capable of yielding gross values of more than half a million per acre awaiting the quickening touch of the hand of capital to change these baser metals into coin of the realm.

"Shannon county, with known copper deposits. Dent and Reynolds, with bodies of iron ore; Wayne and Butler, with millions of tons of brown iron ore face, only requiring the application of methods of mining well tested elsewhere; cheap transportation, cheap coke and modern blast furnaces to become great commercial producers.

"Remember that these counties are those that lie on or near a railroad; that the existence of these great treasures is visible to all with eyes to see; that their intrinsic values are proven by many official and authoritative publications, many of these publications covered

with the dust of two generations, but they are all found in the public libraries, and the methods of utilization are all applied elsewhere; and that these methods are shown in the current industrial and technical journals and no 'secret processes' or patented methods are required.

"Remembering also that the same geological conditions, which made this unique mineralization of this region possible, exist in the entire range of the Ozark hills on to Joplin, and one may reasonably wonder that if this known accessible region, which contains so many varied and valuable mineral resources, is undeveloped, what may not be the possibilities of the region not accessible. Further, if the known resources are not developed, will not development of the known bring here, as it elsewhere has, knowledge of further and different resources?

"Tungsten, vanadium, uranium, asbestos, plumbago, manganese, were found in this region when they had no value except for cabinet specimens, and the region has not been searched since. Copper was produced in Madison county, Shannon county, Ste. Genevieve county and Franklin county in quantities of many thousands of dollars, when the entire annual production of the United States did not equal the present weekly consumption. Hasselmeyer had a zinc furnace in Washington county when the total zinc consumed in the United States in a year would not pay one day's expenses of a modern zinc furnace. The first iron furnace in the state was near Caledonia before Iron Mountain was worked.

"The first diamond-drill hole sunk in the state, perhaps the first in the West, was sunk before 1869 at Kingston, in Washington county, and disseminated lead was there and then discovered when the only method of concentration was the hand crusher and the hand jig, and the ore was thought to be too low grade for these primitive processes. These resources of this Ozark region are all there.

"No man now need discover them. They were discovered—all of them—in the only period when Missourians really recognized the greatness of their state and when they believed themselves big enough to develop them—in that glorious decade before the Civil war when giants walked the earth and when the Missouri Ozarks were full of them.

"There is not a single hamlet in the Ozark hills but could, if inhabited by such courageous burghers as now inhabit industrial Germany, from their own resources, develop in the immediate neighborhood, a mining industry from the undeveloped wealth, or a manufacturing industry from the already developed raw materials which would make princes of all of them, and provide employment for thousands for years to come. This is not extravagant fancy; this is not the 'boosting' of a prospectus; these statements are provable to any man who has intelligence enough to read and understand the testimony of men eminent in the scientific world and who has sufficient industry to acquaint himself with what is being done elsewhere in the world.

"Missourians, the sons of those who saw these possibilities before the Civil war, have made fame and fortune in the western fields and Alaska. The generation after the war had no opportunity to do anything in this region, but the present generation has now the opportunity to do what their grandfathers would have done had the war not interrupted the development of the region. With a thousand rills and rivers to furnish cheap electrical power, the many improvements in methods of mining and reducing ores, the present methods of scientific prospecting, with an era soon upon us when capital can be secured for the operation of every basic industry, this region must come into its own and be recognized as it really is—the most favorable area for the development of commercial mines in the Union."

## The Once Despised Cottonwood.

A wood which the pioneer builders of the West tried and found miserably wanting has become a corner-stone in a new industry. It has come into use on a scale and with a degree of satisfaction which illustrates how the world does move. Along some western rivers in early days the cottonwood trees were turned into lumber because there was nothing else to saw. Jewett Willcox, who sailed those waters contemporary with Commodore Rollingpin, used to tell that he had

many a time seen the cottonwood houses on the banks of the Missouri following the sun. In the morning these houses moved several feet eastward. After dinner, in obedience to the warm rays of the descending orb, they took the westward course of empire. Mr. Willcox said the movement was so noticeable that it could be plainly observed from the cabin deck of a steamboat without the aid of a glass. Probably there never was a variety of wood cut into lumber which was so disposed to go half way to meet genial warmth. The warping tendency of the cottonwood caused it to be condemned after these early trials. There was thought to be nothing that was meaner than cottonwood lumber.

But there is cottonwood and cottonwood in Missouri. The cottonwood which has become popular and is in demand at the mills is the yellow which grows luxuriantly in Southeast Missouri bottoms, chiefly along the Mississippi. It has come into demand for a great variety of uses, among them box making. One reason for its popularity is that it is odorless to a degree which makes it exceptional among woods. The packers of goods of delicate flavors will have no other kind of cases than cottonwood. The lightness of the wood makes it highly desirable in consideration of transportation charges. The bright color of the wood takes on a clean print. These qualities, with the cheapness, commend the cottonwood box for all kinds of packing purposes. There is a concern which manufactures these boxes in parts, even to the printing of the colored labels on the sides and tops, and ships them, with the parts bundled and ready to be put together, to canneries, soapmakers and manufacturers of all kinds of goods requiring packing. It turns out 300 cars of such material monthly. It is said to be the largest concern of the kind in the world. There are lumber mills which make cases for packing eggs, berry boxes, fruit crates, grape baskets, butter plates and similar things from cottonwood, each product having its special season, when the demand can hardly be met.

But cottonwood has even more important uses. It has taken the place of poplar for the drawers and interior parts of furniture. It goes into wagon boxes, 90 per cent of which is now said to be of this material. The extent to which ingenuity has overcome the tendency to warp is shown by the fact that cottonwood is now seasoned so that it can be acceptably employed as house siding.

In scores of ways cottonwood has come into service where it was unknown a few years ago. Perhaps the most interesting introduction of it is in the form of veneering. These cottonwood logs are shaved as they go round and round under the powerful knives into pieces so thin it seems marvelous that they can be of any service. But the various ways of seasoning and pressing leave them tenacious and perfectly smooth. The veneering is packed in flat bundles of various sizes and shipped to manufacturers, who "build up" all kinds of woodwork from a door to a flat-top desk. The veneer of cottonwood is put together with glue until the requisite thickness is reached. Then it is covered with an outer veneer of the finishing wood, like oak. Many an article apparently of oak is not what it seems, but all cottonwood in glued slices except the outer eighth of an inch. And the manufacturer knows that the built-up article with the pieces of veneer placed so that the grain crosses in each successive layer is stronger and more serviceable than that constructed solidly of the costly wood. In the mansion of a St. Louis millionaire is some paneling which experts take to be of the famous and costly

satin wood, but which the owner and his architect, by a well-kept secret, alone know is of cottonwood.

**Senator Rozier's Appeal to Missourians.**

There have been times in the history of the state when the law makers were not inclined to be liberal in the development of the mineral resources of Missouri. Soon after the Civil war it was proposed to end the geological survey. At that time the disseminated lead deposits of Southeast Missouri were unknown. A United States government expert announced in his official report that the lead mines of the state were nearing exhaustion. The possibilities of the zinc district of Southwest Missouri had not been realized. In 1875 a bill to abolish the geological survey was before the legislature and was strongly supported. Senator Rozier of Ste. Genevieve made an eloquent protest. He showed the economists that the mineral production of the state was at that time about $10,000,000 annually, distributed as follows:

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| Lead | $3,000,000 |
| Iron | 3,000,000 |
| Coal | 1,000,000 |
| Spelter and zinc ore | 500,000 |
| Fire clay | 500,000 |
| Cobalt and nickel | 100,000 |
| Kaolin, ochres, etc. | 400,000 |
| Granite and sand stone | 500,000 |

"When I examine the statistics of the mineral fields of the world I find there is not a country on the globe, embracing as it does so many varieties of minerals in such great abundance. It is an astonishing but strange fact, very, that in the old world we find minerals are buried beneath the ground, while here in Missouri how different the scene presented to the vision of mortal man! We see vast regions of minerals rising from the earth, forming, as it were, mountains and pyramids kissing the rising sun, and brilliantly glowing in their crystal-like clusters.

"Man can contend against prejudice, superstition and religion; but how hard it is to contend against fogyism. A fogy is a character—a creature that stands solitary and alone. Look at him; he struts about awkwardly, wears wide pants, his mouth is eternally puckered up, and he sneers at everything in the way of progress. If he hears the whistle of a railroad engine, he cries out it will ruin the whole country. If he hears a steamboat ploughing up the stream he pronounces Fulton a humbug. If he hears the tick of the telegraph he throws up his hands and swears that this is contrary to the laws of nature. If you tell him that Columbus discovered America he will tell you that this history is 'played out.' If you tell him that Galileo explained the solar system he will tell you it is all witchery. If you tell him that Franklin discovered the principles of electricity with a kite he will simply say that Franklin had very little to do. But a man of real progress is one that views things in a just and rational way. Things that are absolutely necessary he gives his hearty support to, and finds it a pleasant duty to help the development of his own country.

"Sir, we have so far only worked the surface of our mineral fields, and must, like other countries, bring to bear upon our many operations practical ideas combined with the sciences, for it is only by long experience and close application to study that principles become fixed and immutable, as marked out by ancient and modern scientific men. The science of geology has for centuries been the study and reflection of eminent philosophers. This geological bureau will be of great service to our state, will increase our wealth, bring immigration and command the attention of capitalists over the whole world. Sir, Missouri

under our auspices will become a great state if we act wisely, and become one of the most wealthy and populous of our states. Besides we have within our borders the city of St. Louis destined to be the great metropolis of the country, and which must and will be the great inland city of the world. Sir, I have done my duty in the cause of Missouri. Being a native of this state, and being the only descendant and relic in this legislative body of the French pioneers of this country, who first settled and immigrated to Missouri, whilst at present the wave of immigration is sweeping over us, I feel like the old Chief Logan of Virginia, described by Thomas Jefferson: 'All I have left to me is to love my native state and to weep over the graves of my fathers.'"

**De Soto in the Missouri Ozarks.**

De Soto came into Southeast Missouri and wandered through the Ozarks seeking gold and silver. From the records of that expedition Irving traced the movement west of the Mississippi. The Spaniards marched northward through what are now Dunklin and Pemiscot counties. They came to a settlement of 400 dwellings. "It was seated on the banks of a river, the borders of which as far as the eye could reach were covered with luxuriant fields of maize, interspersed with groves of fruit trees." The natives came out to meet and welcome the Spaniards who understood the name of the town and the province to be Casqui or Casquin. After being entertained there six days De Soto marched north through a populous country. "The fields were overflowingly fruitful; the pecan nut, the red and gray plum and mulberry trees grew there in abundance." Two days brought the expedition to the capital of the province where the cacique or chief lived on "a high artificial hill with twelve large houses to accommodate his family and attendants." Here De Soto received gifts of mantles, furs and fish. Here he ended a drought by having a large pine tree made into a cross and religious services held. Rain fell the next night. The time was May in the year 1541. The weather was warm as it usually is in the southeastern corner of Missouri at that season.

When De Soto was ready to proceed still farther to the north, the chief turned out a force of 5,000 warriors and 3,000 bearers to go with him as an escort. According to the Spanish reports these Indians were divided into squadrons and marched well. The route led through a swamp which divided two of the Indian provinces, that of Casquin which De Soto had just left and that of Capaha. To get through the mire it was necessary to lay down trunks of trees. Beyond the swamp the Spaniards came to "beautiful meadows." They were in what is now New Madrid county. Two days of marching brought them to the principal town, Capaha, the ruins of which Irving located on the Bayou St. John. When the Spaniards saw Capaha in 1541 it "contained 500 large houses and was situated on high ground, which commanded the surrounding country. It was nearly encircled by a deep moat fifty paces in breadth; and where the moat did not extend was defended by a strong wall of timber and plaster. The moat was filled with water by a canal cut from the Mississippi river, which was three leagues distant. The canal was deep, and sufficiently wide for two canoes to pass abreast without touching each other's paddles. This canal and moat were filled with fish, so as to supply all of the wants of the village and army without any apparent diminution of number."

LACLEDE
Statue placed in City Hall Square by the St. Louis Centennial Association

MARBLE FALLS IN THE OZARKS

YOUNG SQUIRREL HUNTER

MAIL CARRYING IN THE OZARKS

De Soto was compelled to fight the Capaha people as the result of having the Casquins with him. When the Casquins who were in the advance of the Spaniards entered Capaha, the natives headed by their chief retired to an island stronghold. Before the Spaniards arrived, the Casquins sacked the town and killed 150 men. "They broke into the grand sepulcher or mausoleum, in the public square, which the Indians held sacred. Here were deposited the remains of the ancestors of the cacique, and of the great men of his tribe; and here were treasured up the trophies gained from the people of Casquin in many a past battle. These trophies they tore down from the walls. They stripped the sepulcher of all its ornaments and treasures. They then threw down the wooden coffins in which were the remains of the dead, trampled upon the bodies, scattered about the bones and wreaked upon them all kinds of insults and indignities in revenge for past injuries which the deceased had inflicted upon their tribe."

**De Soto's Search for Missouri Gold.**

From Capaha De Soto learned that "about forty leagues distance, among certain ranges of hills, there was much salt and also much of a yellowish metal. As the army was suffering for salt and still retained their eagerness for gold, De Soto despatched two trusty and intelligent men, Hernando de Silvera and Pedro Moreno, accompanied by Indian guides to visit this region. At the end of eleven days they returned quite spent and half famished, having eaten nothing but green plums and green maize, which they found in some squalid wigwams. Six of their Indian companions were laden with rock salt in natural crystals, and one with copper. The country through which they passed was sterile and thinly peopled, and the Indians informed the governor that still further on to the west the country was almost uninhabitable on account of the cold; that buffalo roamed there in such numbers the natives could not cultivate fields of maize; they subsisted therefore by the chase and principally on the flesh of these wild animals."

The two men sent for salt are believed to have reached the Saline in Ste. Genevieve county and to have found the copper somewhere near Mine La Motte, as it was known a couple of centuries later. De Soto left the Capaha country in what is now New Madrid, returned southward a short distance and then went in a northwestwardly direction in search of gold. Schoolcraft tried to trace the probable route followed by the Spaniards. He said: "Hearing fresh reports of mineral wealth, he now marched northwest to Caligoa on the source of the St. Francois. This was his most northern point. He was now at the foot of the St. Francois country celebrated in modern times for the Iron Mountain and the lead and cobalt mines of La Motte. He now marched south in search of a rich province called Cayas (Kansas) and probably crossed White River at Tenico."

**Renault and John Law.**

De Soto's search for gold and silver in the Ozarks failed utterly. Later by more than 150 years, other white men came. In the siege of Pensacola a Spaniard named Antonio was captured. He bragged to the French about the mining he had done in Mexico. The company sent Antonio to the Missouri lead country. The Spaniard dug down to the ore, broke off some pieces and treated them.

Announcement was made that the result was several drachms of silver. Encouraged by this alleged prospect, a mining company under La Renandiere took charge of the work. With a costly outfit this organization made an utter failure. It not only got no silver, but couldn't produce lead. Then came Renault, of whom Charlevoix wrote: "In the month of June last Renault found a bed of lead two feet in thickness, running a great length over a chain of mountains, where he has set his people to work. He flatters himself that there is silver below the lead. Everybody is not of his opinion, but time will discover the truth."

Inspiring and encouraging this early seeking for silver in Southeast Missouri was John Law's Mississippi scheme. The bubble collapsed while Renault was still seeking for silver. To encourage the banker-miner, the French commandant at Fort Chartres granted him a tract of land extending northward to the Meramec. In those days this river was called the Merameg, which was Indian for catfish.

Renault was a banker in Paris. He studied mineralogy. Forty-three years before the settlement of St. Louis a company was formed to mine for silver in the Mississippi Valley. Renault headed the enterprise. He came up the river, bringing several hundred negro slaves from San Domingo. Lead was found, but not the silver. Renault continued his prospecting for years, most of the time in Missouri. His route to the lead country was up the Meramec, south of St. Louis to the Big river, and then up the Big river, or Grande river, as he called it. Renault had two theories: One was that silver veins would be found in the lead country. The other was that the lead ore itself carried a percentage of silver. The explorer worked twelve or fifteen years. He mined considerable lead. He was never able to find silver veins. He could not extract from the lead the silver he supposed was there. After working the Missouri field, searching along the Mississippi to its source, and making a side trip up the Illinois, Renault went down the river in 1744, leaving most of the San Domingo slaves in the vicinity of Fort Chartres. Some of these slaves were brought to St. Louis by the first settlers.

Previous to Renault's ambitious efforts, the West India company sent Sieur de Lochon. That was in 1719. The purpose was to mine for silver, not lead. Lochon dug up some ore and worked over it four days. He showed two drachms of silver, claiming to have smelted it out of a pound of lead ore. Charlevoix, who came down the Mississippi later, heard of this. He also noted the suspicion that Lochon first put in the silver which he took out. Lochon tried on a larger scale. He smelted two or three thousand pounds of ore and got no silver. The product was "fourteen pounds of very bad lead." Lochon went back to France.

**Basis of the Spanish Theory of Silver.**

Renault's workings were not far from what is now Potosi. They remained abandoned for many years. This Spanish theory of silver in connection with lead of Southeast Missouri was not without some foundation. Toward the southern limit of the lead field the proportion is largest, but even there it is too small to pay the cost of extraction. More than a century after the failure of the

hopes which had set France wild, St. Louis capitalists put money into one of these "Missouri silver mines" and left it there.

As late as 1810 the lead miners in the district south of St. Louis held to the theory that silver would be found. Brackenridge, who visited the mining field at that time, wrote:

"The ore contains a considerable proportion of sulphur, arsenic and it is believed, of silver; though in respect to the last it has not been sufficiently tested by experiments to know whether the proportion would repay the trouble and expenses of separating. It is highly probable that the ore of some of these mines may yield it sufficiently. The ore of the Merameg, which I am informed has been partially assayed, gave the most flattering result. Above the rock the ore is found in enormous masses in strata, apparently horizontal, and often two feet thick, and several of these are passed before the rock arrests the progress of the miner; I have seen pits ten or twelve feet deep where the strata of ore had been only dug through, the digger intending to strike the rock before he attempted to undermine; perhaps gratifying his vanity with the pleasing contemplation of the shining mineral, his riches. In the rock there appear to be no regular veins; the ore occupies the accidental fissures as is the case generally in lead mines."

**Missouri Silver in the Twentieth Century.**

Some of the Americans who settled in the state clung to the theory of silver deposits in Southeast Missouri just as the Spaniards and the French had done. They expended considerable money in seeking for veins. In 1859 a German named Hoeninger found silver in Madison county and sunk a shaft. After a century and more of tradition there was found a well defined vein of silver bearing galena, but the percentage was not profitable. Much of the Missouri lead ore carries a small amount of silver but so small that it is not taken into consideration in the ore sales. The smelting companies, by subjecting the lead to intense heat, can extract between one and two ounces of silver from a ton of lead. In the course of a year there have been saved from the lead as much as 50,000 ounces of silver. Most of this silver is found in the lead of Madison, Jefferson and St. Francois counties.

As recently as 1910 the bureau of labor statistics at Jefferson City gave consideration to the question of "Missouri Silver." Labor Commissioner Heller reported the production of this metal for the year 1909. The amount was 49,500 ounces, and the value of the same, at 52 cents an ounce, was $25,740. In 1908 the production was 49,411 ounces and the value $26,390.

The following table, prepared by Supervising Statistician Arch T. Edmonston of the bureau of labor statistics, for the Red Book, gave the value and quantity of silver recovered from Missouri lead ores, by years:

| Year | Fine Ounces | Value |
|---|---|---|
| 1905 | 12,900 | $ 7,869 |
| 1906 | 31,300 | 21,187 |
| 1907 | 25,300 | 16,700 |
| 1908 | 49,411 | 26,390 |
| 1909 | 49,500 | 25,740 |
| Totals | 168,411 | $97,886 |

**Ozark Traditions of Hidden Mines.**

Old settlers in the Ozarks clung long to the belief that the precious metals must be found in paying quantities. They cherished the traditions that the Indians and the Spaniards mined silver and then concealed the sources. Mysterious markings on rocks were carefully preserved in the confidence that they indicated the neighborhood of silver ore. The fact that the hidden mines were never found seemed not to discourage those who accepted the traditions. A geologist traveled some distance in the Ozarks to see one of these marks. The native was sure it was a star carved on the rock to remind the Spaniards or the Indians where they had located silver. As soon as the scientist looked at it he identified it as part of a fossil coral placed there geologic ages before Adam was created. But the explanation had no influence on the native who had preserved the star so carefully, and who had for years speculated on the probable location of the treasure.

**What Schoolcraft Found.**

There are old workings found in these Ozark hills. They antedate any mining remembered by the present inhabitant, and traditions point to them as the places where the Spaniards found silver in the last century. In the winter of 1819, Schoolcraft camped not far from what is now Springfield. He was gathering the material for his "Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas."

"Twenty miles above the junction of these streams" (the James and Finley), he wrote at that early date in the century, "on the immediate banks of the James river, are situated some valuable lead mines, which have been known to the Osage Indians and to some White river hunters for many years. The Indians have been in the habit of procuring lead for bullets at that place by smelting the ore in a kind of furnace made by digging a pit in the ground and casing it with some flat stones placed so as to resemble the roof of a house inverted, such is the richness of the ore and the ease with which it melts. The ore, however, has not been properly explored, and it is impossible to say how extensive the beds of veins may prove. Some zinc, in the state of a sulphuret, is found accompanying it. There is not an inhabitant on all this stream. My own cabin, erected for a temporary purpose at the mines in January last, is the only human habitation within 200 miles of that place."

It is not difficult to believe that from these early operations of the Indians and pioneer hunters have grown the false traditions of hidden silver mines on the Ozarks. Of course, lead ore often carries some silver. In Mexico, the lead ores carry enough to justify mining for silver. In the Ozark country no lead mine has yet been found in which mining would be justified for the silver obtained. The traditions of silver mining and the traces of supposed silver mines and silver smelters have no other foundation, in the opinion of the mineralogists who have explored thoroughly, than the early "gophering" by Indians and pioneer hunters for lead with which to mold their bullets in the days of the flintlocks.

**The Deceptive "White Metal."**

One day an Ozark native, who may be called Solomon for his lack of wisdom,

came into the law office of William C. Kelly, at Rolla, and with tears in his voice said:

"Mr. Kelly, I've got a case for you. Bill Jones is the doggondest scoundrel in the Ozark country, and I want the law on him."

"What's the matter, Sol?" asked the lawyer.

"Bill Jones," continued Solomon in a tremulous voice, "told me if I would go down to Strawberry, Ark., and get the molds and the metal, he would make the money and we would divide. I got the molds and the metal. He has made the money and he won't give me my share. I want to prosecute him, the doggone scoundrel."

"Solomon," thundered the lawyer, "don't you know that you have been engaging in the manufacture of counterfeit money and are liable to be sent to the penitentiary. What do you mean by coming to me with such a proposition?"

"I don't know anything about counterfeit money," said Solomon, sobering down a little. "All I know is that Bill said it was good money. It buys things at the store. I got the molds and the metal, and I think I ought to have my share."

Old Solomon went away sorrowful, still insisting that Bill Jones hadn't given him a square deal, and could be prosecuted.

**The Barry County Tradition.**

Tradition placed one of the sources of precious ore in Barry county. The narrative ran:

"Chickasaw Indians were driven westward across the Mississippi and finally located on the banks of the White river in that county, where fish and all kinds of wild game were in abundance. They had only been in the new territory a short time when one of the redskins was driven into a large cave by an approaching storm and discovered that the cave's walls were a solid mass of silver. The silver mine was worked by the Indians for several years. Large quantities of the ore were melted in a hollowed-out rock and molded into large bars in molds made of stiff clay and stored away in the cave. Jewelry of various kinds was made of the silver and carried to St. Louis and St. Charles and traded for blankets and other necessities.

"For some reason all valuables of the little band were placed in the cave and preparations made for a move to new territory. The entrance to the cave was closed with rock and dirt scraped from the mountain side, and covered to a depth of several feet. As it was the custom of the Chickasaws to mark every place of importance, peculiar signs were cut on rocks and trees so they could easily find the cave when they returned. Leaving their White river camp with the intention of returning, the little band started towards 'the setting sun,' and had gone only a short distance when they were attacked by enemies and driven back to their old hunting ground, where all in possession of the secret of the location of the silver cave died of a fatal disease which swept the camp."

**The Pyrites.**

In the Devonian beds of the Ozarks are peculiar formations which encouraged the faith of the old miners in the existence of profitable silver deposits. The limestone carries pyrites disseminated. On the blacksmiths' forges in the Ozarks these pyrites were smelted, producing what the natives called "silver," but to which the more skeptical gave the name of "white metal." How much of the deceptive looking metal, the essential part of which was iron, found its way into free and unlimited coinage without the consent of the nation would be hard

to tell. There used to be a settler on Current river before the war who appeared at irregular intervals at the towns of Southeastern Missouri with a small sack of coin, which he claimed was the product of a silver mine he owned. The coins were bright and heavy and passed.

St. Clair and Hickory counties had their "silver" discoveries. About 1872 prospectors swarmed on Bear creek and other localities. Men carried specimens of limestone with what appeared to be mineral. Among the stories told was that silver had been found in such quantity and purity that it could be "hammered out in sheets." Another story was that a Spaniard had been seen wandering around the country and that he had told settlers to look for a rock with certain marks on it, one of these marks representing a turkey foot. The Spaniard, so the tale ran, had offered $500 to any one who would find and show him the stone. A stone was found that bore some marks but the newspaper man who went to look at it said, "the imagination had to be drawn on wonderfully to present the faintest approach to the figure of a turkey foot. The power of a strong glass gave no trace of the work of a tool of any kind." Examination of the specimen brought in by the farmer prospectors showed pyrites of iron, antimony and other metals but not silver. Lead, iron, copper and nickel have been found in these counties as in other parts of the Ozarks but no discovery of silver in such conditions as to warrant development.

Not far from Springfield, mining on quite an extensive scale was done for this "Ozark silver" many years ago. One firm put down several shafts, going as deep as 84 feet. From this mine a considerable quantity of what was called silver was taken. But when a sample of the ore was sent to be assayed, it turned out to be nearly pure lead, with just a trace of silver. In another locality, on the James, a mining company got out and smelted considerable quantities of what was supposed to be silver, but was declared to be iron from pyrites.

**An Experiment with "Flickers."**

One of the richest zinc mines in the Ozarks was first exploited as a silver mine. So sure were the discoverers they constructed a smelter on the old Spanish plan, burned charcoal, got out the ore and tried a blast. These men were experienced miners. They were absolutely certain they had a silver mine. For years previously old Allen Sulzer's girls, when they went after the cows, frequently picked up bits of shining ore, to which the homely name of "flickers" was given. The few people who lived in the vicinity were sure that the "flickers" must be silver. At length the old prospectors came along and confirmed the theory. The mine was located. The smelter was built. As the contents of the first blast warmed up one of the miners stood confidently at the furnace front with a little bucket to catch the molten silver. Nothing ran out. Old Allen Sulzer was near by looking at the experiment. His description of what resulted is impressive.

"The fumes riz up in the air and made the beautifullest rainbow you ever seed. But there wasn't a drap of silver kim out."

One of the experienced miners happened to look up and see this "beautifullest rainbow."

"Zinc, by thunder!" he exclaimed. The two old miners turned from the

furnace, went to their cabins, gathered up their kits, traded the mine for $2.50 in cove oysters and left the scene of their disappointment.

**The Scientific Argument.**

Silver has not been found in connection with zinc in the Ozarks. There is a very good reason to believe it will not be. A scientific fact makes the presence of the precious metals in that region, rich as it is in zinc and lead, extremely improbable. The mineral deposits of the Ozarks are of a distinctive origin. They are exceptions to a rule which holds good the world over. Humboldt announced a law to which mineral deposits very generally conform. It is this:

"The deposits of the precious metals, and of lead, zinc and mercury, are usually associated with intrusion of igneous rocks."

Scientific men regard it as one of the most notable facts about the Ozark deposits of lead and zinc that "the deposition of the ores has not been accompanied by igneous disturbances or by intrusions of igneous rocks within the mining areas."

The minerals were in solution in hot water far down below. Dynamic disturbances threw this mineralized solution upward, and under tremendous pressure it filled the crevices and fissures with the deposits. That is the way the ores in the Ozarks came about, according to the best scientific authority on the zinc region of Missouri.

**Distinctive Character of Ozark Ores.**

By the geological survey at Washington credit was given to Prof. Walter P. Jenney for having made the most thorough and satisfactory investigation of this distinctive character of the ore deposits in the Ozarks. Prof. Jenney's views as to the origin of the ores are now widely accepted, although there have been times when quite a variety of theories was entertained. In a report of his conclusions, preserved in the library of the survey at Washington, Prof. Jenney said:

"The location of the deposits of lead and zinc, the origin of the mineral-depositing solutions, the means by which these solutions have been introduced into the strata, and the formation and occurrence of the ores all appear, upon examination, to be dependent upon the dynamic disturbances which have taken place in the past geologic history of these elevated sections of the Mississippi Valley. The deposition of the ores of lead and zinc in the Ozark area has not been accompanied by igneous disturbances or by intrusions of igneous rocks within the mining-areas. This is the more remarkable, as the deposits of nearly all the mining regions of the globe conform to the law announced by Humboldt, 'That the deposits of the precious metals and of lead, zinc and mercury are usually associated with intrusions of igneous rocks.' The igneous rocks of the archaean area in Southeastern Missouri, included within the Ozarks, are far older than the earliest sedimentary deposits carrying lead and zinc ores."

**Prof. Jenney's Discoveries.**

Following up the discovery of this peculiar law of origin for the ores of the Ozarks, Prof. Jenney was able to announce certain practical results. His discovery convinced him of the deep origin of the ores and prompted in him confidence that the mineral bodies would be found to extend to considerable depths. This theory has been sustained by the latest developments. By the confirmation

the mineral fields are assured a period of profitable production far beyond the earlier anticipations.

"The result of this investigation of the deposits of lead and zinc in the Mississippi Valley has made it possible to announce the general law that all workable deposits of ore occur in direct association with faulting fissures traversing the strata and with zones or beds of crushed and brecciated rock, produced by movements of disturbance. The undisturbed rocks are everywhere barren of ore.

"While it is true that the ore deposits are thus associated with areas of disturbance and fissures faulting the strata, so that it may be said that no ore deposit occurs without a crevice or fissure in the rocks through which the ore depositing solutions were introduced, it by no means follows that all fissures are connected with ore deposits. In the many barren sections of the mining districts many disturbed areas occur where no action of ore deposition appears to have taken place and this is equally true of mining regions in other parts of the world.

"For the occurrence of ore deposits it is requisite not only that the strata should be disturbed and faulted, but that the fissures should penetrate to and form open channels connecting with the zone of supply of the ore-forming solutions, which may be located at a considerable depth in the earth; also that the pressure should be sufficient to force mineralizing solutions to the surface; that the solution should contain metallic substances in adequate quantities, and that the physical and chemical conditions should be such as to permit ore deposition. Through the absence of any of these conditions, districts otherwise favorable for ore may remain unmineralized.

"In some localities the fissuring of the strata has been accompanied by only a slight displacement of the rocks, notwithstanding which the associated ore deposits are large.

"There are evidences that the larger and more prominent fissures have a great extension in depth, and penetrate the archaean floor on which the sedimentary formations rest. At Mine La Motte the courses of the crevices in the granitic ridges are rudely parallel to the master fissures in underground workings of the mine. The Cambrian limestone and sandstones at this locality are probably nowhere over 400 feet thick; the vertical displacement of these beds by the master fissures and its branches aggregate not less than 100 feet—a displacement in such massive strata which it is difficult to conceive to have taken place except as caused by a faulting movement so profound that the fissure must of necessity penetrate deep into the underlying archaean. In general, throughout Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas the fissures associated with the ore deposits appear to be best defined in depth, whereas in the surface formations they appear to be split up into numerous branching crevices and fracture planes.

"In conclusion, it may be said of the fissures which occur in direct association with the deposits of lead and zinc ores in the Ozarks that they are not the result of local causes and are not confined to a narrow vertical range or to rocks of a similar lithological character; but, on the contrary, that these fissures are the result of forces connected with widespread dynamic disturbances, affecting the North American continent, and that the fissures are faulting planes of indefinite vertical extent, traversing all the geological formations from the crystalline rocks to the coal measures."

### The Second Cornwall.

Missouri's Iron Mountain obtained world wide fame. Missouri's Silver Mountain was for some years the basis of great hopes. Missouri's Tin Mountain is only an historic mystery. Silver Mountain's friends believed it would surpass Iron Mountain as a wealth producer. Tin Mountain was expected to become the richest of the three.

Tin Mountain is southwest from Fredericktown about nine miles. Until 1870 the oldest inhabitant of Madison county hadn't heard of it. But that is not surprising. The location is in one of the wildest parts of that region. About

the year named there came an Englishman named Stocker, and he was equal to his name. There was no doubt about his nationality. He spoke "Henglish" and took pride in doing so. His supply of h's was inexhaustible. Otherwise he was down to bedrock so far as capital was concerned. Stocker reported that he had discovered tin on the banks of the Little St. Francis, in the locality mentioned. He didn't stop to fool with the natives, but went to St. Louis and almost at once got both Mr. Moody and Mr. Michel, of the wholesale grocery house of Moody, Michel & Co., greatly interested. They formed a company and employed Mr. Sproule to enter the land for them. Stocker was everywhere. One day he would be down on the mountain digging for black sand, which he showed triumphantly as containing tin. He was between six and seven feet tall and raw-boned. At work he was the slouchiest tramp miner on the mountain. The next day he might be seen on the public square of Fredericktown wearing a gaudy plaid suit, which added to his gigantic proportions. A silk hat and "about a peck of jewelry," as a native remembers him, attached to his vest, were among the evidences that Stocker had struck something. He first paralyzed and then enthused the Madisonians. By the time the big machinery began to pass down from the railroad to the mountain everybody had tin in his head. There was tin in the air. Tin Mountain was overrun with prospectors, and the farms were sadly neglected.

The company went to work in earnest. There grew in a month or two a community of 1,500 people at the mountain. A young Mr. Tyler, of Connecticut, who was a chemist by profession and had some money, came out, investigated the prospects, became satisfied there were fortunes in sight, and put in his capital and time. Lamoreaux, the shoe man, of St. Louis, took stock. Nicholas Schaeffer invested the profits of some thousand of tons of soap grease, and, what was more surprising, studied chemistry in his old age. The company sunk shafts and ran tunnels, taking out vast quantities of green rock, which was expected to give the tin product. A mill was erected to treat the ore. Very powerful crushers were put in, because the rock was tough. A furnace that cost $65,000 was added to the plant to reduce the ore after it was ground out of the green rock. The machinery was to run by steam, and boilers and engines were put in place. Large sheds were built, and hundreds of thousands of bushels of charcoal were put into them.

**The Investment and the Collapse.**

Fredericktown tradition has it that not less than $200,000 was expended first and last by the Tin Mountain Mining company. The operations extended through nearly three years. Not as much tin was turned out as would make a dinner bucket. When the first run of ore was put through the works the investors were thunderstruck. No tin resulted. These shrewd grocers and shoe men and soap-makers didn't know anything about tin themselves, but before they went into the scheme they had taken samples of the alleged ore to the best assayers in St. Louis, and analysis after analysis had showed tin. Tons of the green rock were ground up, put through the elaborate separating machinery and reduced only to fail to show a single ounce of tin. Other chemists and assayers were given samples. Some of them reported traces of tin and some didn't. The mystery

deepened. Mr. Schaeffer refused to take any second-hand conclusions, and studied chemistry so that he could make an assay himself. "He told me," said Mr. Coleman, of the Mine La Motte, "that he actually got a button of tin from one of his assays."

Opinions differ widely as to the true explanation of the mystery. Many people believe the mine was salted and that the capitalists were taken in by a barefaced fraud. Some years ago Judge Allen, an old resident of Fredericktown, and long connected with mining enterprises in Southeast Missouri, gave the result of his Tin Mountain investigation. "So far as I could discover," he said, "the stone contained a poor quality of iron, and that was all the mineral I found in it by my tests. Strange to say, I have seen a number of analyses made by respectable chemists that gave tin. It doesn't seem possible that the mine could have been salted on such a scale as to have deceived all of them. I must confess that to this day I can hardly make up my mind in regard to the puzzle. We had a chemist here, an accomplished man named Cavallen. He was not connected with the company, but toward the end he was employed to make some assays. Cavallen told me that as many as two times he found tin in the samples that were brought him. But the most of the times he failed to get any tin at all. There were many geological formations about the mountain like those found in the vicinity of tin deposits. It is possible that there are scattered through the rock small fragments of tin ore, and that the presence of these fragments accounts for the confusing returns made by the assayers. That, to my mind, is the most reasonable theory."

There was no mystery about the final result to the men who put their money up. The enterprise was a complete and total failure. Stocker went a few months before the collapse taking with him his good clothes, "peck of jewelry," stovepipe hat and ganglionic shape. The discouraged company hauled the machinery back over the road they had made to Fredericktown and reshipped it to St. Louis. They sold the coal. The buildings have rotted down and only an imposing collection of ruins marks the spot on the Little St. Francis where many years ago was the flourishing, promising mining town of Tin Mountain.

"If those expectations had been realized," said Judge Allen, "this would have been the richest country on top of earth."

There is a rock in the locality of the alleged "Second Cornwall" which looks like tin but is not. This circumstance is believed to have helped the deception. J. E. Lee, an expert mineralogist, after the collapse, expressed the opinion that the tin ore found was taken to the mountain; that the mine was a clever case of salting. About the time of the Tin Mountain fiasco in Missouri, prospectors were in Detroit showing tin ore which they claimed to have discovered in the Lake Superior iron region. They made their appearance late in the season. Capitalists who became interested sent an expert. The season was late. There was just one boat making the trip before navigation closed. The expert was landed near the locality on the north shore where the tin ore was said to have been found. He had half an hour to collect his specimens. He brought back as much "tin ore" as he could carry and was about to base upon it a tempting report. It occurred to him that a more thorough investigation should be made. The expert locked the report in his desk, waited until spring and when the lake

opened, made a second visit to the North Shore. There he found the barrels in which the tin ore for salting the locality had been brought from England.

**The Story of Silver Mountain.**

Silver Mountain is ten miles from Fredericktown, about half way to Iron Mountain. Hiram N. Tong of Ironton is credited with having discovered the riches of Silver Mountain while following turkey tracks. He obtained possession of the land on which the vein was located and put men to work about the year 1862. A shaft eighty feet deep was put down, and argentiferous lead in quartz was found. Some of the ore was taken out and analyzed. The results were such as to induce William Einstein, who investigated the property thoroughly, to buy out Tong. After the transfer nothing was done until 1877, when Einstein organized the Silver Mountain Mining company and began work. Among those who went in with Einstein were Samuel Knox, Gerard B. Allen and Capt. Kayser. Mr. Einstein was the moving spirit. Mr. Knox came down several times, and seemed greatly interested. Mr. Allen put in money on the judgment of others, and, so far as is known, never saw the mountain.

For three years nearly, or until about 1880, Silver Mountain boomed. In the first place the company built a magnificent stone dam across the St. Francis river. The intention was to use water power for the mill. This dam stands today as good as when it was finished. It is 25 feet high and is said to have cost $20,000. Thirty-five hundred barrels of hydraulic cement were used in the construction. A fine turbine wheel was put in. Just below the dam, 100 feet, perhaps, stood the mill, a substantial three-story wooden building. It was equipped with a first-class crushing and separating apparatus, and had a capacity for handling probably 100 tons of ore a day.

**The Mine and the Mill.**

From near the mill an incline ran down into the mine. The ore was hauled up this incline and into the mill by steam power. The plant was simply superb for the purposes. But it was completed and almost in running order before the management began to look underground for the ore which was to make dividends on such an investment. As illustrating the policy, it is told that there were thousands of cords of wood bought and piled up, although water power had been provided.

Why the mine was not thoroughly prospected and opened up before all this outlay for a plant nobody can explain, but it wasn't. The controlling spirits in the company were so sanguine that without waiting to know for a certainty whether there was ore they went ahead and got ready to treat a big output. Then the incline was constructed down a hundred feet, or a little more. The vein, true fissure, was struck. Three levels were run and some ore was found and put through the mill, but by this time the stockholders were beginning to stagger before the assessments. The mill ran awhile and tons of the product, whatever it was, were shipped to Cheltenham, but failed to realize expectations. The stockholders stood the drain a few months after the plant was complete and then shut down. That was in 1880.

Silver Mountain is situated in what is called "The Narrows." The St.

Francis river passes between two mountains, and the town and mill are on the west side of the river, under the shadow of one of the mountains. The company owned several hundred acres. At the time the St. Louis company put up the works another company was formed by Madison county men to mine silver. The stockholders were J. B. Gabriel, A. Ruth, Dr. Wm. Nifong and Rufus Baird. They had found a ledge which looked well on the St. Louis company's lands and some distance from the mill. They took a lease and proceeded to development. They took out several tons of silver ore, which they delivered at the mill under a contract, but the collapse put a stop to their operations. On land further west silver was found by a Mr. Martin, of Pennsylvania, but the indications were only followed sufficiently to show the existence of some ore.

**Other Madison County Discoveries.**

The Silver Mountain discoveries were not the only ones of that precious mineral in Madison county. Local prospectors found a small vein of silver ore on Captain's creek, in the southwestern part of the county. Judge Allen was not fully satisfied with his examination and he sent a piece of the ore to Prof. Wiese, who returned a report that the specimen was very rich silver ore. A company was formed and $1,000 spent in developing the vein, but with all the work another piece of ore as good as the first was never found. In this search a very little gold was found, but so far as mining was concerned the investment proved a total failure. This occurred in 1859. Twelve or thirteen years later a scientific gentleman came to grief in the same locality, about a mile away from the old digging. Prof. Vancleve Phillips, while knocking about among the mountains, found some silver ore. The indications were so favorable that he gave his discovery a name, and the "Emma mine" became a part of Madison county history. Prof. Phillips was quite sanguine. Indications continued good, but after dropping several hundred dollars without finding ore in paying quantities the expert gave up the search.

Ten miles southeast of Fredericktown Jackson Revelle struck silver many years ago. He opened a shaft, and at a depth of 30 feet struck a vein from which he took considerable ore, which he shipped to Cheltenham. The clean-up failed to show profits, and Revelle sold out to an Illinois man. The formations in which the silver appears in these Madison county veins were declared by experts to be precisely like those in the San Juan district of Colorado.

**An Expert Opinion.**

Judge Allen of Fredericktown, who had almost a life-time's experience with southeast Missouri mineral, expressed the opinion that a different treatment Silver Mountain might have resulted more favorably. He said:

"The geological formation in which Einstein's vein appears is a porphyry dike. That dike, I expect, is 60 feet wide, well defined where it meets the granite on both north and south sides. It runs east and west. If the parties had put some of the money they spent for buildings and machinery in work underground they would have a fine mine today, I have no doubt—unless all geological indications are at fault. The ore contains silver, lead, zinc and antimony all combined in a regular well defined vertical vein. The company treated the ore in the crushers, just as it came from the mine, instead of calcining and expelling

THOMAS ALLEN

First president of the Missouri Pacific, builder of the Iron Mountain, member of Congress.

HENRY T. BLOW

Pioneer in the development of the white lead industry

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

PILOT KNOB

One of the vast deposits of iron ore in southeast Missouri. It was worked extensively throughout two generations

the baser metals, as would have been better. The result was, in my opinion, much of the silver washed out and went down the St. Francis river. I explained my view of the matter to Mr. Knox at breakfast one morning in the Planters' House. It opened his eyes, but too late. The company had expended the capital.

"My first impression was that they intended to roast the ore. I visited the mine at one time, and Mr. Einstein kindly showed me through. There was an enormous quantity of wood piled up around, acres of it I should say. I said to him he seemed to have a pretty good supply of wood, and he replied that there were 4,000 cords. I knew he had water-power for his mill, and the little engine which hoisted the ore wouldn't require more than a cord and a half a day. So without asking any questions, I rather concluded the wood was there to be used in calcining the ore. But when the collapse came the wood was still on hand. It had cost the company $2 a cord. It was afterward sold for thirty-five cents a cord, and was hauled to Pilot Knob.

"At the beginning of the operations the company put up a furnace and tried smelting. But when the silver did not appear the smelting at the mine was abandoned and the separated ore was shipped to Cheltenham. In places the veins—there were three of them found—thickened to as much as eight feet. In places they contracted to almost nothing, making it necessary to do a good deal of dead work. The assays showed splendidly. Some gave as much as 56 ounces of silver to the ton. But the works never vindicated the assayer's figures, and that is one reason why people here insist that the treatment was wrong. The vein was improving as developed, and work was finally stopped in the best ore that had been found."

**The Search in Garrison Cave.**

"The divining rod" has been used in the search for hidden treasure. More than half a century ago a venerable man carrying a curiously shaped stick came to the Garrison homestead near the town of Ozark. He said the rod pointing all the time in that direction had conducted him a long distance to the entrance of the cave. He wanted to go inside. An agreement was reached that the treasure if found should be shared. Garrison gave his consent and the exploration of the mine began. As the rod was carried from one place to another it bent and twisted about. At length it pointed straight down. When the explorer moved away the rod pointed back. At the mouth of the cave it inclined inward. Work was begun at the spot which the rod seemed to indicate but nothing was found. It was reported by those who helped that unearthly noises were heard. The story that the Garrison cave was haunted went the rounds of the neighborhood and the place was avoided for many years.

At a later period much systematic work was done in the cave. Great quantities of ashes were found which could have been made only by the burning of hundreds of cords of wood. At one point the searchers uncovered the skeleton of a man. There was a tradition in connection with the hidden treasure of the Ozarks that when the Spanish left one of their silver mines they killed an Indian and left his body buried near the ore vein so that the ghost would scare away intruders. This tradition seemed to have some relation to the strange sounds said to have been heard by those who entered the cave in earlier years. In front of this Garrison cave was a mass of earth and broken rock which apparently had been brought out long ago. The miners ran drifts through this but found only bones and pieces of pottery. At one place, inside of the main chamber, not far from the heap of ashes was a tunnel partially blocked with broken stone. This was explored. For two years the work was carried on within the cave, some of the time as many as six men being employed. As the investigation went

on it became evident that at some time a great deal of mining had been done and that ore of some kind had been smelted. Slag in considerable quantities was found. Bodies of low grade zinc ore were located. But nowhere was found a trace of the supposed vein of silver from which the Spaniards had coined dollars by the bushel.

The hope of finding precious metals in the Ozarks dies hard. Even in the latest generation of Missouri's first century, shafts have been sunk and samples of ore submitted to the assayers. One of these propositions was in Franklin county, within two hours' ride of St. Louis. Samples taken from various depths were sent to Denver. The return, it was said, showed $7.86 gold per ton in quartz. A body of porphyry gave $4.75 a ton. The ore was of such character as to require the cyanide process.

**Prospecting for Radium.**

Cantwell believed that the day was not far off when Missouri would be the great producer of radium for the United States. He based this prophecy in some degree on the conclusions of the government experts that uranium, the ore from which radium is extracted, is found universally associated with cobalt and nickel, and then he told what is not generally known about the existence of these metals in Missouri and their development:

"The only place in the United States where nickel and cobalt have been produced in commercial quantities for any period of time is at Fredericktown, Mo. The North American Lead Company, an association of courageous men from Columbus, O., spent over a million dollars of their own money in the development of a mine and the erection of mills, smelters and electrical refineries to produce electrolitic copper, commercial cobalt and nickel. While prices of copper, nickel and cobalt were high they produced over $1,500,000 in finished products at a profit—although the electric refinery should, for economical production, have been located in the coal fields, or near water power. When copper dropped in price from 18 cents per pound to 11 cents, naturally, and when the Nickel Trust arbitrarily cut the price of nickel and cobalt almost in half, although the North American Lead Company was its only competitor in the United States, the Columbus people went to the wall.

"Dozens of drill holes sunk in Madison County show enormous bodies of these copper, nickel and cobalt sulphides and there are no such bodies of nickel and cobalt ores proven to exist elsewhere in the Union. It may be wise to discourage prospecting for gold and silver in the Ozarks and to puncture the claims of the ignorant who find iron pyrites and think it gold, but if prospecting for radium is to be indulged in anywhere, then there is no reason why scientific men should discourage prospecting in this, apparently, most promising field."

**Missouri Mining Investments Abroad.**

Few fortunes have vindicated popular estimation of them when they passed from the hands of the makers to the last analysis of the executor. The estate of John J. Roe was one of the exceptions. It exceeded by fifty per cent the public expectation. A genius for business, Mr. Roe had connections everywhere in the West. He invested in mining. His share in the profits was shipped to him periodically in the form of gold bricks. One day James A. Waterworth, who had business relations with Mr. Roe, went into his counting room. A bar of dull, yellow metal lay on the floor. In a casual tone the great captain of industry said:

"Won't you put that on the desk here?"

Mr. Waterworth stooped to pick up the bar, tugged and then straightened with a look of amazement. Mr. Roe laughed. A dividend from his mine had just arrived; it was a mass of gold too heavy for ordinary strength to lift.

In 1874 St. Louis possessed a Mining Exchange at Fourth and Elm streets with a creditable display of mineral specimens arranged in cases. In the building were the offices of individuals and firms dealing in mineral lands. The exchange was made entertaining for visitors by exhibits of Indian relics and curiosities. A collection of war relics presented by General John B. Gray was a feature.

When the St. Louis Mining and Stock Exchange was established in 1880 on Third street, between Olive and Locust, its officers and directors included James Baker, Thomas Richeson, G. W. Chadbourne, Charles F. Orthwein, J. W. Paramore, John W. Noble, David R. Francis and W. R. Allen. Investment in mining shares was epidemic between 1885 and 1890. Missourians were never laggard in the development of any industry of the West. They went into the discovery, prospecting and operation of silver and gold mines with the same spirit of enterprise which had moved them in the fur trade, the lead mining and the iron smelting. Silver bullion was selling above a dollar an ounce when Missouri became thoroughly aroused to the possibilities of bonanza exploitation. In every mining camp from British Columbia to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Missourians had interests before the decline set in. Granite Mountain suggested to the sanguine minds the possibility of repetition.

In 1888 there were specimens of ore in hundreds of counting rooms. St. Louis had organized mining companies by the score. Dealing in mining shares became general. The business drew a multitude of investors to the local habitation on Third street. The officers of the exchange were J. D. Abeles, president; Joseph G. Mullally, vice president, and Albert Singer, secretary. Business grew to such magnitude that morning and afternoon sessions were held. Over fifty mines were listed. The sales of stocks on the exchange amounted to from fifty thousand dollars to one hundred thousand dollars a day. There were times of extraordinary excitement when reports of rich strikes came in. Brokers and customers remained on Third street until late in the evening buying and selling stocks, while they waited for confirmation or denial of the earlier news.

Some mines paid. The business was not entirely speculation. For several years Missouri investors received from $2,500,000 to $4,000,000 a year in dividends from their mining stocks. But the mines which made returns were the exceptions. These began to fail when silver dropped to not much more than half of the price commanded when St. Louisans started the exchange. In 1893 came the collapse of the speculation as far as the general public was concerned. It left in the possession of thousands of people in this state beautifully printed but practically worthless mining stock certificates.

**The Granite Mountain Bonanza.**

Granite Mountain was not a chance investment for St. Louisans. Back of that most brilliant enterprise in mining industry was the experience and careful study of mineralogical conditions by men who had gone years before to Mon-

tana to follow the business of mining. When the Civil war was in progress Missouri brains and Missouri capital were developing the mineral wealth of Montana. As early as 1866, the Hope was a silver mine, one of the earliest in the territory. It was controlled by St. Louisans. The location was about a mile from Phillipsburg. Among those who had put money into the Hope and had operated the mine with varying success several years were Sam Gaty, the foundryman; A. F. Shapleigh, the pioneer hardware merchant; Captain John C. Swon, the steamboatman; Charles Taussig, Edwin Harrison, Louis Duestrow, D. A. January, Judge Samuel Treat, Charles McLaren, Luther M. Kennett. There came a period when the Hope belied its name. It ceased to be profitable. Charles Clark worked out a plan of treatment of the tailings, which cleaned up over $75,000, and paid the debts of the company.

During his connection with the Hope, Mr. Clark studied the neighboring territory. He learned of a valuable silver prospect known as the Granite Mountain, located a few miles from the Hope. The prospect was for sale. It had developed no body of ore. Mr. Clark talked about this prospect with Mr. C. D. McLure, who was the superintendent of the Hope mill. Having the true mining man's interest in all indications, Mr. Clark went with Mr. Bennett, an English metallurgical expert, to look at Granite Mountain. One of the owners accompanied them. Mr. Clark and Mr. Bennett looked over the prospect, took some samples of ore and returned. They discussed the property. The Englishman's conclusion was not to recommend the property to the people he represented. That was the winter of 1879-80. Mr. Clark and Mr. McLure made further investigation with the result that Mr. McLure obtained an option on the property. Mr. Clark came to St. Louis and laid the proposition before the Hope company. The St. Louisans talked it over. Some of them thought they had had enough of silver mining in Montana and concluded to stop. The others decided to go on, after hearing Mr. Clark, and to secure Granite Mountain property. The price was $40,000. Charles Clark and L. M. Rumsey undertook the organization of the syndicate. The subscriptions in the syndicate were made by John R. Lionberger, Charles Taussig, Louis Duestrow, A. F. Shapleigh, Edwin Harrison, L. M. and Moses Rumsey, O. D. Filley, Jesse January, Mrs. Charles Clark and others. The amount raised by the syndicate for the purchase reached $52,000. Granite Mountain was bought. Clark and McLure devoted themselves to the development of the property. The syndicate raised $100,000 for development work. When $98,000 had been spent the mine was known to be a success.

Then the Granite Mountain Mining company was organized with $10,000,000 capital stock, divided into 400,000 shares of the par value of $25 each. To the original investors were distributed 300,000 shares, the remaining 100,000 shares being set apart in the treasury to reimburse the subscribers who had formed the syndicate and advanced the funds for development as required.

The richness of the mine was developed so rapidly that the stock almost immediately went up to $3 a share. The management of the property in the earliest stages was excellent. The best machinery was bought and a twenty-stamp mill was erected. Mining proceeded in a legitimate, business-like way. In 1881-2 the bonanza strike was made. In 1884 the stock was worth $3 a share

and in December, 1885, it went to $20. From that time it advanced until about 1887 sales were made at $67 a share. The mine then was considered worth over $26,000,000. Dividends began in 1885 at ten cents a share monthly. They increased until they reached seventy-five cents a share. That rate was paid two months. Most of the time the dividend was fifty cents a month. When the suspension came there had been paid to stockholders in dividends over $30 a share. The net profits of the Granite Mountain were $12,120,000. The mine produced over $22,000,000.

Some of the early investors sold when they felt the price justified, but most of those who had gone into the enterprise in the beginning remained with it. An adjacent property, the Bimetallic, owned in part by Granite Mountain stockholders, produced in profits $3,880,000. The principal owners of the Bimetallic were Charles Clark, C. D. McLure and James M. Merrill.

Granite Mountain excitement was at its height in St. Louis three years. Fortunes to the number of fifteen or twenty were created or largely increased by this mining enterprise. They were, for the most part, wisely invested in betterments of St. Louis. Granite Mountain money went into the Merchants' bridge, into trust companies and banks, into real estate and office buildings, and into the development of suburban properties. Two causes contributed to the decline—the high grade ore bodies gave out and the price of silver went down. Those who knew most about Granite Mountain maintained that more thorough development work might have revealed other bonanzas in the properties owned by the company.

## CHAPTER XL

## JACK AND GALENA

*Lead from Herculaneum for Washington's Army—Customs of the Pioneer Miners—Uncle Sampson Barker's Bullets—Revelation of Zinc—Granby's Awakening—Burton's Bear Hunt—Tom Benton, the Reporter—Moses Austin's Arrival—How the Connecticut Man Smelted—Renault, the Pioneer Miner—A Century Old Claim—Mine La Motte's Vicissitudes—The Golden Vein—Lead for the Defeat of Braddock—The Valles and the Rosiers—Dry Bone Turned to Account—The Flat River Country—La Grave and the Disseminated—Bonne Terre's Beginning—Evolution of the St. Joe Enterprise—Parson's Policy—Gophering at Valle Mines—Dr. Keith's Reminiscences—Matrimony Under Difficulty—The Granby Company—Herculaneum's Era of Prosperity—The Maclot Shot Tower—Missouri Lead for Jackson's Army—The City that Jack Built—Joplin's Site a Cattle Ranch—Moffett & Sargent—Some of the Lucky Strikes—A Show and a Fortune—Bartlett's Invention—White Lead from Smelter Fumes—Early Prospectors—Ten O'Clock Run—Webb City and Carterville—The Story of Two Farms—Morgan County's Fame Before the War—How Oronogo Got Its Name—"The Chatter"—Geological Opinions Revised—Rise of the White Lead Industry—Unfortunate Use of Castor Beans—Methods of Theophilus Guide Missourians—Judicial Tribute to Made in St. Louis—Galena the Inspiration of Many Industries.*

When I examine the statistics of the mineral fields of the world I find there is not another country on the globe embracing as it (Missouri) does so many varieties of minerals in such great abundance.—*Firman A. Rosier.*

Missourians go back to early days with evidence supplied the rest of the country, as to the state's mineral riches. Lead from the "diggings" in what was then a province of Spain helped to win the American Revolution. This lead, molded in slabs, with a hole at one end for the rope with which it was slung on a horse's back, or dragged along on the ground, was shipped by the liberty-loving French, ostensibly to go down the river and abroad. It did not always reach New Orleans. The batteaux, in which the slabs left Herculaneum and Ste. Genevieve, were found floating keel upward as if wrecked by accident, in the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. The lead had been transshipped secretly and taken up the Ohio to be delivered to American patriots.

In the War of 1812, Missourians acted openly. They sent buck and ball for Jackson's army at New Orleans. The ammunition was dropped from primitive towers on the cliffs below St. Louis. Platforms were built out from the summits of these cliffs. From the platforms the melted lead was dropped to the bottoms of the cliffs. And Missourians went with these shipments to see that the shot and the bullets reached riflemen of Kentucky and Tennessee.

**The Code and the Customs.**

The Missouri lead miners of a hundred years ago formulated their own mining code. When a hole or pit showed good prospects, the miner made his

claim. He took a pole and measured twelve feet every direction from the edge of the hole. That was his claim. The miner could drift that distance but no farther. He must dig a new pit and make a new claim. The only implements of mining were a pick, a wooden shovel and a sledge hammer. The ore, sold at the top of the pit, brought from twenty to twenty-five dollars for one thousand pounds. A miner might make a strike of $500 in a day. He might work months and make nothing.

"A discovery" was the name applied when any considerable body of ore was found in the Missouri field. The prospectors dug holes five or six feet deep. If they found only a few pounds of ore they abandoned the spot. If the holes showed ore in abundance, the news of a discovery spread. Miners flocked to the locality. The new center of activity held its popularity only until there was a larger discovery or one in ground more easily worked. This was the process of mining lead southwest of St. Louis a century ago. The ore was commonly found in slopes near creeks. It was buried in dark red clay, a few feet from the surface. The chunks or lumps of ore were from one to fifty pounds weight. Not infrequently a mass of one thousand or two thousand pounds was found. The limestone rock was reached at eight or ten feet. There the miners stopped.

For many years the smelting of lead was about as crude as the mining. As late as 1810 there was but one regular furnace in operation in the Meramec field. The common way was to build a stone furnace on the side of a hill, the top open, an arched entrance at the bottom. Three large logs, four feet long, were rolled into the furnace. Small logs and pieces of wood were piled around. The ore, in lumps as large as could be handled conveniently, was thrown on top of the wood. Fire was lighted in the evening. The next morning there was melted lead in the hole dug at the entrance to the arch. This was poured into moulds and formed the pigs. The custom was to put six thousand pounds of ore in at one firing. The first smelting gave about three thousand pounds of lead. The scorched ore and ashes or slag were put through the ash furnace and yielded from twenty-five to thirty per cent more lead. Even the stone furnace was an improvement on the time of Renault. Then the ore was thrown on log heaps and the product was whatever melted and ran down into hollows dug in the ground. A stick was thrust into the ground near the end of each hollow or mould. This was burned out and left a hole through each pig of lead. Thongs were run through the holes and the pigs of lead were carried to the river on pack horses.

**Uncle Sampson Barker.**

Nature was profligate in the distribution of lead in Missouri. When Uncle Sampson Barker was a boy he went out in a hollow of Taney county almost anywhere and picked up some fragments of lead ore. He selected a stump, white oak preferred. The hole he filled with lightwood. He struck a flint or touched a match, if he happened to have one of those new fangled things called lucifers. He piled on the ore and went away. When the home-made smelter had cooled off, Sampson went back, raked the lead out of the ashes and molded his bullets. Uncle Sampson Barker lived to be one of the oldest hunters in the

"Jack" and sometimes "black jack" were the scoffing names which the lead miner had bestowed upon this zinc, which added so much to the work of mining galena and which he considered of no value. The representative of the Carondelet smelter bought for trifling sums the privilege of helping himself to the "jack" on the dumps. He said little and paid little, but he accumulated zinc ore in great quantities. He trained a few buyers who selected the very richest of the zinc ore, loaded it upon wagons and hauled it to the nearest railroad stations for shipment to Carondelet. Some of the best of this ore was not dug. It had been gathered from the surface. One day the mineralogist, traveling along a road in the zinc country of Southwest Missouri, came to a farm, the "home lot" of which was walled in with rugged, massive chunks. After a brief examination the mineralogist opened negotiations with the farmer. He acquired the wall of "jack" which the farmer had picked up on the ground. He built the farmer a better wall of smooth stone and gave a few dollars in addition. The original wall of chunks was loaded in the ore wagons and hauled away. It was a great joke on the city crank in the estimation of the farmer until the latter learned that the mineralogist had made a clear profit of $1,750. The chunks were zinc ore of exceptionally high grade. The black jack, which had been accumulating on dumps throughout the Ozarks for generations, was bought up and shipped for reduction. Down at Granby there was an industrial revolution. There the black jack lay already mined in small mountains. The company transformed it into dividends and began to dig for more. Lead ore was the by-product. The zinc field spread. Joplin became the center.

Since the wandering scientist came and showed the lead miners they were throwing away a better thing than all of the lead they were getting, the greatest zinc ore belt in the world has been developed. It extends twenty-five miles south to Seneca and thirty miles southeast to Granby. The western limit is Galena, half a dozen miles beyond Carl Junction and over the Kansas line. The eastern limit is Aurora. The belt is not a parallelogram. It is irregularly outlined, but is about fifty miles long from east to west and about half as wide from north to south. Some people think it is necessary to go to the Rocky Mountains to find fortunes in mining. Outside of Leadville and perhaps one or two other localities there is no other strip of corresponding dimensions where so much money has been dug out of the ground as in this little zinc and lead belt of Southwest Missouri.

**Lead Mining Nomenclature.**

In the early times when the enterprising Frenchmen were dominant in Southeast Missouri, they had a pleasant way of naming their mines. When one of them discovered valuable mineral, obtained a grant and began to work it, everybody knew the place by the name of the discoverer or owner, to which was prefixed "Mine-a." Thus Mine-a-La Motte received its name, which has been contracted into Mine La Motte. In the heart of the Flat River district of St. Francois county is Mine-a-Joe, so called after the pioneer Joe Bogy, who obtained the grant and gathered in royalties from the miners who searched for nuggets of galena on his land. And Mine-a-Burton, now Potosi, got its title from a famous pioneer, M. Burton, who discovered this rich field while pur-

suing a bear. The name of this Frenchman was Breton, but with the American occupation it was anglicized into Burton.

Before he entered upon his "Thirty Years in the American Senate," Thomas H. Benton was not above working up an item for the newspapers. In 1818 he furnished a sketch of Burton for the St. Louis Enquirer, and this is what he wrote:

"Burton is a Frenchman, from the north of France. In the fore part of the last century he served in the low countries under the orders of Marshal Saxe. He was at Fontenoy when the Duke of Cumberland was beaten by that marshal. He was at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and assisted in the assault of that place when it was assailed by a division of Saxe's army under Count Luvesdahe. He had also seen service upon the continent. He was at the building of Fort Chartres, on the American bottom, and was present at Braddock's defeat. From the life of a soldier Burton passed to that of a hunter, and in that character, about half a century ago, while pursuing a bear to the west of the Mississippi, he discovered the rich lead mines which have borne his name ever since. The most moderate computation will make him at the present writing (1818) 106. He now lives in the family of Mr. Micheaux, at the Little Rock ferry, three miles above Ste. Genevieve, and walks to that village almost every Sunday to attend mass. He is what we call a square-built man, of 5 feet and 8 inches in height, full chest and forehead. His senses of seeing and hearing are somewhat impaired, but free from disease, and apparently able to hold out against time for many years to come."

The name of the hotel is all that Potosi has preserved as a reminder of the man who hunted bear and found galena. Near the Burton Hotel is the Micheaux Spring, called after the pioneer whom Mr. Benton speaks of as entertaining Burton in his old age. Micheaux is said to have been the first white man who drank of this spring.

About 1797 the Spanish government granted to Moses Austin a tract of land a league square. Austin was a practical miner. The consideration for the grant was that Austin should erect furnaces and other works for mining and smelting the lead, and should build a shot-tower. Austin became the nabob of Mine-a-Burton. He built a residence which was the most magnificent private structure in Missouri for many years. It stood the pride of Potosi until the great fire of 1871, which swept through the town.

Austin worked his grant on the same scale that he built his house and did everything. He was a man of business methods, and left a statement showing exactly what he accomplished with the property. From this it appears that he manufactured lead as follows:

"From 1798 to 1804, an average of 360,000 pounds per annum, or a total of 2,160,000 pounds.

"From 1804 to 1808, an average of 800,000 pounds per annum, or a total of 3,200,000 pounds.

"From 1808 to 1816, an average of 500,000 pounds per annum, or a total of 4,000,000 pounds."

Thus in eighteen years Austin turned out what for that time was an extraordinary product, 9,360,000 pounds. This lead was transported to Ste. Genevieve either on pack animals or in great wooden carts without tires. The Indians used to call these carts "barefooted wagons."

**Moses Austin's Invention.**

The first notable improvement in lead mining methods was introduced by the adventurous Connecticut man—Moses Austin. He visited the lead mines and saw at once the opportunity for improvement. It is tradition that until Austin came sheet lead was unknown. The New Englander smelted ore and poured it on a flat rock to produce the first sheet. Governor Trudeau was impressed with Austin's shrewdness. He was encouraging American settlers. On conditions, the governor granted Austin a league which included about one-third of the Mine-a-Burton lead field. In accordance with the proviso, Austin built a furnace and sunk a shaft. He increased the production largely. His home was an imposing stone castle, which was one of the wonders of the lead country. It was called "Durham Hall." Ostensibly the fortifications were for protection against the Indians. Subsequent events rather indicated that Austin never forgot that he was an American, and looked forward to the time when the American flag would fly west of the Mississippi, forcibly, if not peaceably. He borrowed Spanish cannon from the commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and failed to return them when the Spaniards evacuated Upper Louisiana. Austin seems to have entertained the hope of silver, although he didn't waste time looking for it, but turned out lead for several years. When the American occupation took place, Austin told Captain Stoddard that the ore of Mine La Motte carried fifty ounces of silver to the ton. The Mine La Motte, up to 1804, had produced 8,000 tons of lead, but it had not shown enough silver to pay for the extraction. Austin grew tired of his lead mining and smelting soon after the American occupation. He went to Mexico and got a grant in Texas for colonization purposes. Returning to Missouri to raise his colony, he died. His son, Stephen Austin, took up his father's prospect and led the colony to Texas. Stephen Austin was one of the pioneers in the movement for Texas independence, and the capital of the state was named in his honor.

**Bradbury's Early Visit.**

Bradbury was one of the earliest scientific visitors in the Southeast Missouri lead field, going there about 1811:

> On a Saturday evening I arrived at the Mine Belle Fontaine, and employed myself until night in examining the substances thrown out by the diggers, and found the most interesting specimens among the refuse of one man who, on that account, I particularly noticed. On the following morning I met him in the village, dressed in a white gown, with red slippers, and a blue silk waistcoat, embroidered with silver lace.
>
> Some of these mines have fallen into the hands of Americans, who have ventured to penetrate the rock which is always found at a depth of from six to twelve feet below the surface, and have been amply rewarded for their enterprise. I remained a few days with Mr. Elliot, who at that time had only just commenced on the rock but had the most promising prospects of success. He had raised a considerable quantity of ore, and many tons of blende and with the last had repaired the road to his works, not knowing what substance it was. Mr. Moses Austin, proprietor of Mine-a-Burton, had been very successful, having found large masses of ore in the caves of the rock into which he had penetrated.

Louis Labeaume de Tateron came to St. Louis to be secretary to the Spanish lieutenant-governor, Trudeau. He dropped the prefix which indicated his descent

A HONEY RANCH

FELIX STREET, ST. JOSEPH, 1873

from a noble family and became plain, democratic Louis Tateron Labeaume. For that action he followed the precedent set by a number of St. Louis families of distinguished lineage. After the American occupation Mr. Labeaume was judge of the court of common pleas. He held one of the grants of lead lands to the southwest of St. Louis. His place was called Richwoods mines. On a square league he dug forty holes four feet deep, widely scattered. In thirty-eight of them he found lead.

**Reminiscences of Renault.**

Fourche-a-Renault is one of the best-known streams of Southeast Missouri. It obtains its name from the man who probably did the earliest mining, on any extended scale, in Missouri. Philip Francis Renault was a native of Picardy, France. Renault sailed from France in 1719 with 200 mechanics, miners and laborers to engage in mining. The ruins of the furnaces in which Renault smelted lead are to be seen today along the banks of the Fourche-a-Renault. Descendants of the miners and mechanics who came over in 1719 are still living in and around Potosi. They speak a patois of their own, and the relationship to the French is easily recognized. Renault shipped his product down the river to New Orleans. As late as 1894 a committee of Congress was called upon to investigate a claim for the relief of the heirs of Philip Francis Renault. These heirs produced what purported to be a record of ancient French grants made between 1722 and 1740. Under the grant made to Renault they claimed title to Mine La Motte. Thomas T. Gantt of St. Louis made an investigation of this claim many years ago. He found that the heirs of Renault, eighty-five years after the grant was alleged to have been made and after three changes of government and after forty-five years of adverse possession of Mine La Motte by Pratte and his associates, had appeared by attorney in 1808 and had laid claim to the property. The claim was a subject of repeated investigation by commissions and by Congress. In 1828 Congress confirmed the title of Pratte and his associates. In 1834 a committee reported against the claim of the Renault heirs. In 1844 a claim was presented in the United States court at St. Louis. That went to the Supreme Court of the United States and was decided against the heirs. Under all these circumstances the committee of Congress in 1894 reported against the claim of the Renaults.

**Mine La Motte.**

The lead which defeated Braddock's army came from Mine La Motte. That is an historical fact for which Judge Allen, of Fredericktown, was willing to be held responsible. The first correspondent who wrote up the mine was Moses Austin. He made this famous place the subject of a letter in 1804. The letter was short, but it wasn't published until half a dozen years after it was written. This is what Correspondent Austin learned at that early day:

"Mine a la Motte was discovered by Mr. Renault about the year 1723 or 1724, who made an exploration, but, finding no silver ore, he abandoned it. About the year 1725 a man by the name of La Motte opened and wrought the mine, after whom it was called About the years 1738-40 the Mine a la Motte was considered a public property, and the people in general were allowed to work it. At that time it furnished almost all the lead exported

from the Illinois. But soon after the discovery and opening of the Mine a Burton (at Potosi) the Mine a la Motte was in a great measure abandoned, the mineral at Mine a Burton being much easier melted. The Mine a la Motte is at this time (1804) claimed as private property; in consequence the inhabitants in general are denied the privilege of working. Therefore the quantity of lead is greatly reduced. For the years 1802 and 1803 the quantity of lead made at Mine a la Motte did not exceed 200,000 pounds weight, although about thirty men were employed from four to six months in each year."

Up to 1804 Mine La Motte had yielded, according to the best information obtainable, 16,000,000 pounds of lead. Up to 1876 the total product had been 110,571,436 pounds.

The same year that Laclede came up the river to found St. Louis and that Burton found Mine-a-Burton, Francis Valle of Ste. Genevieve was developing Mine La Motte. This was the first of four generations of Francis Valles. The founder of the Valle family, Francis Valle, came out from Canada, where he was born, to Kaskaskia in 1730. Made commandant at Ste. Genevieve, he turned his attention to the lead industry. Mine La Motte took its name from M. de la Motte Cadillac. Like Renault, la Motte was seeking a silver mine. He located the wonderful deposit of galena, which was afterward called "the golden vein," and carried away some specimens. He was not a lead miner. Whatever Francis Valle may have thought about the silver tradition, he applied himself to the production of lead. The Indians brought in the metal rudely smelted and traded it. They resented the efforts of the white men to mine. Francis Valle and his sons built a block house to protect the mines. The Indians attacked it. One of the sons was killed. Operations were suspended, but there was demand for lead. Mining was resumed. Again the Indians attacked. Again occurred a suspension. It was only temporary; St. Genevieve flourished on the trade. Spanish governors exercised a rather lax authority over the lead fields. The American Revolution created a more than normal demand for lead. Shipments of lead which were started down the river never reached New Orleans. The boats which had been loaded at Ste. Genevieve were found empty and adrift below the mouth of the Ohio.

**The Valle Brothers.**

The Valles were of the sturdy French pioneer stock which could not be daunted by disaster. They applied to the lead industry the same courage and persistence which gave to Missouri supremacy in many industries. With the Valles were associated in the early lead mining the Prattes and the Beauvais families. One of the Valles had three lovely daughters, who were wooed and won by three gallant Rozier brothers, Felix, Francis and Firmin. Good lead land went to the daughters for dowry. The Roziers acquired more lead land and were interested in mining enterprises.

Carbonate of lead was not known to be ore of lead until in the thirties. It was called "dry bone," and was rejected as worthless. In 1838 a Prussian named Hagan came to Mine La Motte, entered into an agreement with the Valles, bought up a lot of dry bone and smelted it. About that time forty lots of forty acres each were leased for ten years, and at the conclusion of the term an extension of three years was granted. Various parties mined and smelted under the

leases. Janis was probably the largest producer. He turned out 5,000 pigs a year. There were four other furnaces which produced 3,000 pigs a year each. In the thirteen years the product amounted to 19,000,000 pounds. Then came ten years of litigation between the Flemings and the Valles. The Flemings were Philadelphians and had bought at a partition sale. During the fight over the title there was little mining done. In 1861, about the time the case was getting out of court, United States troops burned and tore down the works. The mine was altogether too favorably situated to give aid and ammunition to the Confederates.

In 1868 the property passed into the hands of the La Motte Lead Company for a consideration of something more than $500,000.

**The Beginning of Disseminated.**

"The Flat River Country" was famous seventy-five years ago. Long before the Civil war miners burrowed all over the district seeking the pure galena. They didn't go down and disturb the lead disseminated in limestone underneath. They did what was called surface mining, giving one-tenth of what they found to the owners of the land. There were fortunes, according to the estimate of those days, made out of the Flat River diggings. Some men accumulated from $40,000 to $50,000. Galena was currency. The stores took it in trade and heaped it up until called for. Jake Bower built a furnace at Mineral Point, and later John Evans built one at Hopewell. They had wagons which made regular trips through the Flat River district collecting the ore, for which they paid cash, and transporting it to their furnaces. Most of the ore from this district went to those two furnaces until La Grave built a furnace at Bonne Terre, which was nearer.

La Grave began to make the lead business hum about a year before the Civil war. He was the pioneer of the St. Joe and Desloge enterprises. The best of the disseminated ore at Bonne Terre lies in the two old Spanish grants, each of a thousand arpents. One of these grants was ceded to Andrew Pratte about 1800, and the other to Buron Pratte, Andrew's younger brother, about the same time. The Bonne Terre settlement consisted of two houses when La Grave bought the Andrew Pratte grant and commenced operations. He made the investment and established his plants with the idea of working the disseminated ore, which up to that time had received almost no consideration. Neither La Grave nor anybody else knew of the vast deposits of this ore underlying Bonne Terre, but there was a bluff on the edge of the creek where a stratum of disseminated ore outcropped.

**La Grave's Roasting Process.**

La Grave went to work on this ledge. His process was rude, indeed. After getting out the ore he laid up heaps of poles, much after the fashion of children's cob houses, piled the lead-carrying lime-rock on top, and set fire to the wood. This gave the ore a roasting and made it brittle. Then he put it into hoppers with an old-fashioned grinding apparatus, something like a coffee-mill, run by mule power. This broke the rock from the galena, and washing by hand power completed the separation. The smelting was equally primitive. La Grave car-

ried on this treatment of disseminated ore for several years, and he got the name of extracting a great deal of lead from the hitherto ignored deposit. But, to tell the truth, disseminated ore was the source of only a fraction of La Grave's output. He sent his wagons through Flat River and collected the pure galena from the surface diggings. His product was hauled to the Iron Mountain railroad and shipped to St. Louis. About the close of the war, or a year after, the magnitude of his shipments began to attract attention. Mr. Barlow, who was for a considerable period an officer of the Iron Mountain railroad, became greatly interested in La Grave's work. He knew from the transportation records just what had been shipped, and he got the impression, which was general, that La Grave was making a fortune out of the treatment of disseminated ore. There were some negotiations. Mr. Barlow came down, looked over the property, and thought he saw a fine opening for capital.

**La Grave's Turn Over.**

The conclusion was that La Grave turned over for $80,000 what had cost him $900. Mr. Barlow brought the property to the notice of the New Yorkers and the St. Joe Lead Company was formed. The same capitalists who went in originally and paid such a big price for the land stuck to it with commendable grit, and after twenty years were reaping rewards in the form of dividends of from 10 to 15 per cent on a capital stock of $1,500,000, to say nothing of the extensive additions and improvements which made up a property that several millions of dollars would not buy. The enterprise had something of a struggle at first. The purchasers from La Grave thought they had bought all of his land, but when they began to cut some wood on what is known as "the pen diggings," he stepped in with legal proceedings and stopped them. Then it was discovered that La Grave had transferred to Barlow the Andrew Pratte grant of 1,000 arpents, and had retained about three hundred acres, which he had purchased at a different time, adjoining the Pratte grant. The manner in which the misunderstanding came about was this: When Mr. Barlow visited Bonne Terre to look over the place, La Grave was sick, and delegated an old Frenchman, who was familiar with the locality, to show the visitor around. The Frenchman followed the boundaries of all the land owned by La Grave, and Mr. Barlow thought he was getting all that had been shown him when the deed of transfer was made. Afterwards La Grave sold the 300 acres to Chicago men, who opened a shaft and found they had the disseminated ore in abundance. Nothing further was done toward working the deposit, and after some bargaining over the price the Chicago company sold to the St. Joe Company.

**The Vicissitudes of Flat River.**

When La Grave was making the most of his venture at Bonne Terre, and Mr. Barlow was talking up the advantages of that investment as he understood them, Flat River experienced a boom. The district lies south of Bonne Terre, over a road that no man in those days traveled the second time for pleasure. It has the disseminated ore in great quantities, and the existence of the deposits was generally known. The mineral district lies in the heart of St. Francois county, about equally distant from the towns of Bonne Terre and Farmington. Half a

dozen companies were formed to develop various tracts, and among them all a good deal of money was spent, but the investors either hadn't the grit or the deep pockets of the New Yorkers, for one after another the companies relapsed into a moribund state, and for nearly twenty years there was nothing done in the district. Buildings which had been erected rotted down. Flat River lost its place on the map. Land in the vicinity fell back to its legitimate value for the cordwood that could be cut from it or for the crops it would return to the industry of the farmer. Seventy-five years ago the Flat River country was famous. Forty years ago it became famous again. Today it is more famous than it ever was. It is sending out millions, where during former periods of fame it sent thousands of dollars in pig lead.

**Forty-eight Miles of Surprise.**

A ride on the forty-eight miles of railroad from Riverside to Doe Run is a continuous strain on the surprise faculty. For a few miles the route is along the river. Then comes Herculaneum, not the Herculaneum of three generations ago, but the entirely new Herculaneum of today. Time was when Herculaneum was one of the notable river cities between St. Louis and New Orleans. A population of 1,500 was assembled there when that number meant the second city in the state. The second lodge of Free Masons in Missouri was chartered for Herculaneum. It is even said that ambitious residents agitated the establishment of the state capital at Herculaneum. Times changed. The glory of the river commerce waned. Bearing inland from the river, the Iron Mountain railroad builders made a city of De Soto. Hillsboro became the county seat and thither went the charter for the Masonic lodge. Herculaneum became the abode of the bats. It passed to worse than innocuous desuetude. It vanished to foundation stones and decaying timbers. Then came, a few years ago, the construction of this railroad, as part of the evolution of the disseminated lead ore district. On the ruins of Herculaneum were erected reduction works and on the most sightly elevation were placed the rows of neat cottages for the smelter men. The iron horse whistles oftener at the front door of Herculaneum than ever did the palatial steamboats of the river's best days.

**Herculaneum, Past and Present.**

Below the rebuilt Herculaneum the route is inland over many acres of dairy farms, where fine herds furnish milk daily for St. Louis consumption. The main track is between Festus and Crystal City, the home of the plate glass industry of Missouri, where the silicate hills are furnishing raw material for the furnaces, above which tall chimneys belch black smoke. Plattin Valley is traversed and then, beyond Big river, which circles among these Ozark foot hills in long search for its outlet by the Meramec, comes in view the fine high school of Bonne Terre, with its environment of railroad tracks and mine shafts and mill buildings and the city of 10,000 contented people.

Below Bonne Terre the road seems to sprangle in several directions to reach mining localities. It is down the main line that the most inspiring sight is found. With the smoke from St. Joe mine and mill still to be seen behind, the traveler crosses a divide and overlooks the Flat River basin. Off to the right, half hidden

by the heavy forest growth, are the works of the Desloge Lead Mining company. Desloge is one of the first stations, and about it is a community of several hundred people. The company has its own switch system connecting with the railroad. Beyond the town of Desloge is that of Leadville, the next railroad station, and of about the same population. From Desloge the stations are frequent and settlement is almost continuous. After Leadville come St. Francis, Flat River, Federal, Columbia, Central, Elvins, Doe Run and half a dozen other communities clustering about the works.

**The Future of Disseminated.**

The future of the disseminated lead district of Missouri is not a subject for speculation. It is assured. Millions of dollars have been and are being put into plants which are expected to be in operation far beyond the time of this generation. Immense bodies of ore have been blocked out by the drill, so that the supply to run these plants for many years is "in touch" if not in sight. From time to time new bodies of ore are discovered. Localities which a few years ago were not known as lead lands have changed hands at prices which tell as plainly as the cores what the drill has found. The policy which has proved so successful with the pioneer company, the St. Joe, is steady operation with the machinery and methods approved by many years' experience. Whether lead goes up or goes down, the volume of production is about the same month after month and year after year. This is the policy of the district. To supply the present fuel needs is required hundreds of thousands of tons of coal annually. This is brought in by Riverside and distributed to the different plants. The assembly of the raw material, principally ore and fuel, and the disposition of the residue, the so-called "chats," tax the railroad equipment, although each company, except the St. Joe and the Doe Run, has its own switch tracks and outfit. Upon the forty-eight miles of the Mississippi River and Bonne Terre railroad were in use for years the heaviest locomotives in the State of Missouri.

**Bonne Terre Policies.**

Before Missouri fairly realized it Bonne Terre had become the largest lead producing works in the world, a community of ten thousand souls. It was mining and milling one thousand pigs of lead a day. A railroad, five engines and one hundred cars constituted the transportation part of the plant. The title deeds to 24,000 acres of land vested in the corporation. This land included eleven farms under a high state of cultivation stocked with blooded cattle and enclosed by sixty to seventy miles of fence. All of this had been achieved as early as 1887. What was possible in the disseminated lead district of Southeast Missouri had been demonstrated. The man to whom credit for success in detail must be given was C. B. Parsons. Coming from New York about 1867, Mr. Parsons was made the superintendent of the St. Joe Lead company. In 1883 the plant was burned, with little insurance. President J. Wyman Jones came from New York by the first train. In four months the works were up and running again.

The relations between this company and its employes well merited mention. The company maintained a store carrying a stock of $50,000, but there was no compulsion to trade there. The employes were paid twice a month, not in scrip,

but in cash. They were permitted to organize in their own way. They voted freely without dictation. This was Mr. Parsons' policy. Everybody knew where he stood on the political issues, but when election day came he walked to the polls, voted and walked away without trying to influence, as an employer, his labor.

When Mr. Parsons was asked what was the secret of the great success of his company in lead mining, he replied that it was "economy." He explained that the various departments were so adjusted as to run in perfect harmony. There was no loss at any point. Just enough ore was turned out of the mine to keep the works at full capacity. The mill ground just enough to have the furnaces supplied. Each part balanced with the others.

Firmin Desloge, a native of the lead mining district of Southeast Missouri, was one of the pioneers in the disseminated lead ore development. His father came from France about 1818, was a merchant, dealt in lead and in lead lands. The second Firmin Desloge had his apprenticeship at the lead business in old Potosi. There were times when the industry staggered under adverse conditions. Two men—Charles B. Parsons and Firmin Desloge—remained steadfastly with it until they had fully demonstrated the yielding value of the disseminated ore. They found lead almost at the grass roots. They went down through lead bearing rock to a depth of four hundred feet. It is fifty years since treatment of the disseminated ores was undertaken seriously. The production of the district in that time has been a steady growth from 6,000 to 100,000 tons of lead. Varying somewhat with the price of the product, the district has been sending out from $6,000,000 to $10,000,000 worth of lead annually.

**Valle Mines.**

In the lofty range of hills known as Valle Mines, gophering for lead was commenced about 1828, according to the traditions of the locality. Long before the war there were furnaces which ran day and night, and people told of seeing trains of eighteen or twenty teams hauling the pig lead out to the Mississippi river for shipment. That was before the Iron Mountain railroad was built. From Bonne Terre to Valle Mines is only eight miles, as the crow flies, but the mineral deposits could not be more dissimilar in character and still be lead ore. At Bonne Terre the lead is disseminated in the limestone rock. At Valle Mines it is found in "caves," as they are called, mixed with tiff and iron and in some places with zinc. A shaft is sunk to one of these caves. Of course, it isn't a cave until the ore is taken out. Then the fitness of the term is apparent. From the cave a streak or seam of ore will lead off. It may not be over six inches thick or it may be two or three feet thick. The miners follow this on its winding way, and it takes them to another cave. Sometimes this streak will divide into other streaks, until there are perhaps fifty or sixty of them sprawling out in various directions.

Dr. Keith, of Bonne Terre, was more than a pioneer in this lead country. His great-grandfather came down the Ohio in a keel-boat from Pennsylvania, ascended the Mississippi as far as Ste. Genevieve and with others settled in what is now St. Francois county. He told an interesting story of how lead mining was carried on in early days.

**Pioneer Lead Miners.**

"The most of the tracts in this section were acquired by direct grant from the Spanish government. These grants were 1,000 arpents to the individual. That was the way the Spanish measured. An arpent is a little less than an acre. Very few of the owners of lead land worked the mineral. They let others come on and mine, and took a portion, 10 per cent, of what was found. These early miners went down perhaps 15 or 20 feet, but they took only the loose mineral. They didn't attempt to get it out of the limestone rock as is now done.

"One rule of those times, to encourage prospecting, was this: The discoverer of mineral was entitled to what there was in 100 square feet of ground. He didn't have to give up anything to the owner of the land. But of all he mined outside of the 100 feet he had to give to the owner the 10 per cent. There were Indians all through this country when the settlers came in, and they used to work the lead. The settlers found the places where the Indians had melted the ore. The aboriginal process was very simple. The Indians would heap up a lot of wood, throw the ore on top, and let the lead run out on the ground. Over on the Hill farm, which the St. Joe company now owns, there was one of these Indian furnaces, and when it was first found there were tons of slag around it, out of which lead had been cleaned. Now there has never been any ore found on the Hill farm, and it has always been a mystery why the Indians smelted there, unless they knew of some deposit which the white men have never since discovered. There was a good spring close by, and I have sometimes thought they gathered the lead in other places and carried it there to reduce at a good camping place.

"The Indians were troublesome occasionally. In those days the nearest place to get married was Ste. Genevieve. When two people made up their minds to it they got together some friends, started out and walked to Ste. Genevieve, had the ceremony performed and then walked back. Old man Frye, who lived to be 116 years old and is remembered by many people in this section, had an experience on his wedding journey that I don't think was ever duplicated. He was engaged to a daughter of Andrew Baker, one of the first settlers. They set out one fine morning with about a dozen of friends, all in their Sunday clothes, to walk to Ste. Genevieve and be married. After they had traveled about ten miles a party of Indians came upon them and made them prisoners. The situation was explained to the redmen, who seemed to take a humorous view of life. After deliberating a little while the captors stripped the whole party and let them go. The young lady was allowed to retain her shirt, but the others were relieved of every last rag. Such was life in the lead country in early times."

**The Greatness of Granby.**

In 1853 a Cornishman by the name of William Foster, who had been working at the old mines on Cedar Creek, twelve miles west of Granby, went up to the head of Shoal Creek to dig some wells. On his way back he stopped over night on the Richardson place. In looking about next morning he was struck with the geological formation, and he readily got permission from Richardson, who was holding a little farm under a squatter's right, to do some prospecting. A knoll which showed an outcrop of flint was selected as the most likely place, and Foster proceeded to dig. Within two feet of the surface he struck fine galena, and went to mining in earnest. This was the beginning of Granby. The news of the discovery spread and other prospectors flocked in. Madison Vickery was one of the first comers, and he made the second strike within a stone's throw of the principal street.

The hills upon which the rambling town is built were then covered with an almost unbroken forest. The settlers were few and far between, for these Ozark plateaus at that time presented little inducement to farmers. Soon after the

pioneers, Foster and Vickery, had struck mineral, the Brocks made a great discovery, and after that time the locality in which they mined was known as Brocks' Hollow. In a short period the Brocks took out between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 pounds of lead ore. Granby boomed when that raise was noised abroad. Although the facilities for smelting were rude and the pig-lead had to be hauled by ox teams across the country to Boonville, on the Missouri, or to the mouth of Linn Creek, such a discovery as that of the Brocks was worth $50,000.

The rush to the new diggings was fairly under way in 1855. Between that year and 1860 the township had a population of 8,000, and there were 4,000 miners scattered over the hills, working in little parties. Four furnaces were in operation —Johnston's, Plumber's, Livingston's and Long's. For several years miners took up claims where they pleased and sold their product to the highest bidder among the furnacemen. But in 1857 the Granby company, then known as Kennett, Blow & Co., came upon the scene. The most of the mining then, as now, was on "Section Six." This section was claimed as part of the land grant to "the Southwest branch" of the Missouri Pacific, as the Frisco was first known. The road had not been built and the grant was unearned, but under some kind of a lease the Granby company got control of the section. The other furnacemen were closed out and the company took charge of the smelting without competition. The next step was to enforce the collection of a royalty of $2 per 1,000 from all miners on Section Six. This the company did successfully, although the miners swore and protested. There was nowhere else to take the ore. When the company settled with the miner it retained the $2 per 1,000 pounds out of what was coming to him, and if he didn't like it he could quit.

The war stopped everything, and the 4,000 miners scattered in all directions. Before operations were entirely suspended some of the product went south to supply Confederate ammunition trains, and later some of the product went north to make Union cartridges. Judge B. K. Hersey, the manager, joined the South, and Mr. Blow remained a stanch Union man.

Before the war the Granby company had begun its policy of buying up the land with mineral possibilities all around Section Six, and previous to Mr. Blow's death the holdings had reached 7,000 acres. Since then a great deal more has been added to the company's possessions. Purchases have not been limited to that vicinity. As other camps in the Southwest have developed, the Granby people have been early on the ground and have acquired eligible tracts.

**The Shot Towers.**

As late as 1875 travelers on the Mississippi steamboats were shown what remained of the once famous Rush Tower. At that point, near Herculaneum, a beetling cliff, 200 feet high, rises from near the river's edge. Out from the top of the cliff was built a platform and a cage. On that the lead was melted and dropped to the ground at the bottom of the cliff. It took its globular form and hardened in the descent. In this way the lead was turned into shot. There was no inclosure of this primitive shot tower. It was all outdoors, and operations had to be suspended on windy days.

In November, 1809, this notice appeared in the Gazette at St. Louis, informing the public of the inauguration of a new industry: "John N. Maclot having

completed the erection of his shot tower at Herculaneum—the first in the West—gives notice to his friends and the public that he will manufacture lead into drop-shot on reasonable terms." John Nicholas Maclot was from Metz. He was in Paris just before the French Revolution. Suspected of republican sentiments he suffered imprisonment in the Bastile. When released he came to this country. After some mercantile experience in Philadelphia, he came to St. Louis with a stock of goods, the year of American occupation. The opportunity to make shot appealed to his inventive mind and he went down to Herculaneum, a new settlement which Moses Austin, the Connecticut pioneer, was establishing. Austin was working the lead mines at Potosi. He proposed to make Herculaneum on the river the shipping point for the mines. Just below the town was a very high and overhanging cliff. To Maclot the conditions suggested a shot tower with the altitude provided by nature. About all that was needed was to build on the edge of the cliff the place to melt and drop, with the proper receptacle at the base.

This was the first shot making establishment west of Pittsburg. Maclot continued his manufacture some years. He dropped from the Herculaneum cliff the lead which made buckshot and bullets for the war of 1812. When the battle of New Orleans was fought, on the eighth of January, Maclot was there. He got off a letter to Mr. Cabanne, in St. Louis. This was what he wrote: "The enemy have reembarked leaving their wounded and prisoners. They landed 9,966 men. After the action, 1,906 were missing in the next morning's report. They acknowledge a loss in the various engagements of over 3,600. Their total loss may be put down at 4,000." Mr. Cabanne carried the letter to Colonel Charless. The Gazette came out with the glorious news. That night St. Louis illuminated. At least one candle burned in every window of the town "in honor of the brilliant success of the American arms at New Orleans," as Colonel Charless put it.

Maclot was the son of John Maclot de Coligny. He came of a good family in Lorraine. He rendered the country of his adoption great service. Like several other pioneers of St. Louis, he did not have the fortune to hand down his family name, although he left descendants. He married a daughter of Charles Gratiot, Marie Therese, named in honor of her grandmother, Madame Chouteau. Two daughters of Maclot became the wives of Henry A. Thomson of the United States Army, and Pierre A. Berthold. Two daughters by a second wife, who was Miss Mathieu of Philadelphia, became Mrs. Wallace and Mrs. Weston. A St. Louis descendant of Maclot served in the American army overseas in 1917-18.

**The City that Jack Built.**

In 1868 the Pitchers, father and sons, came to the locality which is now the city of Joplin. They were not miners but stock raisers. They bought a large tract of land on which to establish a ranch. For 2,000 acres they paid at the rate of $6.25 an acre. There had been some rude mining done in this region long before the war and the shallow shafts were to be seen. The field was unoccupied, however, when the Pitchers came to raise stock, and W. H. Pitcher, speaking of the fact that the possibilities of ore cut no figure in their investment, said: "When we bought the place we thought the holes left by the miners were a detriment to it, as cattle were liable to fall into them." Joplin is built, for the

most part, on what was the Pitcher ranch. When there began to be a revival of interest in mining here the Pitchers sold 400 acres to Davis & Murphy. The price was $15 an acre, and the sellers thought they were doing pretty well. The buyers divided the acres into town lots, and Joplin was started. In July, 1871, the first house was built, of what is now the most widely known city of its size in the world. The origin of Joplin has been told in rhyme by a local poet laureate.

"In eighteen hundred and seventy-one
The city of Joplin was first begun.
Moffett and Sargent, from Minersville,
Sunk the first shaft near Moon-range Hill.
With pick and shovel and tub and rope
And windlass they brought the dirt on top.
Imagine the one in the shaft saying, 'Hoist!'
To his buddy on top whose brow is moist
From pulling the tub well filled with soil,
While day after day alone they'd toil.
When they'd sunk the shaft about forty feet
They struck big lead,—their joy was complete;
But the windlass kept moving both forward and back,
And under the lead they struck big 'jack.'
It soon got out that some one had found
A big paying mine on the Moffett ground.
Ere long the report was proved to be true,
And then the excitement, like wildfire, flew
Until many men had gathered around;
And, like the first, sunk shafts in the ground.
Many struck lead and many struck 'jack.'
Most of them staying, never moved back,
They built themselves houses and shops and stores
With the money they made from selling their ores,
Till Joplin to-day is quite a large town
Builded by 'jack' whose fame is renown."

Joplin today is "quite a large town," far beyond what the poet saw or foresaw, when 5,000 people were living in tents.

The world used to hear a good deal of Moffett & Sargent in connection with Joplin mining interests. That firm had the swing for a long time. Moffett and Sargent came to Joplin from Oronogo, a camp some miles east. They had been miners together with about the usual ups and down. But from the time they started operations at Joplin they began to rise. They leased a lot of land on terms exceedingly favorable to them, when the value of the product at that time is considered. It is said they paid a royalty of only $2 a ton on the ore they mined. Putting up a small furnace, they were able to net $14 a ton. They had a mint, or something almost as good, and as the lease gave them control for five years, they grew rich faster than they could place their income. They built a railroad to Girard, stocked banks and were the lead kings of Southwest Missouri. At one time a check for $625,000 was made out and tendered Mr. Moffett for his interests, but he only laughed at it.

job turning the windlass for some miners. The old man after a vain search went to Pat Murphy and told of the straits the family was in. Murphy said to him, "There's a lot down in the hollow I will lease to you. You might strike something."

Murphy loaned a pick and shovel and the old man went down to the hollow and began to dig. He was rather reserved, had been a preacher and a farmer. The miners, with their usual facility in nomenclature, gave the Kansan the name of "Old Grasshopper." The first day the preacher-farmer dug down four feet, but he knew so little about mining that he dug a round instead of a square hole. About noon of the second day Old Grasshopper struck what he thought was solid rock and quit work. Murphy came around to see what had come of his philanthropic suggestion. The parson told of striking solid rock. "Rock?" Murphy said. "Let's look at it." Looking down into the hole, Murphy shouted. "Rock, man! Bless your soul! That's solid lead." Out of the "Grasshopper Diggings," as the place was named, there was taken, in about two years, $50,000 worth of lead. But the preacher bore the name of "Old Grasshopper" as long as he lived in Joplin.

Mr. Lloyd was a civil engineer in the employ of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. He had an interest in 400 acres in the vicinity of Joplin. He prodded and prospected, but no mineral could he find on his land. Just over his line miners were taking out galena by the ton. The owner had become pretty well discouraged. One day there came into Joplin a gaunt Arkansan, with "the old woman" and a wagon-load of youngsters. His name was Walker; he had heard there was to be a circus in Joplin, and he had driven the whole sixty miles from his home in the mountains to give his family a treat. The fact was, two shows had billed Joplin. They were to appear a month apart. Walker had got the dates mixed up, or else had been misled by a last year's almanac, for he drove his travel-worn team into the mining camp just twenty-four hours after the first circus had pulled up stakes and moved on. He swore a little at first when he discovered the situation, but soon took a philosophical view of it. If he was too late for one show he wouldn't be for the other. Mrs. Walker and the little Walkers should see a circus, if it took all summer. So the family camped on Mr. Lloyd's land, and made themselves as comfortable as possible while they waited. Walker went to Mr. Lloyd and, telling him all he wanted was to make expenses, offered to go to work. He hadn't seen a mine up to that time. Mr. Lloyd carelessly told his squatter that he hadn't any use for him, but if he really needed work he would pay him 50c a day and give him a quarter of what he found.

"All right," said Walker, "where shall I dig?"

"Dig where you blamed please," replied Mr. Lloyd. "I've been trying a year and haven't found anything. I don't know any more about it than you do."

"Well," said Walker, "I reck'n this will be as good a place as any," and he marked off a square for the shaft right where he was standing. He was so green that he didn't know how to fire a blast, and the other miners had to come over and show him. But before the next circus pitched its tents in Joplin Walker had struck it rich on Mr. Lloyd's land. His quarter of the mineral paid him $14,000. He cleaned up with $16,000 in cash, went over into Kansas, bought two

farms and enjoyed life. Mr. Lloyd cleared over $30,000 on the mineral which the Arkansan struck.

**White Lead from Fumes.**

One day, when a great deal of reducing was done around Joplin, a young Jerseyman came along and asked a furnace owner:

"What is that going out of the top of your smokestack?"

"Arsenic, I guess," replied the furnace-owner indifferently.

"No, it isn't," said the Jerseyman, "it's white lead."

The furnace man laughed, but the Jerseyman went on and made a deal with Moffett, who was then in the zenith of his greatness as a lead king. In a word, the process condensed fumes from the furnace. The inventor was O. E. Bartlett, who died in 1914. He had about the usual uphill struggle to get recognition for a new and a good thing. After the plant was built it was possible to stand at a distance and see only now and then a slight film of smoke escaping from the stack. One might conclude that the works had been shut down. But in the buildings at the foot of the stack the furnaces were roaring, massive machinery was in operation and a daily product of 47,500 pounds of pig lead and 11,250 pounds of white lead was being turned out. By an elaborate arrangement of pipes and blowers and hoppers and flues, the gas and sulphur were allowed to escape, but every substance carried in the fumes was caught and deposited for treatment which produced white lead. When this finally came from the hoppers it looked like flour.

**Ten O'Clock Run.**

The records of the United States land office show that fifty years ago, not long after the Civil war, lead mining capitalists made an exhaustive mineral survey in South Missouri. They carried their investigation from Granby in a southeasterly direction nearly one hundred miles. They prospected with shafts and satisfied themselves so well the land carried lead in profitable quantities that they "cash entered" from the government a long string of forty-acre tracts. Among the names which appeared of record as purchasers of these government lead lands in Taney county were United States Senator Lewis V. Bogy, Amadee Valle, Henry T. Blow, Eben Richards and Edwin Harrison. Many of these entries were made in 1872. Some of the land descended to the heirs of these men. Much was allowed to go for taxes. It is an interesting fact that these entries were located upon the Ten o'Clock Run.

"Ten o'clock run" is Ozark vernacular. "Eleven o'clock run" is another mining term which has been handed down from pioneer times. To this day the mineral prospector will say that a certain discovery is on Ten o'clock run, or on Eleven o'clock run. The terms were the inventions of Missouri miners of a past generation. They belong to the period of the compass and the sun-dial. Without having a scientific explanation for it these early prospectors in the Ozarks, when they had found a vein of lead, looked for the continuation of the deposit to the northwest or to the southeast of the point of original discovery. If they found the course of the mineral in either direction was on the line of the shadow which the sun throws by the dial at ten o'clock the vein or prospect

was a Ten o'clock run. If the mineral lay along the shadow line of an hour later by the dial it was described as being on the Eleven o'clock run.

The pioneers in the Ozarks who gophered for lead fifty years and more ago used these terms to designate the locations of mineral. But the lead runs were of comparatively restricted limits. Later the prospectors for zinc applied these terms to their mineral, but gave them much more extensive significance. With Joplin as a starting point, prospectors traced a Ten o'clock run southeast through Aurora, one of the zinc-mining centers. The run passes through the corner of Barry county, where there have been discoveries of zinc ore. It bisects Stone county on a line near Galena, another hopeful locality, and crosses the corner of Taney. Eleven o'clock run, of course, approaches nearer the north and south direction, as the dial shows. It has been followed by prospectors and miners from the vicinity of Springfield, in Greene county, southward through Christian and Taney counties.

**The Twin Camps.**

Webb City and Carterville are only a mile apart. Between them, in a valley, are the mines. Webb and Carter were two farmers whose lands joined. In 1875 they were growing crops in this valley. Joplin and Oronogo had been discovered and were booming camps, but all that Webb and Carter were realizing from the mining excitement were the better prices which butter and eggs and other products brought them. One day Webb plowed up some mineral in his field. That started the prospecting, and it wasn't long until the riches of the valley were laid bare. The Carter family sold their farm when the first rise came, and those who bought retained the name for the town which was started on the elevation east of the valley. Webb held his land and let miners go in and work it under leases for a percentage of what they found. Webb's policy proved the wisest. He was soon able to leave the farmhouse and move into a fine brick residence, which, surrounded by extensive grounds, became the heart of Webb City on the rise west of the valley. Webb started a bank as his money accumulated, and when he died he left his children an estate of $500,000, including the original farm, which was still worked under leases by the miners, and yielded a handsome income. Before the plow turned up "the float" that lucky day the farm could not have been sold for more than $10 or $15 an acre.

This generation does not know that Morgan county was once famed for its lead mines. Travelers passing over the gently undulating prairies in the vicinity of Tipton, almost the geographical center of Missouri, can hardly appreciate the historical fact that only thirty miles to the southward are lead mines which earned their owners hundreds of thousands of dollars. The period of that local prosperity was half a century ago. Twelve smelters reduced the product of forty Morgan county mines. The output was hauled by wagon many miles to the railroad. It paid handsome profits. That was before the discovery of the true value of "jack." When the lead miner of those days found his shaft blocked by a body of zinc ore he lamented the "fault" in strong Missouri words and moved away. It was so all over Southwest Missouri. The Morgan county lead miner turned from zinc as worthless just as did the lead miners of other Missouri camps.

**Oronogo's Boom Days.**

One of the oldest mining camps of Southwest Missouri was Oronogo. It had a furnace, and was an important place before the war, and a great deal of lead ore was taken out near the surface and hauled overland to the Missouri River. "Ore or no go," prospector replied when his "pardner" at the windlass tried to persuade him to come out of the shaft and go to a circus at a nearby town. The ultimatum resulted in a discovery and Oronogo was for years a great producer. Then operations ceased. The deposits were supposed to have been worked out. Later, at the bottom of a shaft 140 feet deep, about 80 feet lower than where the earlier mining was done, ore was being taken from a body 30 feet wide and 70 feet high. As the excavation went on the miners left behind them a great chamber like the interior of a cathedral. Out of one of the mines at Oronogo was taken a chunk of lead weighing 30,000 pounds, one of the largest ever found.

"The chatter" is a character in the camps. He is a scalper and he travels in pairs. He prowls around until he finds a dump of refuse in which his sharp eye detects the presence of considerable ore. He goes to the owner of the dump and makes a proposition to work over "the chat" and clean out the ore for a certain percentage. Like enough the owner agrees, for what he gets will be so much clear saving. "The chatter" sets up his hand-jig, plants some poles and arranges some boughs for a temporary shelter and goes to work. In the earlier rush many dumps were left with much mineral in them, and "the chatters" to the number of several hundred found all-summer jobs without much hunting. They are their own masters and work as they please after getting control of a dump, and make very fair returns. "The chatter's" work is entirely legitimate, if he is the scavenger of the mineral fields. "The chatters" were more numerous in the early days than they are now with the mining done largely by companies and with improved machinery. Moreover, "the chats" in vast quantities are now hauled away by the railroads for ballast.

**Naming the Early Claims.**

The pioneer lead and zinc miner of Missouri was as original and humorous in his nomenclature as his brother in far western camps. He waited only to see the jack or the shine and then he was ready with his title. Parson Gaither was a kind of Populistic apostle. When he laid out his camp, he called it Ragville. Nearly all of the Ragville miners had been farmers. Somebody who struck jack when politics was hot called the discovery Yellow Dog. An impression of fitness had something to do with the naming not infrequently. Mr. Zook, for a long time authority on statistics of lead and zinc production, was passing through a camp one day, and came to a claim on which the prospectors had sunk a shaft 115 feet deep, and were still going down with the back-wearying windlass and bucket.

"Have you fellows got a name for your mine?" he asked the man at the windlass.

"No, by thunder!" was the reply, "but when we ketch it, we'll call it 'Sweet Relief.'"

Near Webb City was a group of mines. The first was named "Ino." Next

to it was "Uno," and then came "Damfino," and after that "Hell-Upon-Earth." These were in Leadville Hollow. North of Belleville, once a famous locality of the Missouri lead and zinc district, was a camp to which had been given the Alaskan name of "Circle City." The DeGraff's started it. Their experience made the camp worthy of the name. The DeGraffs had been fortunate in old Belleville. Oscar DeGraff invested his surplus in a farm. Charley put his back in the ground in the form of more claims and lost it. Charley DeGraff began working an old abandoned shaft where nothing had been done for a period so long that much debris had collected. Among the things taken out in the reopening was a sucking bridle and part of the calf that had worn it. Oscar DeGraff rejoined his brother Charley in the mining venture. In eighteen months the DeGraffs took $600,000 out of that abandoned shaft. They bought eighty acres, leased eighty more and started Circle City on the road to mining prosperity. They sold a lease of forty acres and a concentrating plant to a syndicate for $110,000. The mines which changed hands in this deal were netting $3,000 a week. When such fortune finding news came from the Alaskan Circle City the whole nation was excited.

**Geologists Revise Their Expert Opinions.**

About 1854 Professor Whitney, a geologist of high rank, made the prediction that lead mining in Missouri was a lost industry. He thought the ore bodies had been nearly exhausted. In one recent year the Southeastern Missouri lead district, directly tributary to St. Louis, produced in round figures 98,000 tons of lead, worth $10,150,000. At the same time H. A. Wheeler, the consulting mining engineer, ventured the prediction that the district was passing from shallow to deep mining with the prospect of still more handsome results in the future. He reasoned that the field could be extended from St. Francois and Madison counties into Washington county; that the shallow deposits of the latter are "underlaid with disseminated ore bodies." He cited geological evidence to sustain his theory.

**The First White Lead Factory.**

In 1818 the Missouri Gazette announced that "in despite of the savages, Indian and British, this country is progressing in improvements. A red and white lead manufactory has been established by a citizen of Philadelphia by the name of Hertzog. This enterprising citizen has caused extensive works to be erected, to which he has added a handsome brick house in our principal street for retailing merchandise. We understand that his agents have already sent several thousand dollars' worth of manufactured lead to the Atlantic states."

In 1810 there was one white lead factory in the United States. It made 369 tons that year. The infant industry was one of the results of the acquisition of Louisiana. Tench Coxe reported to Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, that "establishments to make pigments were erected in one season sufficient, with the shot factories, to utilize all the product which was likely to reach Atlantic ports. Red and white lead and patent yellows are now made in considerable quantities." Secretary Gallatin sent the report to Congress.

Eighty years the industry of white lead production has been growing in Missouri. Thirty years ago it reached an output of from 18,000 to 20,000 tons

annually. The manufacture of sheet lead and of pipe has been a St. Louis industry, owing its prosperity to the tributary lead region. There was a time when the shot towers of St. Louis turned out 40 per cent of the shot manufactured in the United States.

Not much market for white lead west of the Mississippi was found in the pioneer days. A good stiff clay to chink the logs was more to be desired than a keg of paint. William Glasgow, Jr., built works to turn Missouri lead into white lead. He had as superintendent Isaac Gregg of Pittsburg. This establishment was operated five years and then burned. At the same time Bacon & Hyde built a small white lead factory. But the real father of white lead manufacture, the man who made it one of the great industries of St. Louis, was Henry T. Blow. Dr. Silas Reed began experiments in white lead making, and Henry T. Blow took them up, developing the Collier works. Blow was followed by Thomas Richeson.

St. Louis proved to be the best place in the United States for the manufacture of white lead. It had advantages other than nearness to the pig lead supply. Oil was cheaper here. The oak timber to make the kegs came into this market. In the early days Henry T. Blow bought castor beans and made free distribution of them to farmers around St. Louis in order to encourage production. One of Mr. Blow's purchases of castor beans was brought up the river on a steamboat which was conveying immigrants to St. Louis. A bag of beans on the lower deck bursted and wrought havoc among the unfortunate people who cooked and ate the beans.

**The Romance of Face Paint.**

There was romance in the lead industry. William H. Pulsifer of St. Louis, having some financial concern in lead production, was asked to prepare an historical paper upon the subject. He became greatly interested as he investigated. The result was a volume of nearly 400 pages. Very modestly Mr. Pulsifer called his book "Notes for a History of Lead." He spoke of it as a compilation. He asked to have it considered "an amplification of the article prepared as an after-dinner paper for a paint club." The book was published twenty years ago, and is today a standard work on lead, and on the manufacture of white lead. This historical research was the more notable because the author was interested in the industry only as a side investment. Mr. Pulsifer found among other interesting things about lead and its derivatives this account of an ancient household argument against the use of face paint:

Isomachus had a beautiful young wife, who followed the prevailing fashion and rouged and powdered her lovely face, and moreover wore highheeled shoes to add height to her figure. "Tell me, my dear wife," said Isomachus to her one day, "in which case would you consider me the more worthy of your affection and esteem, if I truly informed you of my estate, or if I pretended to possess more than I really owned, and concealed some things from you; if I gave you false silver, a wooden chain plated with gold, and purple raiment which would not retain its hue." "Oh! don't speak so," interrupted his wife, "you could not do such a thing. If you were like that I could not love you." "Then," said Isomachus, "have we not a partnership in our bodies as well as in our possessions?" "Yes," she replied, "it is so considered." "Then," said Isomachus, "would I treat you with the most loving consideration if I smeared my body with minium, and painted under my eyes in order to deceive you; or if I so cared for my body that it should be healthy and strong,

not precisely like those put upon the packages from the St. Louis factories. were so similar as to be mistaken for them at a casual glance. The St. Louis companies found that in remote parts of the country white lead under misleading labels was being purchased for the St. Louis product. They went into the United States court at Chicago and on the showing of the superiority of the St. Louis product obtained injunctions restraining outside manufacturers from using the imitation labels. They obtained judicial support of their contention that "the name St. Louis, on a package of white lead, is of itself a recommendation or guarantee." This was nearly a third of a century ago. William H. Gregg, William H. Pulsifer, Fletcher W. Rockwell, Henry S. Platt and Alexander Euston were among the St. Louisans who obtained this remarkable judicial tribute to the character of a St. Louis industry.

Natural was the evolution from pig lead and white lead to paint, with twenty-five St. Louis manufacturers turning out annually over seven million dollars in paints and varnishes. The ten million dollars worth of pig lead which the mines of Missouri annually send to St. Louis is the base of a pyramid of industries. From twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of this lead remains here. It is the raw material which enters into various forms of manufacturing. The industries which this pig lead thus encourages add over twenty-five million dollars to the productive trade of the city. They are sustained by millions of dollars invested capital. They give employment to an army of salaried and wage people.

**The Inspiration of Lead.**

Lead furnished St. Louis the inspiration of a variety of industries. After Silas Reed and Henry T. Blow developed and perfected the manufacture of white lead, what was more natural than for St. Louis to become the seat of linseed oil manufactures. Quite as a matter of course followed the making of other oils. Near St. Louis were found deposits which made profitable the production of mineral paint. The evolution of these industries encouraged the making of chemicals and kindred products until this city became known the world over for these lines of manufacturing.

About 1852 the manufacture of sheet lead and lead pipe began. Within two years the entire Mississippi valley was supplied from St. Louis with lead pipe. The product in twelve months was two million pounds. It was shipped out on large reels or coiled in casks. The manufacture of sheet lead quickly reached one million, two hundred thousand pounds a year. With the raw material close at hand, St. Louis demonstrated the ability to manufacture at prices with which other points could not compete. At that time the St. Louis shot tower was manufacturing nearly twenty-five thousand pounds of shot daily. In five months of 1854 the shot tower turned out one million nine hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds of shot and four hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds of bar lead, according to Captain Simonds' books. Blatchford & Collins were early manufacturers of sheet and pipe lead. William H. Thompson went into this industry and laid the foundation of the fortune which grew with the National Bank of Commerce. Chadbourne developed the manufacture of shot on a scale which made St. Louis one of the chief centers of this industry.

From Pierre Chouteau Collection

HEADQUARTERS OF AMERICAN FUR COMPANY, AT ST. LOUIS, 1835

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

KENNETH McKENZIE RAMSEY CROOKES

Officials of the Missouri Fur Company

## CHAPTER XLI

## FINANCE IN MISSOURI

*Colonial Currency—When "Bons" Were Exchanged—Auguste Chouteau's Credits and Debits—The "Plus" and the "Pack"—Earliest Banks in Missouri—Benton's First Lessons in Paper Money—Duff Green's Investigation—How London Drained the West of Specie—The Loan Office Experiment—A Plunge in Financial Theory—What it Cost the Young State—Jackson's Smash of the United States Bank—A Great Day in St. Louis—John O'Fallon, Born Banker—Overshadowing Issue in Politics, 1835-45—Bank of the State of Missouri—Popular Wishes Denied—Days of "Dog" Notes—Panic of 1837—Missouri's First Bonds—"Old Bullion," the "Hards" and the "Softs"—Professor McClure's Illuminating Monograph—Santa Fe Cartwheels—Boom Days of '49—A Legislative Inquiry—Law of 1857—Beginnings of Great Institutions—A Mysterious Loss—Strenuous Experiences of the War Years—The Archbishop's Bank—Evolution of the Clearing House—A Midnight Redemption Journey—Boone County's Record—The Era of Many Small Banks—Panic of 1873—Missouri's Distinction—A Lead in Financial Reform—Introduction of Pennies—Banking Temperament—State Bank Note Tax in Politics—Cleveland's Repudiation of a Plank—Wildcat Days Recalled—Passing of the Bank Note Reporter—Missouri Finance in History—Four Presidents of the American Bankers Association.*

**To the Public:** The undersigned, knowing and relying upon the ample ability of the following banking houses of the City of St. Louis, and with a view of quieting the public mind in regard to the safety of deposits made with them, hereby pledge themselves and offer as a guarantee their property to make good all deposits with either of said banking houses, to wit: Messrs. Lucas & Simonds, Bogy, Miltenberger & Company, Tesson & Danjen, L. A. Benoist & Co., John J. Anderson & Co., Darby & Barksdale, and Boatmen's Savings Institution.

| | |
|---|---|
| John O'Fallon, | D. A. January, |
| Ed. Walsh, | John How, |
| Louis A. LaBeaume, | James Harrison, |
| J. H. Brant, | Andrew Christy, |
| L. M. Kennett, | Charles P. Chouteau. |

*The Act of Financial Honor, February, 1855.*

Missouri's first banknote had the picture of a beaver caught in a trap. This was emblematic of the original financial basis on which Missouri prosperity was built. Deerskins were currency when Laclede's fur trading company began business in 1764. Auguste Chouteau was the first banker. He saw few pieces of coin in the early years. But his books, kept plainly and neatly, gave credits and debits in livres. The livre was a silver piece of France representing eighteen and one-half cents. The books showed business to the amount of 360,000 livres a year done at St. Louis. But no livres actually passed. From more than 1,000 miles up the Missouri, the Mississippi and their tributaries were brought the pelts of beaver, deer, buffalo, wolf, lynx, otter, raccoon.

The trapper took his skins to the company warehouse. The bundle was

weighed. For each kind of skins there was a value per pound expressed in livres. This value was entered on the books to the credit of the trapper. Against that credit the trapper could trade. This wasn't the form of barter practiced by colonists on the Atlantic border. It was cash without coin or paper. It was banking.

Jean Baptiste—there were hundreds of him in the communities of what was to become Missouri—came to the stone warehouse of Maxent, Laclede & Company, which was at Main and Walnut streets. He laid down a pack of deerskins. Auguste Chouteau weighed them, calculated the value in livres and entered that amount to the credit of Jean Baptiste. A pound of shaved deerskins was equal to two livres, thirty-seven cents. A pound of beaver was worth more. Jean Baptiste proceeded to purchase a skirt for madame, a kerchief for Angelique and a capote for himself,—all at prices expressed in livres. The debit in livres was put against his credit. He didn't trade deerskins for goods. This was banking in St. Louis in the year of the first settlement and for half a decade thereafter.

Deerskins were the most numerous skins. They maintained a value which varied but little. The unshaved deerskins were rated at thirty cents a pound. The first transactions in St. Louis real estate were made with payments in packs of furs but these considerations were stated in the value not in the pounds or number of furs. So it was in other commerce. While deerskins were the first currency, that currency was expressed in livre value.

**Hard Money and Fur Money.**

With the beginning of Spanish colonial government in 1770, came coin, not in general circulation at first but enough to make some financial confusion. To distinguish, the habitants called the silver coins "hard money" and the other form of currency "fur money." The latter continued for years to be the most common. When the habitant came into possession of hard money, he usually hid it and hoarded it as long as he could. One of the first plutocrats died leaving a will disposing of "four hundred hard dollars." That will was the talk of the town.

"Exclusive privilege of trading with the savages of the Missouri and those west of the Mississippi above the Missouri as far north as the River St. Peter" was the inspiration of Laclede's settlement of St. Louis, but the charter failed of approval at Paris and the field of fur trade was soon open to competition. Fur money continued to be asset currency and contracts were settled with packs of furs valued in livres. But as trappers and traders multiplied, currency reform became an issue. Some trappers turned in packs of furs which were not so well cured as others. Disputes arose when agreements did not specify whether hard money or fur money was meant. A "pack" was a bundle of furs of definite weight and having a fixed value. This was the highest denomination of fur money.

Cruzat, the second Spanish lieutenant-governor, faced financial problems soon after he came to St. Louis. Etienne Barre brought from New Orleans six barrels of rum and some dry goods for Benito Basquez, the merchant. He presented a freight bill of twenty-five dollars a barrel. Basquez didn't dispute

the bill. What happened was told in the appeal which the captain of the pirogue made to Governor Cruzat:

"The undersigned having delivered to Basquez the above articles, said Basquez proposed to pay him his freight in peltries, which was not according to agreement. He refused, demanding his freight in dollars, as per agreement, he being compelled to pay his outfit and expenses in dollars. After repeated demands, he is compelled to have recourse to your justice to compel said Basquez to pay him as per agreement; and in default of same to sell such portion of the goods as may be necessary to pay him the $150."

Basquez was ordered to appear next day and present his defense. The records fail to show the decision of the governor but they do show that monetary reforms were instituted shortly. What occurred might, perhaps, be called the first clearing house movement on the part of St. Louis. Custom, while coin remained scarce, decreed that when contracts or agreements did not specify hard money, settlement could be made in pelts at the values prevailing. For several years pelts passed current at the fixed value in livres or fractions of livres. Instead of issuing paper stamped "one livre," business men settled their transactions by passing from hand to hand pelts weighed and valued at the prevailing rate per pound.

**Colonial Monetary Reform.**

Soon it became necessary to grade the furs. The variations in quality caused complications. To meet the conditions the pelts were graded as the finest, the medium and the inferior. Values ranged from forty cents a pound for the finest to twenty cents for the poorest. But abuses crept in. Twelve years after the founding of St. Louis, the leading business men joined in a memorial asking for a government financial policy. They wrote to Governor Cruzat:

"Sir: We, the undersigned, merchants of this village, with due respect, have the honor to present to your consideration, that for some time back the custom has grown up between the merchants and traders and hunters of settling the accounts between them with furs and peltries, at certain prices, which vary according to the kind, quality and condition."

The memorial set forth in detail the complications and abuses. The neglect of many traders to properly prepare their peltries was described. The want of standard forms of money to do business was emphasized. The need of government regulations was set forth impressively. Among the foremost business men of that generation of St. Louisans who signed the appeal were Martin Duralde, Benito Basquez, J. M. Papin, Berard Sarpy, J. F. Perrault and Joseph Motard.

"After examination and consideration of the memorial of the merchants of St. Louis and the forcible reasons with which it is supported," to quote his own words, Governor Cruzat issued this:

"Decreed that from this time in future no skin shall be weighed before it is thoroughly examined and has passed inspection as sound; but in order that no merchant can hold back from this reform, nor delay on frivolous pretext the time of examination, after the

refuse is separated, the skins that are to be warranted shall be exposed to dry in the sun. And it is further ordered that it is the merchant's business to examine and discriminate his own skins, soon after the trader has delivered them to him, and shall have them weighed immediately, so that by this method no injury or detriment will be done the trader.

"Done in the government hall, March 5, 1776.

"FRANCO CRUZAT."

Pierre Berger gave Francois Latour a mortgage in September, 1766. This was the first instrument of the kind in St. Louis. It covered all that Pierre had. It called for the delivery of a certain number of bundles of deerskins to Francois within a specified time. If Pierre failed to make delivery his property was to go to Francois. There were some financial transactions of those times wherein the number of skins was given as the consideration. They were between individuals, usually. In trade and commerce the rule was to give the skins a fixed value by the pound and thus establish their value as currency. When Judge J. B. C. Lucas bought his first piece of real estate in St. Louis the price was "six hundred dollars in deerskins."

**The Plus and the Pack.**

A beaver skin of the largest size was called a plus. This was the standard. A plus of other skins was the number which the traders considered equal in value to the beaver. A certain number of deerskins made a plus. A different number of otter skins was a plus. A hundred pounds of beaver skins made a pack. This weight required from seventy to eighty skins. About the most valuable consideration given for skins was a brass kettle. A brass kettle was traded for its weight in beaver skins. The latter in good condition were worth three dollars or more a pound in St. Louis. Of beaver, eighty skins made a pack weighing one hundred pounds. A pack of buffalo was ten skins; of bear, fourteen skins; of otter, sixty; of coon, eighty; of fox, 120; of muskrat, 600.

In 1805 it was officially announced at St. Louis that "taxes can be paid in shaven deerskins at the rate of three pounds to the dollar (33 1-3 cents) from October to April; after that time in cash."

"The season's catch" was a fur trading expression. It meant the product of one year. In 1840, the season's catch of the American Fur company which reached St. Louis was 67,000 buffalo robes. In 1848 St. Louis received 110,000 buffalo and other skins. That same year the fur traders brought to St. Louis 25,000 buffalo tongues. The value of their trade in 1820 was estimated at $600,000. The goods which the traders carried to barter for skins were of great variety. "Strouding" was a staple. It was a coarse cloth from which the Indians made breech-clouts and petticoats. Blankets were always available for trade. So also were kettles, looking glasses, knives, blue and black handkerchiefs, calicoes, tin cups, dishes, scarlet cloth, buttons. What might be called the luxuries of the trade were brass finger rings, arm and wrist bands of silver, earrings and brooches.

**The Bit and the Bon.**

Beginning with deerskin currency, St. Louis early became a financial center. Within a decade, the furs shipped out more than paid for the goods shipped in.

At the end of the first decade the balance of trade began to show in favor of the settlement. The cartwheel Spanish or Mexican dollars came rolling in and some of them stayed. St. Louis merchants put those big silver dollars on a block of wood, gave smart taps with a chisel and produced halves and quarters. They even cut the quarters in two and made "bits." Thus was produced the earliest fractional currency in coin. For a long time the "bit" was the lowest denomination of money in St. Louis. If a customer bought less than a bit's worth, he got change in the form of pins or needles or sheets of paper. French habitants mastered the mysteries of the bit. They learned to say "seex beets" for a load of wood.

Banking with packs of furs for deposits did very well for local business. But when it came to settlements of accounts between St. Louis and Montreal, or New Orleans, or other centers at a distance, the need of something to do for drafts was felt. Receipts were taken for considerable quantities of furs, stating the weight and value of the furs. These receipts passed from city to city. They were used in large transactions. They represented a given weight of furs on deposit valued at a stated amount of money. They bore the signature of the person who held the furs on deposit. As they passed from hand to hand, they were often indorsed. The common name for these receipts which did the duty of drafts or bills of exchange was "bons." They saved danger and expense of transfers of large sums of money. They constituted a new and higher form of fur money.

Transfer of sovereignty in 1804 brought another form of money. St. Louis became an important military post of the United States. Officials came to set up the new government. To pay salaries and to meet other obligations, warrants or bills drawn on the United States treasury were sent from Washington. These bills were not cashed but were circulated in payments of many kinds. They passed into general use. Merchants employed them for exchange, sending them to business connections east and south.

**The First Banks.**

With such forms of money and banking, the business of St. Louis grew into a volume of over $1,000,000 a year. But with the close of the war of 1812 came the rising tide of immigration which demanded something more than fur money, coin and makeshift currency. The first bank was organized and the first banknote was issued with its picture of the trapped beaver. This banknote set forth:

"The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of St. Louis promise to pay Five Dollars to Fowler or Bearer on Demand, St. Louis, Missouri Territory, June 18, 1817.
"S. HAMMOND, President. JOHN B. SMITH, Cashier."

The capital of this first bank in Missouri was $100,000. In the list of stockholders were the names of most of the business men of St. Louis. For twelve months the bank was immensely popular. The beaver bank bills met a long-felt want. They helped business. Then came a split in the board of directors. Mr. Pilcher offered a resolution to remove the cashier, John B. Smith. By a narrow majority John B. was ousted, and, after several ballots, Theophilus W. Smith was elected. Three of the directors who had been in the minority im-

mediately resigned. Proceedings of revolutionary character followed. The directors who had resigned were joined by Thomas H. Benton, and two army officers, Colonel Daniel Bissell and Lieutenant James McGunnegle, three men of strong will who became prominent figures in Missouri history. This self-chosen group took possession of the bank. They ordered the clerks to leave the building and locked the doors. Marching to the counting room of Mr. Pilcher, they organized a new board of directors and demanded the keys of the safe. Pilcher refused. The meeting appointed a committee of five to assume the custody of the bank and deny admittance to the old board of directors. And this was the situation for several days. The majority of the old board had the keys of the safe. The new board elected in town meeting form held possession of the building. It was a situation without parallel in the financial history of Missouri. Naturally the case was taken into court. The conclusion was a compromise which was given to the public in the form of this brief statement: "The public mind having become tranquilized, the Bank of St. Louis opened for business on Tuesday last, redeemed its paper in specie, and the public are hereby notified that it will continue to redeem its paper in specie on presentation." But the stockholders divided into factions and continued their bickerings.. The business declined. Specie ran short. On the 12th of July, 1819, the doors were closed and the assets were distributed. Stockholders suffered considerable losses. Thomas H. Benton, never a business man, was involved to such an extent that his subsequent course in financial legislation on hard money is said to have been influenced largely by this experience. "The old Bank of St. Louis," as it was called, was in existence three years. Its success the first year had much to do with the starting of the second bank, the Bank of Missouri. This was a more ambitious project. Subscriptions to the capital stock of $250,000 were taken by a commission of which Charles Gratiot, who started the cheering when the American flag was raised in 1804, was the chairman. Auguste Chouteau was selected for president and Lilburn W. Boggs, afterwards the governor who drove the Mormons out of Missouri, was the first cashier. The Bank of Missouri began business in St. Louis on the 1st day of February, 1817. It prepared to establish branches as needed in the then territory of Missouri. The banknotes issued were more elaborate than those of the trapped beaver. They were adorned with the bust portrait of Thomas Jefferson, a liberty cap, a group of four ships in a harbor and a sunrise scene in the mountains. Furthermore the notes were redeemable, not in St. Louis, but in Ste. Genevieve. They were worded:

"The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Missouri promise to pay one dollar on demand at their Office of Deposit and Discount, Ste. Genevieve, to William Shannon, President thereof, or to Bearer, St. Louis, October 14, 1818.

"AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU, President. JOHN DALES, Cashier."

The St. Louis office was in Auguste Chouteau's mansion. The management was harmonious, nevertheless the Bank of Missouri went out of business with heavy loss to stockholders, but not with the widespread disaster which attended the bank failures of Kentucky and Ohio in that period. The reasons for scarcity of specie, for depreciation of land values and for general discouragement which

JOHN B. SARPY
Commissioner for State Bank subscriptions

LOUIS A. BENOIST
A pioneer banker

THE FIRST BENOIST RESIDENCE ON MAIN AND ELM STREETS, BUILT ABOUT 1790

spread through the West about 1820 were more than local. They were international, if the investigation made by Duff Green years afterward is to be accepted. Missouri's hard times of one hundred years ago were decreed in London, Duff Green found. The clash of arms, known as the war of 1812 ended with the treaty of Ghent, but Great Britain substituted financial screws for guns and put them to Missouri at the dawn of statehood.

**Pioneer Banks Wrecked by London.**

General Duff Green, who left Missouri to take charge of the Jackson organ in Washington and who was given more credit than any other man for the election of Jackson, made a lifelong study of national finance. He visited Europe in the course of his investigations. He left this very interesting statement of international conditions which operated to break down pioneer banking, not only in Missouri but in some other parts of the United States, particularly the West:

"One of the first acts of my public life, as chairman of a committee of the legislature in Missouri, was to examine into and report upon the causes of the suspension of the Bank of Missouri. One of the measures adopted in 1812 by the 'English party in the United States,' to enable England 'to carry into effect her own projects in Europe,' was the organization in Boston of a combination to depreciate the credit of the government of the United States, and it was found necessary to permit the banks in the middle, southern and western states to suspend specie payments that they might lend their notes to the government in exchange for treasury notes. It was with the notes of these suspended banks that the government fed, clothed and paid our armies and gave protection to the 'beauty and booty' of New Orleans, and to our women and children who were exposed to the tomahawk and scalping knife of the merciless allies of Great Britain. The war of 1812 carried many volunteers into the Indian territory, the Indian title to much of which was extinguished by the treaties of peace. The revival of our foreign trade, and the sales of public land placed a large amount of the notes of the suspended banks in the public treasury, and the bank of the United States was chartered to aid in the process of resumption. Under the pressure thus produced the southern and western banks did resume, but the bank of the United States being the depository, and required to convert into specie the notes received for customs and for the public lands, the pressure for specie became so severe, that Mr. Cheves, who had been elected president of the bank made an arrangement with Mr. Crawford, then secretary of the treasury, under which it was agreed that large sums, nearly equal to the whole amount of their own circulation, should be left as deposits with certain state banks upon condition that they would convert the notes of other banks, received in payment for public lands and remit the specie to the branches of the bank of the United States. And thus we found that the bank of Missouri in St. Louis and the bank of Edwardsville in Hlinois, both being deposit banks situated on opposite sides of the river, were required to convert the notes of each other into specie to be sent by the same steamer to the branch of the bank of the United States at Louisville. The committee ascertained this fact. We saw that the arrangement was intended to relieve the bank of the United States from the odium, by making the local deposit banks war upon each other for the benefit, as we then supposed, of the bank of the United States. We did not then realize, nor did I do so until long thereafter, that the bank of the United States—and indeed the whole banking system of the United States—was but a part, and the weaker part, of the financial system which, as then organized, enabled England, at will, 'to carry into effect her own projects in Europe.' The specie which the bank of the United States then took from the southern and western banks, was remitted, through the agency of our commerce, to London to aid the Bank of England to resume specie payments. The effect was to reduce the exchangeable value of land and other western property more than one-half—the government compelling

the purchasers of public land, from whom unpaid instalments were due under the then existing system of land sales, to relinquish their purchases, for which they were unable to make payment, at a loss of more than fifty per cent. on the sums previously paid."

**One of the Victims.**

The case of Justus Post was one of the individual misfortunes of Missouri's bank failures of 1819 and 1820. A West Pointer by education, an engineer of high qualifications, with a fine record in the war of 1812, Justus Post came to St. Louis, bringing $100,000 capital to engage in business. He bought real estate, built a fine house and started a mill. Naturally, he took rank among the foremost citizens. Newcomers were in the large majority. When the time came to choose directors for the Bank of Missouri, Colonel Post appeared to his fellow citizens an ideal man for the place. He was chosen and served. When the crash came, Colonel Post resigned in disgust, sold his property at a great sacrifice and left Missouri. Illinois was planning the canal from Lake Michigan to the head of the Illinois river. Colonel Post was employed by the state of Illinois as engineer. Missouri lost one of her most promising citizens at the beginning of statehood.

**The Costly Loan Office Experiment.**

After the two unsatisfactory experiments with banks, Missouri made a plunge into the sea of financial theory. The new state ventured with a form of fiat money. On the credit of the commonwealth, paper was issued to supply a circulating medium. "Certificates" this paper currency was called. Missouri had passed through the years of various forms of territorial government without creating a public debt. But after the state was admitted to the Union, with the constitution in full effect, the plan of issuing auditors' warrants in advance of tax returns was suggested. There appear to have been two theories of public finance which encouraged the Missourians in taking this step. Official expenditures were expanding faster than the collections from taxes. Then, the need of some form of circulating medium became more pressing with increasing population and industry. So Missouri embarked in the anticipation of revenue, and in the creation of scraps of paper which would represent value received. The loan office scheme proved disastrous. It took only two years to get into trouble and fifteen years to get out. That experience of nearly one hundred years ago had much to do with Missouri's subsequent devotion to hard money and sound banking.

The Territory of Missouri was authorized in 1813 to take $15,000 of the $165,000 stock of the Bank of St. Louis. In 1817 the territory was authorized to subscribe $100,000 of the $350,000 stock of the Bank of Missouri. In neither case did the territorial government take advantage of this legislation. And thus Missouri reached statehood without public debt. But, toward the end of the first decade of state government, Missouri had a floating debt of $104,000. State expenditures had exceeded the revenue to that amount.

The first constitution adopted and put into operation in 1820, before the formal proclamation by the President of admission to the Union, contained provisions by which the general assembly might establish a bank with five

branches, to have capital stock up to $5,000,000, of which the State of Missouri should hold half of the stock. No use was made of these provisions of the constitution until 1837.

On June 27, 1821, two months before President Monroe's proclamation that Missouri had become one of the United States, the legislature passed what became known as the loan office act. In some respects this law was a precedent of the Federal Farm Loan law of the present day. As such it possesses more than merely local interest. This law established loan offices. It authorized the issue of certificates to the amount of $200,000. These certificates were to be in denominations of fifty cents and upwards to ten dollars. That gave them the character of currency. They were to be paid out through the loan offices in loans on farms and to the promoters of industries. They bore redeemable guarantee in this form:

This certificate shall be receivable at the Treasury, or any of the loan offices of the State of Missouri, in the discharge of taxes or debts due the state, for the sum of $5.00 with interest for the same at the rate of two per centum per annum, from this date, first day of September, 1821.

WILLIAM CHRISTY,
Auditor of Public Accounts.
NATHANIEL SIMONDS,
State Treasurer.

The counties of the state were divided into five districts, each to have a loan office in charge of three commissioners. The certificates, to help the farmers and to build up industries, were limited in amounts of loans to single borrowers. The limit was $1,000 on real estate and $200 on personalty. The interest was fixed at six per cent. but there was a stipulation that if a borrower became hard pressed, he might get relief of two years' interest. Repayment of the loans was required in instalments.

From time to time the legislature bolstered up the credit behind these certificates by making them legal tender for salaries and fees of officials, for salt, for fares on ferries, as well as for payment of taxes. To make the certificates more useful as currency, an issue of $12,000 was made in denominations from 12½ cents to 40 cents.

**A Missouri Lesson in Sound Finance.**

Thus the new state of Missouri was fairly launched in the issue of fiat money. The loan offices had not been in operation two years before the dangers of the system became apparent. Borrowers showed the weakness of human nature by repudiating their obligations. They set up the ungrateful defense that the act authorizing the certificates was in violation of the Constitution of the United States. And when the state brought suit on some of the notes given by borrowers for these certificates, the borrowers carried the issue to the United States Supreme court, where, after long litigation, they won, in part. In 1824, the Supreme court held that the certificates were "bills of credit" and as such were in violation of the Constitution. But at the same time the court decided that the borrower from the State of Missouri could not escape his obligation to pay the note given by him to the state.

Before this decision was rendered, a new legislature had stopped the issue of the certificates so that the entire amount proposed,—$200,000,—did not get into circulation. After the decision that discredited the certificates, each succeeding legislature passed acts in the effort to wind up and get rid of the loan office venture. To the great financial credit of Missouri, as a commonwealth, history shows that the state did not repudiate or dodge the effect of the mistake. The state was more honest than some of its citizens. The state redeemed and destroyed several thousand dollars in certificates more than had been issued, showing that the counterfeiter had got in his work.

A period of thirteen years was required to wind up the loan office experiment. Honest debtors, who were able, paid up their notes, some of them under considerable pressure. Dishonest and bankrupt borrowers of the certificates escaped. Speculators made a good deal of money, buying the certificates at heavy discount rates and holding them for redemption by the state. So unpopular did these certificates become that "loan office" was the nickname given in derision to the poorest grade of tobacco produced in Missouri.

The state treasurer's books showed that the entire issue of certificates was $184,788. The auditor's books showed that certificates to the amount of $188,-647 were redeemed. The paternalistic experiment was costly to the young state but it was worth all it cost in the creation of sentiment for sound finance.

**The Branch of the United States Bank.**

After their experiences with the two liquidated banks and with the loan office experiment, is it to be wondered that Missourians did not take readily to paper money? Was it strange that finance became for a generation the dominant issue in the politics of the new state? Coin money took the place of fur money. It came in a flood with the immigration. Coin money was as cosmopolitan as the population in 1829, when the branch bank of the United States was started in St. Louis. Silver pieces of France, of Italy, of Germany and of England mingled with the United States coins brought from the Atlantic seaboard. Immigrants and travelers brought the money with which they were most familiar and they had no difficulty in getting rid of it in Missouri. The Mexican peso was as popular as the American dollar. Almost any kind of coin was taken without question in the stores. The branch bank introduced notes but they made their way slowly into circulation.

The United States bank at Philadelphia was chartered by Congress in 1816. The branch at St. Louis was not established until 1829. Between the bank failures at St. Louis and the opening of the branch bank, Missouri felt the need of banking facilities. Alexander Scott and William K. Rule were merchants. They had to make a remittance to Philadelphia to pay for goods purchased. The amount was $4,000. The money, in banknotes, was given to a clerk to wrap up. The package was handed to William H. Jones, a merchant, who was going to Philadelphia on his own business. Jones undertook to carry the package as an accommodation to Scott & Rule. This was a common practice, made necessary by the lack of banking relations between St. Louis and other cities. When he reached Philadelphia, Jones delivered the package as directed, and went about his own affairs. He had bought $60,000 worth of goods for his own store

when he was notified there was something wrong with the supposed package of money. When the twine was cut and the wrapping paper was unfolded it was discovered that the contents were slips of paper instead of banknotes. Jones protested his innocence. The package had not been out of his possession on the journey. Jones was a very sensitive man. He was overcome by the trouble, went to his hotel and killed himself. The mystery of the missing money was never solved. Those in St. Louis who knew Jones held him guiltless. They accounted for his death by his nervous, sensitive temperament.

**Directors with Souls.**

The branch bank of the United States won its way slowly to popularity in Missouri, more through the individual acts of its directors than through approval of the banking principles on which it did business.

Peter Lindell was one of the directors. A customer of the bank had a note for $5,000 falling due. He held assets on paper for several times that amount but was unable to make collections. Under the rules of the branch bank, this paper could not be applied to meet the $5,000 note. The customer went to a friend for advice. The friend picked out the best of the paper and took it to Peter Lindell. He explained the situation. Mr. Lindell looked over the collateral and wrote his personal check for $5,000 in favor of the borrower. The friend of the man in distress asked what the charge would be for the accommodation, expecting a heavy discount for the emergency favor. "Only the regular per cent on borrowed money," Mr. Lindell said, "I shall accept no more."

John Mullanphy was another of the directors of the branch bank. One day a note for $500 was offered for discount. The vote was in the negative by all of the directors except Mr. Mullanphy who asked what was the matter. The answer was that the applicant was a mechanic; that personally he could not be held responsible for the note; that under the strict rules of the bank the loan could not be made in such case. Immediately Mr. Mullanphy asked the director sitting next to him to move a reconsideration. When this was done, Mr. Mullanphy wrote his name on the back of the note as indorser. He said he knew the mechanic. Thereupon the directors, with the exception of Mr. Mullanphy who was barred because his name was on the paper, voted in favor of the loan. Such acts as these overcame anti-bank sentiment in part. They were not exceptional. They illustrate the banking policy of early days in Missouri. As directors,—the men who represented the branch bank,—they observed rigidly the rules essential to safe banking. As individuals they were willing to go farther in accommodation than they would go as directors. They risked their own money where they would not venture the capital of the bank. They were trustees of the money of others. The trust imposed responsibilities which were not shirked.

**The Lesson of John O'Fallon.**

The truth of history is that St. Louis had an exceptional experience with the branch bank, due in part to such individual policies as illustrated by these acts of the directors and in larger part to the course of John O'Fallon, the manager. Mr. O'Fallon was a born banker. He conducted the St. Louis branch in

such manner as to give Missouri needed banking facilities. At the same time he protected the interests of the government. The St. Louis branch of the United States bank was established in 1829. In 1832 President Andrew Jackson smashed the United States bank with his veto. Considerable losses followed in all cities where there were branches, except in St. Louis. John O'Fallon wound up the St. Louis branch with only $125 loss. In that period, when the banking of the country was passing through its crude and elementary stage, the conduct of the St. Louis branch of the United States bank laid the foundation of the financial repute of Missouri through five generations. It taught that successful bank management calls for more than business qualifications. Temperament has its part. In that measure men are born to be bankers. Ability to understand human nature, to interpret character is a large part of the capital which the bank manager puts into the business. It counts for more than the stock he may hold in his own name. The lesson of John O'Fallon does not teach that the bank manager must be cold-blooded. It does prove that an extraordinary talent for discrimination is indispensable.

**Jackson's Veto.**

Bank or anti-bank was the overshadowing political issue in Missouri. It split the population. It led up to the bloodiest scene in the long series of tragedies on Bloody Island. Spencer Pettis was the member of Congress and candidate for reelection in 1831. He made his campaign on hostility to the United States bank and assailed Nicholas Biddle, the Philadelphian and president of the bank. Living in St. Louis was Major Thomas Biddle who had married a daughter of John Mullanphy. Major Biddle defended the reputation of his brother. He called Pettis "a dish of skim milk." Out of the controversy came the usual result of those days,—a meeting on the cross-marks. By the terms the pistols almost lapped and both men were wounded mortally.

Jackson's veto of the United States bank made the 24th of July, 1832, memorable in the political and banking history of Missouri. In the afternoon of that day, friends of the bank held a meeting to condemn the action of the President. William Carr Lane, eight years mayor of St. Louis, was chairman. Resolutions were brought in by a committee of which Edward Bates, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., George Collier, Thornton Grimsley, Henry S. Geyer and Nathan Ranney were members. These resolutions expressed "deep mortification and regret" for the veto. With the record of the St. Louis branch in mind, the meeting declared that the bank had been "highly beneficial to the nation at large and indispensably necessary to the commercial prosperity and individual comfort of the western people." Apprehension was expressed that the consequences of the President's act would be that "one universal scene of distress and ruin will pervade the whole western country."

In the evening of that same day, the anti-bank people rallied in the town hall. Their chairman was Dr. Samuel Merry. Dr. Lane and Dr. Merry had been partners in the practice of their profession. Now they headed the opposing factions on the bank issue. Dr. Lane had been mayor of St. Louis. Dr. Merry was to be a candidate for mayor at the next municipal election. He was receiver of public moneys under Jackson. It was fit that he should preside over

John O'Fallon, manager Missouri branch of United States bank

John Mullanphy, the first Missouri millionaire

Henry S. Turner

James H. Lucas

BANKERS OF THE YEARS BEFORE 1860

the anti-bank meeting, to indorse the Jackson veto. Resolutions were brought in by Edward Dobyns, an intimate friend of Thomas H. Benton, John Shade, James C. Lynch, L. Brown, B. W. Ayres, J. H. Baldwin and P. Taylor. They were more sweeping, if possible, than the pronouncement of the bank people. They declared "all banks and banking institutions possessing exclusive privileges and powers of monopoly as of dangerous tendency in a government of the people, calculated in their nature to draw distinctions in society and to build up family nobilities." This second meeting viewed "the stand which General Jackson has taken against the monied powers of Europe and America as a mark of firmness and patriotism not surpassed by any patriot or statesman since the light of liberty first dawned upon our country."

**The Three Per Cent Fund.**

In the hard times which followed the suspension of the old United States bank the state distributed among the counties what was known as the "three per cent fund." The purpose was to aid in the construction of roads and bridges. What happened in several counties was the sudden relief of a number of individuals. The sheriff of Livingston county received $603 in cash as that county's share. Immediately the county court voted to loan out the money at ten per cent interest. It is said that within a few minutes after the action of the court eight men had divided the money, each giving his note with two of the others as securities.

The bank question was the dominant issue in Missouri for some years. Senator Thomas H. Benton committed the democrats to specie. He advocated a monetary system in which there should be no money other than the precious metals. Thereby he obtained the name of "Old Bullion." The senator denounced the opposition. But strong as Benton was, the chamber of commerce of St. Louis, predecessor of the merchants' exchange, sent to Congress a petition "for the establishment of a national bank." That was in the summer of 1837. The petition bore the signature of nearly every prominent business man in St. Louis.

When all the affairs of the St. Louis branch were settled and it was known that the loss had been only $125, the sentiment in favor of a bank recognized by government was very strong. If the United States would not charter then the state should. Thus the sentiment crystallized. St. Louis had become a city of 6,000 population, with far-reaching business connections. Lines of steamboats carried the trade north and south, east and west. Confronted with the possibility of entire loss of banking facilities, the business men welcomed temporarily a branch of what was known as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Mr. O'Fallon turned over such banking business as could be transferred. The government made the agency its depository. Fair service was given by the Cincinnati people. The situation which was in a way to become desperate was partially relieved by the agency. Very soon the St. Louis business men realized that the agency was making much money for Cincinnati capital. The movement for a home institution gained headway.

**The Bank of the State of Missouri.**

When the legislature met in 1837 the first bill introduced was to charter the Union Bank of Missouri. The name was changed by amendment to The Bank

of the State of Missouri. So great was the popular demand that within thirty days the bill became law.

In those days the establishment of a bank was attended with much formality. A bank was a semi-public institution. Subscriptions were received by commissioners. Everybody was interested. The management of the branch was still a pleasing reminiscence. Upon the commission was placed the man who had made the branch so successful, John O'Fallon. With him were associated Hugh O'Neill, Henry Walton, John B. Sarpy and George K. McGunnegle. The quickness of the responses proved the strength of sentiment behind the movement. The commissioners who took the subscriptions to the old Bank of St. Louis in 1815 and 1816 were two years or more in getting the capital together. John O'Fallon and his associates were but a few days beyond two months. The "State Bank," as it became known familiarly, opened for business the middle of April, 1837. Recognizing the force of public sentiment the Cincinnati Commercial agency turned over the St. Louis business to the new bank and withdrew from the state. Public interest in the Bank of Missouri was more than sentimental. The state held a large block of the stock. There were provisions for branches and eight of them were established. Two members of the board of directors were appointed by the governor. The limit on the capital stock was $5,000,000. John Brady Smith was made president. The location was on the west side of Main street in what was then the business center of the city.

The legislature which chartered the Bank of Missouri manifested a disposition to keep out of Missouri such institutions as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Sentiment of the legislators was against foreign capital doing banking in the state. The house passed a bill to expel foreign banking agencies. In December, 1836, the business men of St. Louis were called together in town meeting. Dr. Hardage Lane was chosen chairman and Charles D. Drake was made secretary. John F. Darby talked. Ex-Mayor William Carr Lane offered the resolution expressive of the sense of the meeting and it was adopted: "That in the opinion of this meeting it will be highly inexpedient in the general assembly to remove or lessen the banking facilities now possessed by the manufacturing and commercial community by removing the bank agencies located amongst us, and that we deprecate any presentation in the general assembly on the subject as tending inevitably to the great injury of every class of our citizens."

**State Bank Policies.**

In policy and in practice, the Bank of Missouri preserved the traditions of the management of the branch bank. John O'Fallon was a member of the board. Edward Walsh was another director. These two men, with John Brady Smith, the president, taught St. Louis safe banking. For twenty years the Bank of Missouri was the only bank of issue in St. Louis. Its notes circulated as far to the southwest as Chihuahua. They were better than gold and so esteemed. They were as good as gold in value and easier to carry. Times of inflation came when the management of the Bank of Missouri was counter to public sentiment. Regulations were adopted against which the business community protested strenuously. At one period, after a meeting of business men had so advised, many leading depositors withdrew their accounts from the Bank of Missouri and put

their money with insurance companies and with the St. Louis Gaslight company which was doing a banking business. This was in 1840. Between that time and 1843 the country passed through a period of depression which wiped out $600,000,000 in debts through actual bankruptcy proceedings, and in which the decline of values was estimated at $2,000,000,000. The Bank of Missouri pursued its policy of safety and weathered the storm.

**The Flood of "Dog" Currency from Other States.**

In that period St. Louis was flooded with paper currency from other states. The name of "shinplaster" for such currency was born of the conditions. These bills, as they depreciated in value, were contemptuously known as "white dog," "blue dog," "blue pup," according to the color. The conflict between the business men and the Bank of Missouri started with the refusal to accept the paper currency of certain outside banks in settlement of loans. On the 12th of November, 1839, the directors of the Bank of Missouri resolved "that the bank will in future receive from and pay only to individuals her own notes and specie, or the notes of specie-paying banks."

This was prompted by the suspension of specie payments on the part of many eastern, southern and western banks. Thousands of dollars in bills of banks which had suspended specie payments were in the hands of St. Louis business men. The action of the Bank of Missouri caused great indignation. The Missouri Republican reported the conditions:

> "The bank excitement continued very high yesterday. In fact, it is the only subject matter of conversation or consideration. The merchants, it might literally be said, have forsaken their counting rooms, and the mechanics their shops. Wherever two or three met, the action of the bank was the theme of conversation, and in every circle that we have fallen in with, whatever might be the politics of those composing it, the resolution of the directors was condemned without measure or reserve. In truth, there never has been in this community so universal and unanimous a condemnation of any measure as this. Execrations loud and deep are freely uttered in every quarter and by men of all parties."

The panic of 1837 followed a period of wild speculation in city and town real-estate. A great firm in New Orleans failed on account of the decline of cotton. In New York, house after house with southern connections failed. Banks in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore suspended. St. Louis suffered in paralysis of business. Two years of depression and of futile attempts to get back to specie basis in the East followed. The action of the Bank of Missouri was one of self-preservation but at the same time business men of the city felt bitterly about it. In November, 1839, a meeting was held at the courthouse. Edward Tracy was president. The meeting resolved that "as the sense of this meeting, it will be no discredit to any individual having paper maturing this day at the Bank of Missouri to allow said paper to go to protest if a tender is made at bank, or to the notary, of currency hitherto bankable and is refused."

The merchants appealed to the bank to accept payment on the discounted paper then in hand as in the past and to make the rule apply only on future business. This the bank declined, as it did also a proposition offering a bond of wealthy citizens against loss on the bank notes which it might receive if the specie rule was modified. Efforts of business men and bank to get together

failed. The Bank of Missouri preserved its soundness but it lost a great deal of business. To merchants who were utterly unable to meet obligations in specie at the bank some concessions were made. But the result of the clash was to give impetus to the establishment of private banks. The Bank of Missouri kept on in the even tenor of its way teaching St. Louis the lesson of absolute security.

A fact that is clear in the history of banking in St. Louis is that the city suffered from but did not contribute to the panic of 1837. If there was error in the banking methods of St. Louis it was error on the side of conservatism. Money was lost through depression in business. No money was lost by depreciation of currency put out by St. Louis. All of the confusion and trouble through which the community passed was forced upon it from the outside.

**Missouri's First Bonds.**

Not until 1837 did the State of Missouri begin the issue of bonds. And then the purpose was to take the state's share of the stock in the State Bank of Missouri which was to be established to supply circulation and to offset the flood of wildcat currency pouring in from Illinois and other states. The bonds sold to create the state's share of the capital of the Bank of Missouri were $362,000.

Various methods were employed to check the circulation of the wildcat bank notes in Missouri. One law passed by the legislature provided that the notes of banks of other states, which did not redeem such notes in coin could be used in Missouri only to send remittances out of the state.

In a little pamphlet which the writer, John P. Rutter, called "Thirty Years Out of the Senate, or a Thirty Years' View of Scenes and Occurrences in Marion County," published before the Civil war is told the story of the location of a branch of the state bank at Palmyra. Hannibal was a rival for the location and likely to win. One branch had been located and the next session of the legislature was to locate another somewhere in Northeast Missouri. Dr. James Shropshire lived in Palmyra. He went down to Hannibal and met a friend who like himself was a strong whig. The legislature was strongly democratic. Shropshire talked politics. He referred to some recent utterances of Benton which reflected severely on the whig party and told his friend that the whigs ought to show their disapproval of the senator in some way. He intimated that Palmyra whigs were going to burn the senator in effigy and added, "I think you ought to do the same in Hannibal." The friend enthusiastically agreed. The idea was circulated and Hannibal whigs had a big bonfire, burned the senator and fired some pistol bullets into the dummy shouting, "Shoot him in the head! Shoot him in the head!" Palmyra of course did nothing of the kind. But when the question of locating the branch bank came up at Jefferson City and the sponsor for Hannibal, the state senator from that district, moved to insert Hannibal in the bill, he was asked if Hannibal was not the place where Senator Benton had been burned in effigy recently. He said he believed that irresponsible boys had done something of the kind but that citizens generally had nothing to do with it. The explanation didn't satisfy. Friends of Benton said such boys must have bad fathers; and they gave the bank to Palmyra.

**"Old Bullion," the "Hards" and the "Softs."**

Decidedly the most illuminating view of the beginning of opposition to Thomas H. Benton has been given by Professor C. H. McClure, head of the department of history in the Warrensburg Normal school. At the time this was printed in the Missouri Historical Review, the editor justly characterized it as "the most valuable and scholarly monograph on the great statesman of Missouri and the West that has been published." As a contribution to the history of banking and currency in Missouri as well as enlightenment on Benton and politics in Missouri between 1837 and 1844, this work of Professor McClure is invaluable. The reader realizes from it better than from any other source why Benton became known as "Old Bullion" and how the Democratic party of Missouri was divided into "Hard" and "Soft" factions throughout several campaigns.

"The purpose of this study," Professor McClure said, "is to find the real beginnings of the opposition to Benton which culminated in his overthrow; also to find the beginnings of the factions in the democratic party in the state and the issues upon which the division was made." An extract from what follows is given:

"Banking and currency were national questions as well as state questions, and as Benton's chief work was in the United States Senate, he looked upon these questions from the national viewpoint. Among those opposed to the second United States bank, probably Benton was the only leader who had a clear-cut, definite, constructive currency policy. At any rate he had such a policy. Benton's plan was to divorce the government from all banks, to provide for the deposit of the government funds at the mints and in subtreasuries, and to encourage the use of hard money in every possible way. He believed that small notes banished silver and gold from circulation; that they were easily counterfeited and circulated among people not skilled in detecting counterfeit; and that they threw the burden and losses of the paper money system, occasioned by depreciation, upon the laboring and small dealing portion of the community, who had no share in the profits of banking and should not be made to share the losses.

"Benton failed to get his currency plans adopted by the United States government and turned to Missouri as a sort of experiment station where he could try out his theories of currency. His influence in the Missouri general assembly was all powerful, and his political friends at Jefferson City wrote, at least, a part of his ideas concerning a bank into the charter of the Bank of Missouri. One clause prohibited the issue of notes of a less denomination than ten dollars. The capital stock was to be $5,000,000, and one-half was to be reserved for the use of the state. The bank was to be managed by a president and twelve directors. The president and six of the directors were to be elected by the general assembly every two years. The charter provided that the bank should furnish the governor a statement of all its affairs semi-annually; that the governor should, after the August election, appoint a committee of three newly elected members of the general assembly, not stockholders in the bank, who should examine the bank and report its general condition to the general assembly when it convened; and that either house of the general assembly might appoint a committee to investigate the affairs of the bank. The charter also contained the following clause: 'Whenever said bank shall stop specie payment, the charter shall cease and determine; and it shall be placed in the hands of trustees appointed by the governor to settle the affairs of the bank.' From the above provisions of the charter of the bank two conclusions are evident; first, that the governor and general assembly through the power to elect officers, require statements and appoint investigating committees, could control the general policy of the bank; second, that the very existence of the bank required that it should not suspend specie payment.

"On the 9th day of October, 1839, the banks of Philadelphia suspended specie pay-

ment. They were followed by all the banks of the South and West except the Bank of Missouri. On November, the 12th, the directors of the Bank of Missouri met and passed a resolution, 'That the bank will in the future receive from and pay only to individuals her own notes and specie or the notes of specie paying banks.' There was a general movement of specie to the East and the notes of the Bank of Missouri together with all the specie available were not sufficient to meet any considerable amount of the merchants' obligations daily falling due. The notes of banks of other states formed the greater part of the local currency. By this act of the bank the notes of all suspended banks lost their character as money for the payment of debts. Great excitement was aroused among the mercantile and industrial classes. The emergency was so great that several of the wealthier citizens offered to bind themselves legally to indemnify the bank for any loss it might sustain by depreciation of the notes heretofore received, if it would rescind its action. The directors of the bank held a meeting but determined to adhere to their original action. When this became known an indignation meeting was called and the action of the bank directors was severely condemned. Resolutions were adopted recommending that those doing business with the bank withdraw their deposits. As a result many of the heaviest depositors withdrew their funds and deposited them with some of the insurance companies or other corporations. On the opposite side of the Mississippi river and in territory commercially tributary to St. Louis were numerous banks, practically without restrictions and often disregarding those which were provided, issuing a great amount of paper currency of all denominations. The inevitable result followed. Small foreign banknotes came in in large quantities. Clearly, the commercial needs of St. Louis together with the legal restrictions imposed upon and by the Bank of Missouri created opportunities for lucrative illegal banking. These opportunities were made use of by the so-called insurance companies and other corporations of St. Louis, and great quantities of cheap fluctuating currency were forced into circulation by these institutions. In the early forties heavy issues of shinplasters (warrants issued by an incorporated political body, usually a city or county) further complicated the currency questions. There were now so many kinds of paper money subject to continual fluctuations that elaborate quotations of notes were required, and brokers had a rich harvest in negotiating them. The business of these insurance companies and brokers was very profitable. They became so strong that, it seems, they were enabled largely to control the political leaders as well as the press of both political parties in the city. In these companies and their following is to be found the most determined and deepseated opposition to the aggressive hard money legislative programme, and especially to Benton who was recognized by all as the leader of the movement.

## Benton's Chief Purpose.

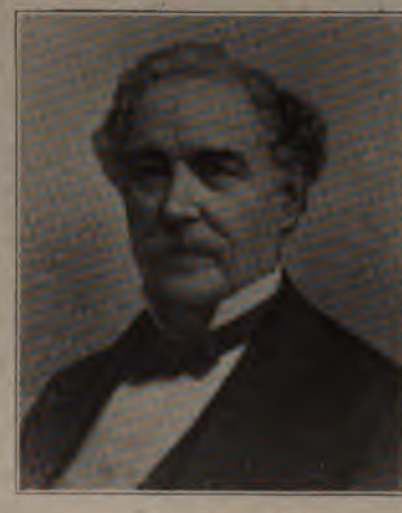
"The exclusion from the state of this foreign paper currency became the chief object of Benton and his followers in Missouri politics. Benton wanted to test his hard money theory in Missouri but that was impossible as long as cheap paper money from other states could circulate freely. From 1838 to 1843, at each session of the general assembly, bills were introduced for this purpose. The first bill was introduced by Redman, of Howard county, in 1838. It made the passing of or receiving of any banknote or paper currency of twenty dollars or less (Bank of Missouri notes excepted) a misdemeanor with heavy penalties attached. It also required all money brokers or exchange dealers to pay a license of $1,000 annually, subjected them to a fine of $10,000 for violation of the act. The bill failed to pass. In 1840 Governor Reynolds, in his inaugural address, urged the passage of such a measure. Following this recommendation, Redman introduced another currency bill similar to his former one, but without such severe penalties. However, any citizen who passed paper currency was liable to the amount passed. This bill passed the house but in the senate was postponed until the next legislature by a majority of one vote. In 1842, Houston, of Lincoln county, introduced two bills for the purpose of correcting the currency troubles. These bills again prohibited the passing of paper currency, and any one asking a license for any trade or profession, or qualifying for public office, was required to take an oath that he had not violated this law. These bills were buried in committee

T. B. EDGAR

D. K. FERGUSON

GEORGE K. BUDD

GEORGE S. DRAKE



R. J. LACKLAND

and in their place two bills were reported back by C. F. Jackson. These Jackson bills did not make the passing or receiving of paper currency by an ordinary citizen unlawful as the previous bills had sought to do. They confined their penalties to corporations, money lenders, and exchange brokers. These bills passed February 17th and 23rd, 1843.

"The authorship of, or at least the responsibility for these bills, which he never denied, was brought home to Benton in the following manner: Edward Bates, of St. Louis, later attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, in answer to a letter of inquiry from the Palmyra Whig, wrote that it was generally understood that Benton was the author of the Redman bill of 1838, but that he had no definite knowledge relative to the matter. However, he knew that Benton was the author of the Houston bills. Houston had told him that Benton had written the bills and that afterwards he (Bates) had seen the original copies in Benton's handwriting in Houston's office in Troy. After the appearance of Bates' letter, 'The Missourian,' the Benton paper of St. Louis, made the following comment: 'It is perfectly well known that Colonel Benton wrote letters and sent drafts of his bills to his friends at Jefferson City, to let them see precisely what his ideas were; those letters and bills were not secrets, but were frank and free communications, for the inspection of all who chose to see them. They were seen and read generally and with more or less alteration were adopted and presented by members.' These bills were designated as 'Bills of Pains and Penalties' by the Whig and Anti-Benton, or Soft Democratic, press. This expression and 'test oathes,' referring to the oaths required by the Houston bills, became the chief campaign slogans of the opposition to Benton.

**Missouri Money and Missouri Trade.**

Up the Missouri to Westport landing, thence over the Santa Fe Trail, even beyond the city of the Holy Faith into Chihuahua, merchants of St. Louis sent goods to supply the needs and luxurious desires of the wealthy owners of ranches and haciendas. This was long before the railroads. When days of settlement came, back over the trail and down the river was brought to St. Louis the actual cash. Exchange in that trade was not known. Paper money was often of uncertain reputation. The money to pay for goods to be bought or already received on credit was sent to St. Louis in the form of silver dollars. The "cartwheels" were put up in stout wooden boxes. Sometimes the Mexican came with his remittance. Occasionally he reinforced the ordinary protection with a guard of his own. The shipments of coin ran from $10,000 to $100,000. A single remittance of $50,000 to the St. Louis merchant or banker was not unusual in the buying season. When the boat reached the St. Louis wharf a dray was called. The heavy boxes beside which the Mexican guard had watched and slept all the way down the Missouri were rolled over the gang plank and up the end of the dray. The dray was driven through the business streets, the Mexicans, with their queer, old-fashioned, wide-muzzled muskets on their shoulders, marching on either side of the dray. If the shipment was of unusual amount, the Mexican merchant, with his rifle in hand might accompany the dray. Sometimes as many as six of the guards came the long journey to insure safe delivery. When the dray, with its precious load, drew up in front of the store or bank where delivery was to be made there was most courteous reception accorded. The Mexican or Spanish merchant became an honored guest. His escort was taken care of. The deposit of silver dollars of Mexican minting was placed to the merchant's credit. In the traditions of trade this commerce with the Santa Fe and Chihuahua country is remembered as of great profit to St. Louis. These buyers from the northern Mexico territory were men of excellent business traits, reliable and honorable in their settlements.

**Flush Days of 1849.**

In 1849 came the gold excitement in California. The business of St. Louis expanded enormously. The Bank of Missouri pursued its conservative course, limiting its issues of notes and its lines of credit to keep always on the safe side. There wasn't currency to do the business which offered. The banking facilities offered by the chartered institution did not permit the merchants to take advantage of what appeared to them great opportunities. And so the private banks, one after another, came into the field. To meet the demands for a sufficient volume of money with which to do the business of the city these private banks handled paper money freely. When the gold placers of California began to yield, St. Louis was almost the first trade center to realize the benefits. Overland freighting grew into large proportions. Purchases in the St. Louis stores and markets were on an unprecedented scale. Profits were fascinating. The flow of wealth into the city encouraged great enterprises.

**A Legislative Investigation.**

In 1852 a committee of the legislature examined the condition of the Bank of Missouri, at St. Louis, and the branches out in the state. The committee found the assets of the parent bank in St. Louis to be $3,983,131. The circulation issued and outstanding was $1,461,090. The net profits from May 8, 1837, to June 30, 1852, were $1,227,659. The profits were not excessive but the bank was sound and its notes were everywhere as good as gold. The "Old State Bank" had a good name as far as St. Louis was known.

There were no wildcat banks in St. Louis but a flood of wildcat currency flowed into the city from outside of Missouri. From the east side of the river whence had come population and civilization, came also the notes of banks established under laws with the minimum of restrictions. They operated under law which permitted the issue of bank notes on state bonds, on county bonds, on city bonds, on township bonds, on canal bonds, on railroad bonds. These notes came to St. Louis, a veritable deluge of currency. They passed into trade. They paid for goods, for machinery, for food supplies. They passed from par quickly to discount, dropping three, five, ten and more per cent until they were worth not over fifty cents on the dollar.

**Banking Law of 1857.**

The year 1857 saw the regeneration of banking in St. Louis. Then came into existence, with beginnings almost infantile compared with present strength, the great financial institutions of St. Louis' present. Back to 1857 the Mechanics-American, the Merchants-Laclede, the National Bank of Commerce and the Third National look for their birthdays. It is a record of sixty-three years. Ten years earlier the St. Louis Boatmen's Savings Institution, in 1847, had been established. It was without capital. It was to be a bank "where boatmen and other industrious classes can safely deposit at interest their earnings." Profits were to be divided among the depositors who deposited $100 or more within the first six months and allowed the money to remain. The institution was managed by trustees. In 1856 the institution took a new charter and with a capital of $400,000 entered the regular banking field.

The regeneration of the banking business of Missouri in 1857 came about through a general banking law passed by the general assembly that year. This law provided for the organization of banks. It authorized the issue of two dollars in paper for each dollar of paid up capital. Banks were made subject to inspection by a state commissioner. Six banks were started in St. Louis under this law. Three of the six have survived and have been among the strongest financial institutions of the West for more than sixty years. The Merchants then is the Merchants-Laclede of today. The Mechanics became the Mechanics-American. The Southern of 1857 took a national bank charter when the national bank law was enacted and was the Third National until its consolidation with the Mechanics-American and St. Louis Union in 1919, forming The First National.

The other three of the six banks organized under this state law of 1857 were the Exchange, Union and St. Louis. Two years before this banking law was passed, the State Savings Association, in 1855, was given a charter as a savings bank and went into operation. It became the State National.

The same year that the six banks started, the National Bank of Commerce had its beginning under the name of the St. Louis Building and Savings Association. It was organized under a charter which gave it banking privileges and was a bank from the beginning. In 1869 the name of Bank of Commerce was taken. Still later the St. Louis National Bank was absorbed by the Bank of Commerce, so that this institution may be said to have started in 1857 from two roots.

**Exit the Old State Bank.**

With the establishment of national banks, the legislature of Missouri decided that the time had come for the state to go out of the banking business. In 1866 the state sold its stock in the old State Bank of Missouri. That institution had stood for nineteen years as the financial Gibraltar of St. Louis. It had been anathematized for ultra-conservatism at times by the business men. But its management had been sane and safe. The first president was John Brady Smith. Afterwards Mr. Smith was the state and county collector, and still later the first surveyor of the port of St. Louis when the city attained that importance in foreign trade. With his strict sense of business honor and stern integrity, John Brady Smith was an ideal president for a bank such as the "old State" was intended to be. His appearance, serious, dignified, sturdy, with coat almost invariably buttoned to his chin, personified the man who could be firm when the question involving trust was presented to him. John Brady Smith came of fine stock. His father, William Smith, was from Culpeper county, Virginia. He came to St. Louis with his family in 1810. At that time John Brady Smith, who had been born in Lexington, Kentucky, while his father was in business there, was twelve years old. William Smith, the father, was a director in the first bank started in St. Louis. While holding that position and when he was counted one of the foremost citizens of St. Louis, William Smith fell a sacrifice to the intense feeling aroused in the city by the Benton-Lucas duel. On September 28, 1817, the day following the duel, a group of business men stood in front of the Washington hotel, on Main and Pine streets, discussing the event of the

previous day. William Thorp became angry at an expression of opinion by William Smith, drew his pistol and killed him.

The state's stock in the Bank of Missouri was purchased by a syndicate of capitalists headed by James B. Eads. The bank was made national. Through investments in enterprises like the bridge the capital of the bank became impaired. In 1876 the capital stock was reduced from $3,410,300 to $2,500,000. The next election of directors brought new blood into the board. A committee made an examination of the assets which had suffered in the general shrinkage of securities throughout the country. Upon the committee's report the directors decided to ask the comptroller of the currency for a receiver and to liquidate. The "old State Bank," which had weathered financial stress after stress, which had supplied paper money more highly esteemed than gold, passed out of existence.

Edward Walsh participated in the organization and early conduct of the Bank of Missouri and later of the Merchants' bank. The genius that was his by nature for safe management of financial affairs descended to his son, Julius S. Walsh. The latter was identified as director with the Merchants', the Laclede and the Third National. In 1890 he was the leading spirit in the organization of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, of which he became president. He held the presidency a number of years until he became chairman of the board, relinquishing the executive duties of the presidency to Breckinridge Jones. The characteristics of the Walshes, father and son, have had as much influence as that of any two men upon the development of banking in St. Louis. These financiers combined enterprise and conservatism in the proportions which take into account the varying conditions of business. Through alternate prosperity and panic, from 1837 to 1920, the influence of Edward Walsh and of Julius S. Walsh has been of vital value in the institutions to which it was given.

**A Mysterious Loss.**

Incidents of the early banking in St. Louis would be impossibilities under present methods and conditions. About 1850 a loss of $80,000 to the Bank of Missouri occurred. That difference between the cash account on the books and the specie in the vaults was discovered. When and how the abstraction of this large amount of money took place remained a mystery. An arrest was made and prosecution followed. The result was acquittal. So wanting was foundation for suspicion, as shown by the evidence, that the person charged was given a government position. The theory of the bank management was that the money was taken long before the discovery. A practice of the board was to appoint at frequent intervals a committee to count all of the money in the vaults. This should have detected the loss quickly. It appeared, however, that this counting had taken place under such conditions that the deficit might have existed years without being shown by the report of the counting committee of directors. This counting was a work of some hours. The committee entered the vaults in the morning and counted steadily until noon. Then the vaults were closed and the committee went out to lunch. It was the theory of the board that, during the temporary absence of the committee, the vaults were entered by some one connected with the bank and that enough money was shifted back to the uncounted portion to cover the deficit. The report of the committee

was thus made to agree with the books. How long this had gone on, if indeed it was the case, the board never learned. All explanations rested solely on theory. After the discovery of the loss, some member of the counting committee remained in the vaults at lunch time.

**War Time Banking.**

Lincoln was elected in November, 1860. On the 26th of the month St. Louis banks, with the exception of the Exchange, temporarily suspended payment. They resumed, but the winter was full of financial uncertainty. Southern states were holding conventions and adopting ordinances of secession. In April war was seen to be inevitable. On the 24th of the month the officers of the banks of St. Louis united on a conservative line of action which averted a threatened panic. October of 1861, with the war in progress, was a crucial test of banking in St. Louis. The bank presidents held meetings and endeavored to prevent misunderstandings. On several days in that month there was confusion caused by one St. Louis institution refusing to accept the notes of another. Before the end of the month an agreement was reached whereby the notes of the State, Mechanics, Merchants and Southern banks were accepted by any of these banks. The notes of these four banks constituted about all of the good money in circulation in St. Louis at the time.

In July, 1861, after the battle of Bull Run, the bankers of St. Louis were beginning to realize what war meant to their business. Besides the general conditions of uncertainty which applied to the entire country, they were confronted by the circumstances peculiar to a community on the border line. Here was division of local sentiment, sharply drawn and personally bitter. Here existed complete paralysis of relations with a large part of natural trade territory. Business in many lines was suspended. In directions stimulated by war conditions it was unnatural, fictitious. Through the war period the banks of St. Louis felt their way.

An army officer on an expedition with a Union force sent up the Missouri found in a bank at Boonville $134,000 belonging to the Bank of St. Louis. He seized the specie and brought it to St. Louis. His superiors did not take the responsibility of returning the money to the bank to which it belonged. Those were days when wholesale confiscation of property of sympathizers with the South was being advocated. The loyalty of the bank officers might be called in question. The money remained for some time in the custody of an express company. After conditions in St. Louis became better understood and policies were determined the money was given back to the bank. The incident illustrates only one of many strange occurrences in the banking business of St. Louis in 1861.

**Evolution of the Clearing House.**

The last day of July, 1861, the State commissioner reported under the banking law on the condition of the St. Louis banks. He classified the banks of St. Louis on some basis of relationship to the military authority which was then supreme in St. Louis. In one class the commissioner put the State bank, the Merchants' and the Exchange with circulation outstanding to the amount of

$3,411,595. The banks put in another class were the St. Louis, Mechanics', Southern and Union. These four banks had outstanding, St. Louis, $472,110; Mechanics', $832,625; Southern, $715,070; Union, $1,067,510. In the savings institutions the commissioner found $3,000,000. The circulation of the seven banks was practically the money on which business was being done in St. Louis. The effect of the classification, or, if not the effect, the inference from the classification was that about half of the circulation was in a measure discredited until the attitude of the government toward the four banks was determined.

In this situation, with everybody looking askant at his neighbor and loyalty waiting upon definition and application, the bank presidents of St. Louis worked out their financial salvation. One day the notes of one bank were not accepted by another. Within a week, perhaps, the ruling was reversed. The presidents held meeting after meeting. Bank notes fluctuated in value. The discount was greater on the paper bills of the bank or banks shut out from the acceptance by the other banks. It is easy to see to what these meetings of the bankers of St. Louis in 1861 were leading. The evolution of the clearing house system was in progress.

**William H. Thomson's Redemption Trip.**

Banking was often strenuous business in Missouri during the months just preceding the Civil war. The Sun of Baltimore, Md., in its issue of May 31, 1860, told of this experience:

"William H. Thomson, formerly a clerk for Love, Martin & Company, of this city, but now connected with the Boatmen's Saving Institution of St. Louis, proceeded a few days ago to Liberty, Mo., as the agent of his employers, with $55,500 of the bills of a St. Louis bank having a redemption branch at that place, and demanded their redemption. The cashier proceeded to comply with the demand, but while doing so, one or two persons, supposed to be directors, entered and, inquiring the object of Mr. Thomson's visit, left the room, as the sequel proved, to inform the populace. Very soon quite a company of the "roughs" of Liberty were in front of the bank, calling Mr. T. to come forth. On going out he was informed that his presence was not wanted in that town, and that he would not be permitted to bring away his coin. His reply was that if the bank paid him the coin, as it seemed inclined to do, he would assuredly assert the rights of the institution of which he was agent, and attempt at all hazards to carry with him its property. Returning to the room, he finished counting and boxing the coin, redeposited it, and took a check for the same. The cashier, anxious to save the credit of the bank agreed to hand it out the back window in the evening, and thus elude the mob, who supposed it would not be called for until morning, when the stage was to start. And in this way the mob was misled. Mr. Thomson, securing a fast team and driver, drove forty miles over a prairie after night to a railroad station, and succeeded in safely shipping the coin to the Boatmen's Saving Institution."

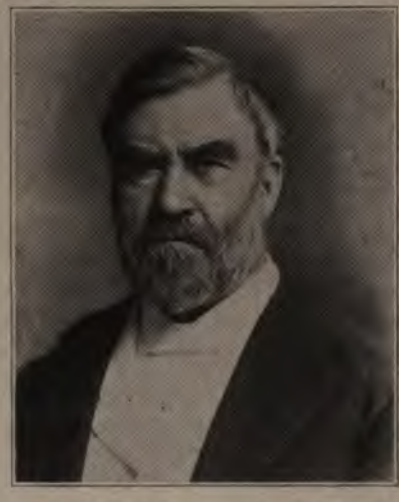
**Boone County's Experience.**

The vicissitudes of banking in Missouri during the Civil war period are seen in the experiences of the Boone County National bank of Columbia. This institution enjoyed the distinction of being the oldest national bank west of Mississippi, and also of being the first in Missouri to make application for membership in the new currency reserve system of the United States. The beginning of this bank was in a small building which Moses Prewitt and James F.

MAIN STREET, ST. LOUIS, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

A type of private banking houses which were numerous in St. Louis before the banking law of 1857.

EDWARD WALSH
Pioneer banker of St. Louis



WILLIAM H. THOMPSON

Banker, treasurer of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company. Described by Vice President Walbridge as "The Hitching Post of the World's Fair."

Parker constructed for a small financial venture in 1856. Two years later, Colonel R. B. Price, president of the Boone County National bank of the later period, took Mr. Parker's place. The banking firm of Prewitt and Price developed into the Columbia branch of the Exchange bank of St. Louis, with $250,000 capital in 1859. Then came the war conditions when the directors told the officers to take the $70,000 in gold and the $150,000 in redeemed currency out of the safe and find a more secure place for it. The gold was put in a tin box and buried in the woods. The paper money was hidden on a farm near Columbia. In the course of a couple of years, the money was brought back to town and the affairs of the branch bank were liquidated. Then the Boone County National bank was organized, with David H. Hickman, president, and R. B. Price as cashier; they had been officers of the old bank. This was the sixty-sixth national bank in the United States, one of the earliest in the entire country to take advantage of the national banking act. But war times in Missouri were too strenuous for a vocation so peaceful as banking. The new institution went out of business in eleven months. Its temporary successor was the Boone County Savings institution which undertook to supply local banking facilities on a safe war basis. It gave notice that deposits would be accepted only at the risk of the depositor. A few days after the organization of the institution, Federal military authorities or guerrillas made a clean sweep of all weapons in the county that could be found. People came to the institution bringing money and jewelry until the safe would hold no more. There was no profit for the institution in the kind of business that was carried on, but accommodation and safe keeping were furnished. When President Hickman died, Colonel Price naturally succeeded to the executive head. When the Boone County Savings bank took the place of the institution of war memory, Colonel Price was made president, and when in 1871, the present Boone County National bank came into existence Colonel Price was made president, to establish a record which placed him, as Missouri reached the centennial period, among the oldest bankers in the United States, doing business in a banking house which for attractive architecture and fittings has, probably, no equal in any other city of Columbia's population.

Pioneer banking took on forms rather extraordinary. The story is told that a customer named Hayden came into the bank at Columbia one day in the early years of Colonel R. B. Price's experience and asked if he could have $10,000 taken care of. The colonel accepted the deposit. A year later Hayden came back, said he had found a piece of land he wanted to buy and asked for his money. The amount was paid and then Hayden asked what the charge was for the care. Colonel Price smilingly said the bank made no charge. Hayden expressed himself as surprised and said he would see that some compensation was made. When "killing time" came the grateful customer brought to the bank a quarter of beef.

**The Panic of 1873.**

Between 1864 and 1873 many banks were started. The close of the war brought back to business life men of ability who were seeking openings. Banking looked easy in the flush times of 1865-70. The city was expanding. The national banking law was encouraging. The state banking law did not safe-

guard as it does now. A few thousand dollars was capital. National banks, savings banks and neighborhood banks multiplied in St. Louis. Paid up capital was not required. The number of banks of all kinds in St. Louis exceeded sixty. Savings banks paid six per cent on deposits. It is to be remembered that the population of the city at that time was about 300,000, but St. Louis was recovering the trade lost during the war and was extending its commercial influence in new directions. Undoubtedly the banks found business profitable until 1873. Then came the panic in the East. St. Louis banks apparently came through the crisis with less trouble than the banks in any other city. Not a bank closed. Clearing house certificates were resorted to for a short time. And then ordinary methods were resumed. But a period of stagnation followed. The strong and older institutions had carried the weaker through the crisis. The clearing house, then five years old, had been of great help to the situation. The four years that followed 1873 were trying. Twenty-five St. Louis banks went out of business. Twenty of them made good their depositors and transferred their business or consolidated. Most of these liquidating banks were of less than $150,000 capital. Some of them were under $75,000. In the summer of 1877 five banks closed in two weeks. They were small institutions, with one exception. Their exit from existence was not even a nine days' wonder. Five out of the twenty-five liquidating banks failed to pay depositors in full. In two cases, both outlying and small banks, criminal mismanagement was revealed. The losses incurred through these five banks were almost insignificant in comparison with the banking business of the city but they fell upon a large number of small depositors—working people and small tradesmen. The effects of these failures were altogether out of proportion to the actual money losses. One of them was the speedy enactment of state banking laws which drove into liquidation several more weak banks and which made impossible the organization of banks of the class that had been so numerous. Another effect was the adoption of rules by the St. Louis clearing house which made it impossible for banks of weak capital to do business. But a third and a far reaching effect was the discouragement which the failures gave to the savings class of depositors. For fifteen years this influence was felt. It gave great impetus to building associations. With wider distribution of wealth in proportion to population than any other American city, St. Louis came to have a surprisingly small number of savings depositors. The thrift of the community showed itself in many small holdings of real estate instead of in savings bank accounts.

**Missouri Banking Made Safe.**

After the panic of 1873, Missouri pioneered the way for other states in the way of laws to insure safe banking. The legislature acted. Bills were passed providing for the publication of bank statements periodically. Banks were compelled to stop doing business when the capital was impaired to the extent of more than twenty-five per cent. At least half of the subscribed capital must be paid up. Dividends were forbidden when capital had been impaired. These and other wholesome provisions went into effect the summer of 1877. Stringent penalties for mismanagement were imposed. Michael H. Phelan was one of the most energetic promoters of this salutary financial legislation.

**Banking Confidence.**

The hold of confidence which a long-lived bank gains on the community was illustrated when a citizen went into the Boatmen's at a time of stringency and offered $140,000 in currency to be used if wanted to meet withdrawals. The offer was declined with thanks. The bank had all of the ready money it needed and did not care to lock up a surplus. In 1847 Captain Thomas Dennis deposited $100 in the Boatmen's. He went to California in 1849 and did not return. In 1874, a Californian, James M. Lane, who had married a daughter of Captain Dennis, came with the proper authority, bringing the original deposit book, and received $2,565, the original deposit and its accumulations.

In these days a proposition to seek in New York subscriptions to the capital stock of a St. Louis bank would occasion surprise. Such a quest was undertaken in 1865. The Merchants bank had been running on a state charter from 1857. At the close of the Civil war it was decided to change to a national bank. The St. Louis financiers who were in the Merchants bank were ambitious to make the capital stock considerably larger. They proposed that the reorganization as a national bank should show a capital of $700,000. That was heavy capitalization for a bank in those days. Subscription books for stock in the Merchants National bank of St. Louis were opened in New York city. The cashier, Mr. James E. Yeatman, was sent to New York to make personal effort to secure subscriptions. He was notably successful. A considerable portion of the $700,000 stock was subscribed in New York.

**The Years of Small Banks.**

Between 1873 and 1877 St. Louis had thirty savings banks in operation. A thrifty population created an encouraging field. Unfortunately these institutions were started under a law which was too liberal. They began on a nominal capital ranging from $100,000 to $200,000. From ten to fifty per cent was paid in, so that some of these banks opened for business with from $10,000 to $50,000 paid in. In eighteen months of the stringency which followed 1873, seven of these savings banks went into liquidation. It is greatly to the credit of the majority of the men who put money into stock of these banks on mistaken ideas of the business that they saw to it depositors recovered their savings, although stockholders lost.

From between sixty and seventy the number of banks in St. Louis dropped in number to fifty. Even then nineteen of the fifty were savings banks. Nine of the nineteen had full paid capital. Liquidation continued. But while it progressed there were banks in St. Louis that continued to pay dividends, and the stock of which was away above par. In the decade between 1870 and 1880, St. Louis learned the lesson that a smaller number of strong banks is better for a community than many banks of less capital.

**The Archbishop's Bank.**

"The archbishop's bank" was a financial institution of St. Louis for many years, beginning about 1850. A German priest, Rev. Father Heim, originated the idea. To accommodate the working people of his parish, Father Heim received their savings on deposit and took care of the money. There was dis-

trust of banks by these people to such a degree as to discourage savings. John Byrne, Jr., looked into the plan of Father Heim and advised Archbishop Kenrick to extend it. An office was opened near the cathedral, books were prepared and accounts were opened. Laboring people, especially those new in the country, flocked in numbers to the bank and made their deposits, on which interest was allowed. The money was loaned to priests and religious orders to build and mortgages were taken, revenues being pledged for the payment of interest on the mortgages and for their final redemption. The city was growing. New parishes were being established. There was demand for the money and the security was good. Archbishop Kenrick conducted his banking business in no perfunctory manner. He was an actual manager. He supervised all of the departments. He looked closely after the balancing of the accounts with an expedition and accuracy which amazed those who had known him previously as a wonderfully successful preacher. For a long time the archbishop held title deeds to property given for new churches, schools and institutions. He was charged with almost countless obligations. He called to his assistance when the business became too burdensome the help of Joseph O'Neil. Gradually the business of the archbishop was wound up in a most satisfactory manner and modern methods took the place of "the archbishop's bank."

Joseph O'Neil, an Irish boy of twelve, came to this country with his widowed mother and several brothers and sisters. The family reached St. Louis in 1839. Joseph O'Neil had learned the carpenter's trade. He built houses. When the State Savings Association was organized in 1857 he had accumulated a little money which he invested in the bank, becoming a director. That was the beginning of his career as a banker. Archbishop Kenrick had acquired a great deal of church property but much of it was unproductive and in need of attention. Mr. O'Neil was chosen to take charge of the property. He succeeded so well that he was encouraged by the archbishop to organize a bank. The Central Savings was the result. After a time Mr. O'Neil differed with the other directors on the management. He opposed certain policies which he believed to be unwise. Withdrawing from the Central he founded the Citizens' Savings. His judgment was vindicated when the Central went into the hands of an assignee by reason of bad investments. The Citizens outlived nearly all of the other savings banks. Mr. O'Neil conducted it until 1891, when he retired from active business. Subsequently the bank went into liquidation and paid every dollar of deposits. Mr. O'Neil was a man of extraordinary sentiment. He was an admirer of Burns, and Moore and Mrs. Hemans to such an extent that he could recite poem after poem, by the hour. A nephew of Joseph O'Neil was Frank R. O'Neil, the newspaper man.

About the middle of the seventies, Missouri began the agitation of novel currency reform. Previously the state had been on an almost universal half-dime basis. Pennies were seldom seen save in the making of change when stamps were purchased at the post offices. All daily papers were five cents until the Scripps family started the St. Louis Chronicle with Stanley Waterloo, Frank R. O'Neil and William Vincent Byars as the staff. The stores made no change less than five cents. The corner fruit stand knew nothing less than the nickel. The Chronicle was intended for a one-cent paper. To push it the management

Tutt was a student of finance. In his busy life as a merchant he had read and thought much on monetary theories. He wrote forcibly upon financial topics. Mr. Franciscus' bent was in the direction of practical details of banking. He was masterly. He never forgot that periods of depression and stagnation were inevitable in the financial world. Mr. Lionberger had strong inclination toward public and semi-public enterprises. He gave freely of his time and energy to matters for the common good. He was a moving spirit in the Board of Trade of St. Louis, before the time of the Business Men's League and represented the local organization in the National Board of Trade. He participated in the early railroad enterprises. He made the remarkable record of financial relationship with eighty corporations in most of which he served as a director.

**Day of the Bank Note Reporter.**

At a meeting of Missouri bankers some years ago, Clement Chase, a well known member of that vocation told this to illustrate the operation of the wildcat currency days:

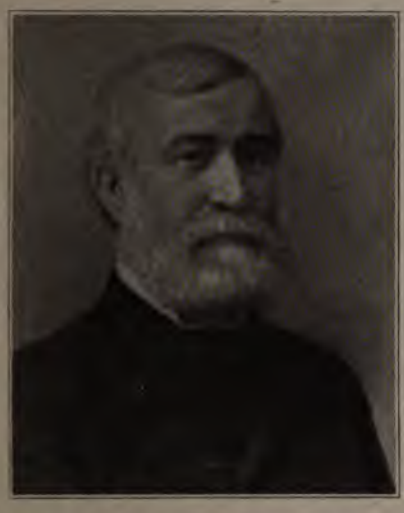
"A man sold a lot of cattle and received for them $1,000 in the kind of money commonly used in the early part of the nineteenth century. This cattleman had at home two books, upon which he depended to settle his problems for this world and the world to come. One of these books was his bank note reporter and the other was the Bible. When he got back home with his money, he reached for the reporter and found, to his chargin, that $200 of the money that he had received for his cattle was on banks that had gone out of existence. There was nothing in the world behind it, and it was not worth the paper it was printed on. While considering this emergency he turned to his Bible and the first thing that met his eye was this: 'Thou shalt owe no man.' So he took that wildcat $200 and settled a bill he owed to a party who had not been reading up in the bank reporter."

Leonard Matthews added his vivid recollection of the wild cat days:

"I was in the drug business in 'wildcat' days, and I tell you it was lively scratching to keep up with the state bank issues. The discounts ran all the way from one to twenty-five cents, and as I look back upon the trash I wonder how we got along at all. Why, we had to keep two or three different accounts at one bank, one of gold and one of currency, one of Illinois currency and another of Missouri currency. It was a great time for private bankers or shaving shops. Some merchants went into the shaving business, too. Old Henry Blakesly made a mint of money at it. He bought the depreciated money at big discounts all over the West, and sold it at the banks on big profit. Old George Smith, of Chicago, was a famous man in the business. Missouri state bank money stood better than most of the stuff, but it was very badly used by counterfeiters. When there were so many banks of issue it was an easy matter to make counterfeits."

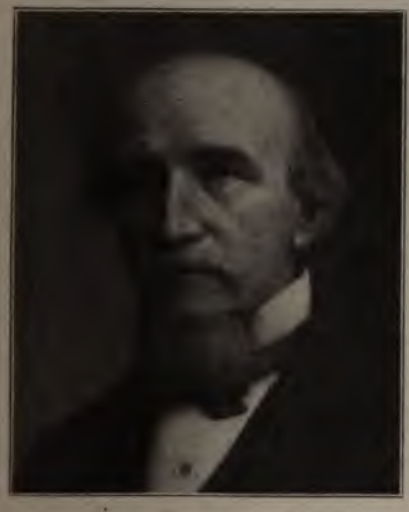
J. M. Thompson told his experience with the state bank notes:

"I handled large amounts of the so-called money in the years preceding the war. It was the most villainous stuff that ever cursed any civilized country. The West was a greater sufferer than eastern states. The bank notes detector of my worthy namesake was the pocket companion of every business man. When received, this alleged money was rushed to our bankers without delay for deposit, in fear of further depreciation or that some of the banks would break before we could get there. We then kept three different accounts with our bankers, namely: 'coin,' 'bankable funds,' and 'currency,' all three kinds having a different value. The first was chiefly gold, for the country had little silver then; the second, bankable funds, was composed of notes of the old State Bank of Missouri,



JOHN R. LIONBERGER

THOMAS E. TUTT



CHARLES PARSONS

JOSEPH O'NEIL

the State Bank of Indiana, and perhaps the State Bank of Ohio, these three being the best of all the western banks. 'Currency' comprised all the rest, rag-tag and bobtail. This latter was the great bulk of the money in circulation in St. Louis, and it was from ten to thirty per cent discount provided the banks didn't break. Invariably this was the money the wage-earner got for his toil. It was the worst currency system imaginable. Were this country to consent to give up our present currency system, the best on earth, and go back to that abomination, the world would look with amazement upon so stupendous an act of folly."

**State Bank Notes Tax in 1892.**

St. Louis bankers recalled vividly, in 1892, the days of state bank notes. That year the democratic platform, framed at Chicago when Cleveland was nominated against Harrison, contained a plank, "We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on state bank issues be repealed." Charles H. Jones was editor of the St. Louis Republic at that time and was credited with having had a great deal to do with the framing of the platform. He, however, repudiated any connection with this currency plank. The tax referred to was imposed by a republican Congress in 1865-66 with the avowed purpose of putting a stop to the issue of state bank notes and strengthening the national banking system. State bank currency was held responsible for the panic of 1857 which led to a reorganization of the banking system of Missouri. Rufus J. Lackland, president of the Boatmen's bank, was outspoken in his opinion:

"The democratic party made the biggest mistake of its life in putting in that plank in its platform at Chicago. I told Jones, of the Republic so, and asked him how it happened to be done. He said he had nothing to do with the financial part of the platform and that the plank was the work of Russell, of Massachusetts. Why, sir, this thing touches every man's pocket and particularly the pockets of the working men. When he gets a dollar bill nowadays he never even looks to see the name of the bank which issues it. He knows he has got a good dollar and that he can keep it over Sunday. He can put it in his pocket or the safe deposit box, or give it to his wife, and feel satisfied all the time that it is good. I got a letter from the Forum the other day, asking me what I thought of that plank in the democratic platform. I answered that it meant state bank money. I said, also, that the two great compensations for our Civil war were the destruction of slavery and the abolition of the state bank money system. I was all through those days of wild-cat money. Part of the time I was steamboating on the Mississippi river. Why, sir, you couldn't buy wood on one side of the river with the money of the state on the other side, except at a ruinous discount. It was so all over the South and West. Every honest merchant, banker and manufacturer lost money by the state bank paper. The private bankers, money shavers and sharks of all kinds were the only ones who profited by it."

When Lon V. Stephens, banker and son of a banker, was state treasurer during the panic of 1893, he presented this view of Missouri financially and cited history for his conclusions:

"My idea is that this is a sentimental panic. There is no reason for it. The conditions do not warrant it. The beginning of it was in the East. A lot of shrewd financiers and politicians combined and started the squeeze, I believe, for the purpose of bringing the South and West to terms on the silver issue. The movement got beyond their control and produced a panic. The fact is, the day of financial control has departed from the East. We don't look to the East any longer even for our money. The reserves are now kept in the Western cities. We are independent of Eastern financiers. Missouri is very strong.

Our banks have at least 30 per cent cash reserve. That goes to show that there is no reason for any trouble. In looking up material for the article I read in the Congress on 'Finance,' I was impressed with the abundant and good material Missouri offers for the history of banking. A valuable book could be written on banking in our state. The field seems to have been overlooked. Even John J. Knox, the former comptroller, in all he has written on financial questions seems to have passed by Missouri. There is strong hard-money sentiment in the state. And a good deal of it is due to the influence of Thomas H. Benton. His views were so pronounced that he was known as 'Old Bullion.' Mr. Benton lived till about the time of the war, and was a power in the state along in the '30s and '40s. Away back in 1819, when he was a young man, he was a stockholder in one of the first banks started in Missouri. The directors were carried away with the tide of speculation and issued notes. Benton was opposed to inflation, and with the conservative minority fought the policy of the directors. The bank was wrecked and Benton was burnt. There isn't much doubt that his early personal experience made him very emphatic in his hard money views, and that his persistent advocacy of them exercised great influence on the state and still impresses our people. I am satisfied that the majority of Missourians is not in favor of a repeal of the 10 per-cent tax on state bank issues, and that the West does not want state bank notes. Yet we never suffered as other states did from 'wild-cat' money, so-called. Our bank notes were never below par, and usually commanded a premium even when the notes of Illinois, Indiana and some other states were greatly depreciated."

**Missouri Weathered Three Panics.**

Missouri bankers of state-wide acquaintance like John R. Lionberger, Thomas E. Tutt, William H. Lee, Samuel W. Hoffman, William H. Thompson, Samuel W. Copp, regardless of party, joined in the condemnation of the proposition to remove the tax on state bank notes. Democratic party leaders ignored or openly repudiated the plank refusing to permit it to be made a live issue in the campaign. Cleveland made it plain where he stood on the subject of currency and was elected.

The experience of 1873-80 turned out greatly to the advantage of the banks of St. Louis. In 1882 there were twenty-four banks with $13,492,964 capital and surplus, and with $41,729,011 deposits. In 1898 there were twenty-one banks with $23,398,482 capital and surplus and with $92,683,370 deposits. In sixteen years capital had increased seventy-six per cent and deposits over one hundred per cent. Moreover the banks had passed through another panic and period of depression,—1893. The experience of 1873 enabled the banks of St. Louis to pass through the panic of 1893 with the minimum of embarrassment. The two lessons well learned prepared the banks of St. Louis to control the situation in 1907 with less inconvenience and loss to themselves and the city than, perhaps, was experienced in any other money center, capital and population considered. When William H. Lee, the president of the clearing house, was asked for the secret of the happy escape of financial St. Louis from serious damage in the storm of 1907 he replied: "There is no secret. We came through without failures. That is the whole story."

**Missouri's Most Recent Forward Step.**

The development of banking in Missouri took a long step forward in the summer of 1919. Three banks, among the foremost of St. Louis, the Mechanics-American, the Third National, both having their beginnings in the state banking law of 1857, and the St. Louis Union bank were consolidated. The

president of the Third National, F. O. Watts, became the president of the consolidation, and the president of the Mechanics-American, Walker Hill, and of the St. Louis Union, N. A. McMillan, became associated with Mr. Watts as executive managers. The First National, as the new institution was christened, started with capital, surplus and undivided profits of $15,000,000; with deposits of $121,469,446; and total resources of more than $156,000,000. This forward step in Missouri banking was in line with the world financial evolution. It meant that St. Louis was to meet the opportunities for foreign trade coming to her as the result of the World war. Rather interesting was the fact that these heads of the First National were from the South originally, Mr. Hill from Virginia, Mr. McMillan from Texas and Mr. Watts from Tennessee. Two of them, Mr. Hill and Mr. Watts, had been presidents of the American Bankers Association. Two other Missourians have had this high distinction—E. F. Swinney of Kansas City and Richard H. Hawes of St. Louis.

Contemporaneous with the bank consolidation was the organization of the Mississippi Valley Trading and Navigation company, capitalized for $5,000,000, having for its president F. Ernest Cramer, chairman of the bureau of foreign trade of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

## CHAPTER XLII

## STATE ADMINISTRATION

*Missouri's Governors—First General Assembly—Low Cost of Living at St. Charles—McNair's Distinctions—A Legislator's Shipwreck—Author of the First Book—Why Lafayette was not Officially Welcomed—Direct Election of President Recommended—Jefferson City Preferred to Cote Sans Dessein—The first State House—Later Capitols—Some Pioneer Legislation—The Day of Lottery Charters—When Missouri Led in Moral Reform—The Plank Road Myth Exposed—Jackson's Veto a State Issue—Eighth of January Observance—Imprisonment for Debt—The Shortest Act—The Pillory—Governor Reynolds' Suicide—The Atchison Appointment—Hards and Softs in 1844—"Hoss Allen"—A Governor's Sarcastic Expense Account—Deadlock on Senatorship—Polk's Brief Term—Hancock Johnson the Successor by a Parliamentary Coup—Eccentric Bob Stewart—Extraordinary Exercise of Clemency—First Thanksgiving Proclamation—Woman Suffrage Proposed in 1867—Fletcher's Ignored Opportunity to Profit—B. Gratz Brown on Prison Reform—Governor Hardin's Pardon Record—Political Prophecy by Waldo P. Johnson—Rapid Healing of War Differences—Hatch, Cockrell and Vest, as Candidates—State Finances—Missouri Bonds—School Fund Certificates—Diplomacy of Francis—Use of the Seal in Missouri—Tax on Bachelors—Champ Clark on Benton's First Election—Ratification of the Prohibition and Equal Suffrage Amendments—Missouri Women's Long Fight for Political Enfranchisement.*

Missouri is a grand state and deserves to be grandly governed.—*B. Gratz Brown.*

Missouri has had thirty-four governors in one hundred years. Terms have varied widely. John Miller held office seven years, a longer period than any other governor has served. He was re-elected, the only governor to have that distinction. The constitution of 1875 lengthened the term to four years without the privilege of re-election. Miller was the fourth governor, counting Williams, who was acting governor a few months after the death of Governor Bates. He was in the war of 1812. According to Walter Williams, John Miller was the young officer who said when Gen. William Henry Harrison asked him if he could take a British battery, "I'll try, sir." The incident occurred in connection with the Fort Meigs affair. Some historians credit the saying to another officer named Miller and give the occasion as the battle of Lundy's Lane several months later.

The first general assembly was composed of fourteen senators and forty-three representatives. Most of them wore home-spun clothing and home-made shoes. Several came in buckskin leggings and fringed hunting shirts with Indian moccasins. Very few of these pioneer lawmakers had wool hats. The prevailing fashion for head covering in Missouri, even with the public men, was the fur cap made of wildcat or coon.

Board was reasonable in St. Charles. Most of the members found accommodations in private houses. Those who went to the taverns were charged not more than $2.50 a week for the best. At that time market prices in St. Charles were: Pork 1½ cents a pound; venison hams, 25 cents each; eggs, 5 cents a dozen; honey, 25 cents a gallon; coffee, $1 a pound.

Governor McNair, Lieutenant Governor Ashley and many members of the legislature rode horseback to the new capital, St. Charles. In the front of the building which was turned into a capitol was a large opening; in the rear was a lot where the horses were hitched when the legislators arrived. Some who remained in St. Charles for the session turned over their horses to Archibald Watson, who had a farm at the "Point," where the Missouri and Mississippi rivers came together some miles below the capitol. According to the tradition Governor McNair was the only state officer who wore a cloth coat cut swallow tail, the most fashionable style of 1821. The governor was also distinguished by a beaver hat.

At the close of that session of the legislature in the temporary capitol at St. Charles some one took a black coal from the fireplace and scrawled upon the whitewashed wall back of the speaker's chair: "Lord, forgive them. They know not what they do."

**A Shipwrecked Statesman.**

On his way to attend a session of the legislature, Representative Palmer, or Parmer as his name was sometimes spelled, loaded a small keel boat with salt and other products of the Grand river country, expecting to float down the Missouri river to St. Charles. He was accompanied by his boy and a slave. The boy stood at the prow to give warning of snags and sawyers. The negro was the crew. The legislator occupied the stern, to do the steering. He had an old newspaper and by way of preparation for his public duties was slowly spelling out the sentences. The newspaper engaged his attention. Palmer held the tiller of the boat between his legs. Suddenly the boy called out, "A sawyer ahead." This meant a tree which had fallen into the river and lay with its roots on the bottom and its branches showing just above the surface, rising and falling with the eddying current.

"Wait a minute," said Palmer, "until I spell out this other crack jaw. Its longer than the barrel of my rifle gun." Just then the boat struck the bobbing sawyer and turned bottom upwards. The slave swam ashore. Palmer and his son climbed on the keel of the boat, took off their clothes to be ready to swim if it became necessary, and floated down with the current until they came to Franklin. There they landed and borrowed some clothes. Palmer was treated with the consideration that was due a member of the legislature. The lady at whose house he was received expressed sympathy and, while Palmer was drinking the coffee she offered, asked if the little boy had not been badly frightened.

"No, madam," said Palmer, "I am a real ring-tail painter, and I feed all my children on rattlesnake hearts fried in painter's grease."

Then he went on with the narrative of his recent experience.

"There ar a heap of people that I would not wear crape for if they was to die before their time. But your husband, marm, I allow, has a soul as big as a

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

MARIE P. LE DUC

His vote in the first general assembly of Missouri broke the deadlock and elected Thomas H. Benton to the United States Senate.

MISSOURI HOTEL

Where first legislature sat. Main and Morgan streets, St. Louis

THE TEMPORARY CAPITOL

At St. Charles. Sessions of the legislature were held in this building from 1821 to 1826.

court house. When we war floating bottom uppermost past Hardeman's garden, we raised a yell, like a whole team of bar dogs on a wildcat's trail. And the black rascals on shore, instead of coming to our assistance, only grinned up the nearest saplin, as if a buck possum had treed.

"The river, marm," continued Mr. Palmer, "I find, is no respecter of persons; for I was cast away with as little ceremony, notwithstanding I am the people's representative, as a stray bar dog would be turned out of a city church. And upon this principle of democratic liberty and equality it was that I told McNair when I collared him and backed him out of the gathering at a shooting match where he was likely to spoil the prettiest sort of a fight. 'A governor,' said I, 'is no more in a fight than any other man.' I slept with Mac once, just to have it to say to my friends on Fishing river that I had slept with the governor."

**Executives in Quick Succession.**

In 1824 McNair declined to run for a second term. The candidates were Frederick Bates and William Ashley. Bates had been secretary and several times acting governor in territorial days. Ashley had made a fortune and a fine reputation as the successful head of the Rocky Mountain Fur company. The contest was spirited, the old residents supporting Bates while the newcomers rallied to the bold fur trader. Bates won but he did not live out his term. He died of pleurisy in August, 1825. It was during Bates' term that Lafayette visited St. Louis.

Frederick Bates lived on an estate of 1,000 acres in St. Louis county near what is now Chesterfield. His place was known as Thornhill. The mansion had columns in front and a double portico. After the custom of the Virginians, a family burial plot was set apart on the estate and there Governor Bates was buried. Rader says, in his School History of Missouri, that Governor Bates was almost continuously in office from the time he came to Missouri about 1806. He enjoyed the confidence of President Thomas Jefferson to an unusual degree. Previous to his coming to St. Louis, he had been the first judge, by Presidential appointment, for the territory of Michigan. Rader credited Bates with the authorship of the first book printed west of the Mississippi river.—"Laws of the Territory of Louisiana."

**Why the Governor Did Not Welcome Lafayette.**

The Illinois legislature appropriated $6,475 to entertain Lafayette. The Missouri legislature made no appropriation. Governor Bates, to emphasize the private form of entertainment of the guest, absented himself and made this explanation in writing, the original copy of which is preserved by the Missouri Historical Society in the "Bates Collection Papers":

During the session of the Legislature I informed the two houses of the intention of Genl. Lafayette to visit the state in the month of April or May, that they might if they thought proper cause him to be received as the guest of the nation.—They made no order; they gave to me no instructions.—My judgment entirely coincided with theirs —They as well as myself, entertain for the General the most perfect respect—but truly he has had already sufficient evidences of the cordiality and good will which a free and enlightened People are always disposed to show to their friends—and of that homage

too, which ought to be reserved to the illustrious assertor of the equal rights of mankind.—His devotions at the holy sepulchre of Washington—his visits to our renowned ex-President.—his transits through our Atlantic cities—his laborious attendances in the halls of our national Legislature with sundry et ceteras ought one would think be sufficient to exhaust the patience of the Genl.—Spare him I pray you—the subject is sufficiently understood & sufficiently cited——. there is no personal sacrifice we would not make on this occasion—but enough of pageantry—something is due to principle—and I am afraid that amidst this ostentation and waste, the wounds of our revolution, etc., which yet survive, many of them in poverty or but lately relieved might cause these veterans to make comparisons very little to the credit of the nation. As an individual it would be altogether immaterial whether I kissed the hem of his garment or not— As the Governor of the State I shall not wait on him since the Genl. Assembly had not thought proper to give the first impulse. It has however been suggested that he may personally take it into his head to search me up, either at St. Chs, or on the hills of Bon Homme. He would find me at neither place,—for I have long since promised my family to visit some friends about that time.

**Miller's Record Breaking Service.**

The third governor of Missouri was a one-legged man. He was making boots in Columbia when he ran for the state senate and was elected. His name was Abraham J. Williams. Upon the organization of the senate Williams was chosen president pro tem. The lieutenant-governor, who was Benjamin H. Reeves of Howard county, resigned. That made Williams the acting lieutenant-governor. Upon the death of Governor Bates the one-legged boot maker became the governor. He filled the office only five months, until the special election placed John Miller of Cooper in the chair. Four candidates offered themselves for the vacancy. The campaign was made largely on personal popularity. Party lines were not drawn. The result was the election of John Miller who received 2,380 votes. William C. Carr received 1,470 and David Todd 1,113. In 1828 Governor Miller was a candidate for reelection and had no opposition. There was a lively contest, however, for lieutenant governor with Samuel Perry, Felix Scott, Alexander Stewart, Daniel Dunklin and Alexander Buckner as candidates. Dunklin won.

Miller held the executive office for seven years. Subsequently he was sent to Congress from Missouri serving six years. In early life Miller was a newspaper editor in Steubenville, Ohio. During the war of 1812 he was a colonel in the United States army. He was a native of Albemarle county, Virginia, and was reared on a farm.

**Presidential Election by Direct Vote Suggested.**

With the recollection of Congressman John Scott's course in the last Presidential election fresh in mind, Governor Miller sent a message to the legislature in 1828, proposing that Missouri take the initiative in the movement to amend the Constitution of the United States. He urged that the will of the people should control in national elections; that it should be made impossible for that will to be thwarted as it had been by the election in the House of Representatives at Washington: "It is therefore your prerogative, as guardians of the public liberty, to urge on Congress and the legislatures of our sister states, such amendments to the Constitution of the United States on this subject, as you in your wisdom may deem requisite and proper; providing for a uniform mode of electing the

President and Vice-President by the people, and prevent in any event an election being made by the House of Representatives."

The governor of Missouri had the power to appoint the secretary as well as other executive officers. When Governor Miller was elected to fill out the term of Frederick Bates he gave Spencer Pettis the appointment of secretary, although the young Virginian had resided in St. Louis only about two years. Pettis made out and forwarded commissions to justices, county judges and some other officials. When he sent a commission he wrote a letter in which he said, "Please say that I am a candidate for Congress." This canvass by letter was effective. In 1828 Pettis ran as a democrat and was elected, defeating Edward Bates.

**The State Capital Located.**

Jefferson City was not made the capital without opposition. When the legislature appointed commissioners to locate the capital permanently it made the first place of meeting Cote Sans Dessein in Callaway county. The commissioners were John Thornton of Howard, Robert G. Watson of New Madrid, John B. White of Pike, James Logan of Wayne, and Jesse B. Boon of Montgomery. Boon died and Daniel M. Boone of Gasconade took his place. Angus L. Langham came forward with an offer of a large tract of land if the commissioners would make Cote Sans Dessein the capital. Two Boone county men, Peter Bass and William Leintz, laid out a town site they called Marion and offered 450 acres of land to the state to have the capital located there. The commissioners rejected these offers and selected Jefferson City. Langham endeavored to cast a cloud on the title to the Jefferson City site by producing documents which seemed to show that the land there was covered by a New Madrid certificate given to John B. Delisle. These New Madrid certificates were issued to people whose holdings in that section had been made valueless by the earthquake. Nevertheless the commissioners went ahead and Jefferson City became the location. In later years litigation over the question of titles in Jefferson City brought out evidence to show that John B. Delisle's certificate had been obtained without his knowledge and was illegal. The supreme court sustained the state's title to the Jefferson City reservation.

**The First Capitol at Jefferson.**

A very plain brick building two stories high was the first capitol at Jefferson City. It was called the state house. The legislature met there for the first time in November, 1826. A representative-elect presented himself in the senate chamber on the second story and offered his credentials to the secretary of the senate. The latter handed back the papers saying:

"This belongs to the lower house."

"Where is that?" asked the representative.

"Down stairs."

"Why, I saw those fellows there but I thought that was a grocery."

The capitol of Missouri, in which the representative went astray, was a two-story brick structure. It stood on the hill east of the present capitol, about where the governor's mansion is. The legislature appropriated less than $20,000 for this building. The plan called for accommodations suitable for the governor's

residence and for two large rooms, one upstairs, the other downstairs, to house the two branches of the legislature. Each of these rooms was to have a large fireplace. A limit of $25,000 in cost was placed. A couple of years after this capitol was occupied, the legislature provided for a kitchen with a smokehouse at one end, and a stable of log or frame, to cost not more than $500. This capitol did not serve the new and growing state quite a decade. In 1837, capitol and contents went up in flame. The contents included records and valuable historical material. Not so much as a picture or sketch of this capitol was left. Shortly before the fire, the legislature had taken preliminary steps looking to a new capitol, to be located on Capitol Hill, the site of the present capitol, pronounced by Bayard Taylor the finest site for a capitol possessed by any state in the Union.

While the new capitol was building, with a dome 130 feet high, with columns of Callaway stone, to cost $350,000, the general assembly met in the courthouse of Cole county. When the capitol was finished in 1840 it was pronounced one of the three finest public buildings in the United States from the architectural point of view. Missouri got along very well with this capitol until 1887 when the dome was made higher and the building enlarged at a cost of $220,000. The legislature provided that the enlarged capitol must be made fireproof, but in 1911 it burned, with more loss of records. The legislature found temporary quarters in the new supreme court building and in St. Peter's hall, until a cheap structure of wood and stucco could be constructed at a cost of $51,000. And then a commission was put to work on a capitol which should be commensurate with Missouri's standing in the Union, with the nearly 4,000,000 population, and with the approaching centennial of statehood. The commission, under the supervision of which the capitol was completed at a cost of $3,500,000, was composed of E. W. Stephens, A. A. Speer, Thomas Lacoff and J. C. A. Hiller. The new capitol was occupied by state officers in 1918 and by the legislature in 1919.

**Early Legislation.**

At the earlier sessions of the legislature many laws were passed to encourage the "killing of wolves, panthers and wild cats." As early as 1837 the legislature was attempting to regulate the tolls at the grist mills. This had the effect to discourage the building of mills and the use of water power. There was such vigorous protesting that Wetmore's Gazetteer predicted: "It is, however, believed that law givers will cease to interfere with the contracts that millers and their customers may choose to make, and allow the former to fix the rate of toll according to the interest of the contracting parties. Notwithstanding the prohibitory enactments now in force, it is the practice of some millers to take one bushel of grain for grinding two; but the bag is generally sent home with the grist. Competition in milling will eventually make the terms of grinding easier to the farmers—but legislation never."

**Lottery Charters.**

The present generation can hardly realize that there was a time when the legislature of Missouri granted lottery charters. The motive was to raise money for some public purpose. About 1831 the legislature authorized a lottery to raise $10,000 toward the building of a hospital in St. Louis for the Sisters of Charity.

The commissioner provided for in the act sold the privilege of conducting the lottery to James S. Thomas. Charges were made in the newspapers that the management of this lottery meant great gains to the purchaser and comparatively small revenue for the hospital. A committee was chosen to look into the methods Mr. Thomas proposed to adopt. On the committee were such well known citizens as N. H. Ridgely, David H. Hill, Geo. K. McGunnegle, D. Hough, Augustus Kerr, John F. Darby and Bernard Pratte, Sr. They made an elaborate report, the conclusion of which was:

"Your committee then, after an attentive review of the subject, are of the opinion that the charge made against this scheme, that it affords the manager an opportunity of realizing a great and unusual proportion of profit, is not sustained."

Sentiment against the grant of lottery privileges by the legislature grew so strong that the passage of such acts ceased. But lotteries continued to operate openly under old charters. The business was gradually consolidated into what was known as the Missouri State lottery. This institution had many offices. Drawings were held regularly in a public hall. The winning numbers were advertised in St. Louis papers.

The business was based on an old act of the legislature authorizing a lottery to build a plank road from the town of New Franklin to the Missouri river. New Franklin was near Boonville. It had passed almost out of existence. The plank road, a considerable part of it, had slipped into the Missouri river. The Missouri Republican opened war on the Missouri State lottery. It exposed the plank-road myth. It kept up the opposition until by legal and by legislative action the end came not only to the Missouri State lottery but to all open lottery business in this state. The fight was not one of days or weeks, but of years. It required the making of public sentiment, for in 1871 not only lottery offices were conducted as openly as cigar stores are now, but faro and keno houses occupied the prominent locations on business streets and were places of common resort.

The immediate occasion for the movement against lotteries was the passage by the legislature of a bill authorizing a lottery to build an opera house in St. Louis. This measure actually became a law. Offices were opened on Third street. Names of very respectable citizens were associated with the movement. The Missouri Republican had endeavored to defeat the legislation. Failing at Jefferson City, the paper opened war on the lottery principle, showed how in practice these charters had been misapplied to enrich individuals, and never relaxed the fighting until all lottery offices were closed.

Perhaps there has not been in all the history of Missouri a moral movement of such magnitude and complete success as this one against lotteries. It led up to the supplemental movement successfully conducted by Charles P. Johnson in the legislature against gambling. This moral reform was made effective in Missouri several years before the general government at Washington took up the movement and made it national by barring all lottery business from the United States mails.

**Jackson's Veto the Issue.**

There were three candidates for governor to succeed Miller at the August election of 1832. The issue was President Jackson and his veto of the United

States bank. The St. Louis branch of the bank, under the management of John O'Fallon, had given such satisfaction that anti-Jackson sentiment was strong in the city. Daniel Dunklin, the lieutenant-governor, ran as the Jackson candidate. The country vote saved him. Dunklin was elected by 9,121 votes; John Bull, the anti-Jackson candidate, receiving 8,035, and S. C. Davis 386.

Two months before the end of his term Governor Dunklin resigned to become surveyor general of the United States. Lieutenant-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs was acting governor until November when he became governor by virtue of the August election. In the days of Andrew Jackson it was the custom of Missouri democrats to meet in Jefferson City on the 8th of January, the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, and make their nominations for the state ticket to be voted in the August following. Boggs was the Jackson candidate. He was opposed by William H. Ashley. The campaign was a close one, resulting Boggs, 14,315; Ashley, 13,057.

**Suicide of Governor Reynolds.**

The state election of 1840 was squarely between democrats and whigs. Thomas Reynolds was elected governor by a majority of 7,413 over John B. Clark. The vote was: Reynolds, 29,625; Clark, 22,212. In his inaugural message to the legislature Governor Reynolds denounced abolitionists. He recommended life imprisonment in the penitentiary for those persons who seduce slaves from their masters and aid them in escaping. Governor Reynolds was of Kentucky birth. He had been judge of the supreme court of Illinois before he came to Missouri. In this state he was a member of the legislature and a judge before his election as governor. On the 9th of February, 1844, he committed suicide at Jefferson City, shooting himself in the head. He gave as the reason the violence of political enemies. He had been in poor health. Lieutenant-Governor M. M. Marmaduke was governor the remainder of the term.

The shortest act in the history of Missouri legislation was written by Governor Reynolds. It consisted of six words: "Imprisonment for debt is hereby abolished."

**Imprisonment for Debt.**

Before the Old Settlers' Association of Boone county, Judge Lewis M. Switzler told the story of Missouri's experiment with imprisonment for debt. The law enacted by the Missouri legislature was borrowed from England. It had been in operation, however, in territorial times. The law of 1824 imposed imprisonment for debt but it made this lighter on the fellow that was hard up by providing that county courts must establish prison bounds at the county seats. These bounds embraced a district that could not exceed sixty rods square around the jails, or gaols as they were called after the British vernacular. The prisoner for debt was permitted to give a bond with two securities and on this bond he could roam outside of the jail but must keep within the bounds on penalty of having his bond forfeited.

"If the debtor violated the bond and went beyond the prison bounds the creditor could sue on the bond and secure judgment against the debtor, and he or they or either one of them could be arrested and imprisoned. Sometimes boundary lines necessarily ran through

residences; and convicted debtors residing in such residences, and under bonds, though privileged to go into parts of their houses, could not visit other parts of the same without crossing the boundary. This was actually the case in Columbia with a debtor named Crews, who resided in an old brick residence. He could go with impunity into the eastern part of his house, but dared not go into the western part of the same. Neither sex nor condition shielded the debtor from the rigorous operation of the law of imprisonment for debt. If judgment for debt were rendered against him, there came on demand, first, the execution, which if not satisfied by payment was followed by the capias for the debtor's arrest and imprisonment. The law contained no provision for the relaxation of its severities under any circumstances. Neither the honesty nor honor of the debtor, nor the moral blamelessness of his failure, availed to save him. Serious sickness of himself or his family, or even the death of some member of his family, or the sufferings of his family for the necessaries of life, did not avail to privilege him to leave prison, or to cross the dead line. While the convicted debtors who had given the necessary bonds had the freedom of the bounds in the day time, they were locked in the jail at night.

"In 1845, the legislature passed an act abolishing imprisonment for debt; and thus ended one of the oldest and to us it seems one of the most cruel of laws."

"The jailer's daughter" was a short lived method of punishment in Missouri, —shorter than imprisonment for debt. It was in operation when the state entered the Union. In St. Louis the jailer's daughter was a structure about ten feet square which stood in the northwest corner of the courthouse square, near the present location of the weather service booth. It consisted mainly of a frame of stocks in which the arms and legs of the prisoners were fastened for the term of sentence for misdemeanor. The stocks were open to full public view. The posture enforced by the jailer's daughter was not specially uncomfortable but pitiless publicity made the punishment fit the crime. If this wasn't entirely sufficient, in the judgment of the court, whipping was added to the confinement in the stocks. The jailer's daughter disappeared in Missouri after a few years of trial.

While St. Louis had the stocks, some parts of the state did not make this provision, the pillory punishment being a rare imposition. Benton county was without this method of punishment. When a man was convicted of perjury, and given an hour in the pillory, the sheriff met the situation by taking the convicted man to a horserack and tying him there with a bridle rein.

Slander was a cause of action in Missouri one hundred years ago, but the punishment seems to have been too mild to fit the crime. In Book A, of the records of deeds of Cole county, appears this entry:

Personally appeared before me, a justice of the peace of the county of Cole, David Anderson, and acknowledged that he, the said David Anderson, did willingly and without cause report and tell a lye on the wife of Timothy Heral, the daughter of William Wade, which also has been proven on oath before me and others.

JOHN HENSLEY, J. P.

Test.
Samuel Byrneside,
Henry Tucker,
Jason Harrison, clerk.

William F. Switzler connected the suicide of Governor Reynolds with the selection of David R. Atchison to be United States senator in place of Lewis F. Linn, who died at Ste. Genevieve, October 3, 1843. He said:

"The governor appointed Atchison, which was unexpected and opposed by many of the governor's political friends. In fact, it was roundly denounced, and the governor severely criticised for making it. Although a man of large experience in official life and of recognized ability, Governor Reynolds was acutely sensitive to public criticism, and therefore possessed the weakness of being rendered very unhappy by it. It was the cankering plague spot of his existence. When therefore he committed suicide by a rifle shot in his office on February 9, 1844, many supposed that the chief, if not the only cause of the sad catastrophe, was the abuse he had received, principally on account of the appointment of Atchison.

"The thirteenth general assembly met on November 18, 1844, Claiborne F. Jackson, speaker; M. M. Marmaduke, acting governor. On the next day the two houses met in joint session to elect a United States senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. L. F. Linn and also a senator to succeed Thomas H. Benton, whose term expired March 4, 1845. All objections and unfavorable environments to the contrary, Atchison was elected for four years, the remainder of Dr. Linn's term."

**The Hards and the Softs.**

John Cummings Edwards, who was elected by the Benton democrats in 1844, was the youngest of all Missouri's governors. He was not thirty-eight when he took office. Thomas C. Fletcher, elected in 1864, was a few months older. Edwards was of Kentucky birth, had served in the Missouri legislature and in Congress. Very soon after his term expired Governor Edwards joined the gold seekers and passed the rest of his life in California, living there until 1888. Charles H. Allen ran as an independent democratic candidate against Edwards. He was commonly called "Hoss" Allen, a name he had bestowed upon himself while holding court. Two lawyers got into an argument, and one of them was so noisy that Judge Allen shouted from the bench: "Sit down, sir, and keep your mouth shut." The lawyer sat down with ill grace, saying, "Well, as you are judge of this court, I guess I will obey you this time." The judge roared back, "By ——, sir, I'll let you know that I am not only judge of this court, but I'm a hoss besides, and if you don't obey me I'll make you."

In the campaign of 1844 the Democrats of Missouri divided into factions called "the Hards" and "the Softs." The division was on the question of hard or soft money. Senator Benton headed the Hards. He was given the name of "Old Bullion." The Hards were in the majority when the state convention met. Both the Hards and the Softs nominated full tickets. As the candidate of the Hards, John C. Edwards was elected governor over Charles H. Allen by a vote of 36,978 to 31,357.

When he went out of office Governor Edwards sent a valedictory message to the legislature in which he said the governorship was a despicable office for any man to be condemned to hold. He said that two of his predecessors had resigned before their terms were out, that a third had committed suicide and that he had been compelled to go armed at the capitol to protect himself against assassins.

In the account of expenditures by Governor Edwards the legislature of 1846 concluded some explanation was necessary. By resolution the governor was asked to itemize. He replied:

"In the next place, with due respect to the honorable mover, the answer is that the expenses of the executive were various. His breakfast, his dinner, or his tea, when he had time and appetite to eat it; an apple, or a sponge-cake, a piece of cheese, or a cracker,

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

MANUEL LISA
Fur trader and American patriot

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

RUSSELL FARNHAM
First Astor fur trader to enter the Missouri River country

HOME OF MANUEL LISA, ST. LOUIS

a glass of brandy or some old rye when from hard travel, much fatigue or great want of sleep, he was too unwell to take more substantial food, or else from rapid traveling had no time to stop and get it; the blacking of his boots, or the brushing of the dust out of his coat, or hiring a servant to hasten his dinner instead of forcing him to eat through a series of courses; hack hire and omnibus fare, porterage and drayage, stage fare, railroad fare, steamboat fare on the lakes, gulfs, rivers and bays; all these and various other items multiplied many times over, perhaps thousands, in the trips of six thousand miles, make up the items of expense to the executive—a long list hard to get and hard to give."

**Senatorial Deadlock.**

Missouri was the first state to be represented for a considerable period by only one senator. Champ Clark's statement of this situation without precedent is interesting: "By reason of the unrelenting warfare between the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites the legislature chosen in 1854 never could and never did elect a senator, as it was in duty bound to do, so that for two entire years Henry S. Geyer was Missouri's only senator. What is more, the governor did not appoint or attempt to appoint anyone to fill the vacancy, nobody then dreaming that the governor had such power. But in these latter days several states have followed Missouri's example in failing to elect senators; and, strange to say, divers governors have insisted on the right to fill vacancies by appointment under similar circumstances, until finally the Senate, after lengthy and ponderous debate, solemnly vindicated the wisdom and knowledge of constitutional law possessed by the governor of Missouri in 1855 and 1856, Sterling Price, by declaring that a governor has no right to make such ad interim appointment."

**Governor Hancock Jackson by a Scratch.**

Trusten Polk rendered the shortest service of any Missouri governor. He was elected by a considerable plurality in 1856, defeating Robert C. Ewing, the native American, and Thomas H. Benton, who ran independent. But soon after his inauguration Polk was elected United States senator, the only governor of Missouri to go direct to the United States Senate. Lieutenant-Governor Hancock Jackson became governor under extraordinary circumstances. The vote on lieutenant-governor reported by the secretary of state was: Hancock Jackson, 41,623; William Newland, 41,237; John W. Kelly, 17,766; Charles Sims, 1,508. The president of the senate announced that irregularities in certain counties had failed to be noticed by the secretary of state, and with these not counted William Newland was elected. The speaker of the house, however, immediately announced that in his opinion Jackson's majority of 386 should stand. There was confusion in the joint session, until finally the speaker of the house put a motion before the house declaring Hancock Jackson elected, which motion was carried by a vote of 84 to 37. Mr. Jackson thereupon ascended the stand and took the gavel from the president of the senate.

Nine days later Polk was elected senator and Hancock Jackson became governor. In 1860 the Breckinridge democrats put Hancock Jackson forward as their candidate against Claib Jackson, but could muster only about 11,000 votes for him.

**Eccentric Governor "Bob" Stewart.**

"The most exciting and brilliant canvass known to the history of Missouri politics," according to William F. Switzler, was that between Robert Morris Stewart and James S. Rollins in 1857. Switzler said that soon after Stewart's inauguration, "he met Major Rollins, his old opponent, at the Madison House, in Jefferson City, and, extending his hand and approaching him, said: 'How are you, Jim? Where's your trunk?' Being informed it was at the Madison, the governor said: 'You must be my guest while you are in the city, and I will send for your trunk.' And he did so, and Rollins became his guest, and very soon the acerbities and personal animosities of the recent canvass were drowned and consigned to oblivion in the water glass of Rollins and the wine glass of Stewart.

"Many characteristic anecdotes of Governor Stewart are told as occurring during his administration. I have not space for a tithe of them. Let one suffice. Stewart was not a teetotaler, but, proverbially, loved his enemy, the glass that exhilarates and cheers. It is said of him that on one occasion while under its influence he visited the penitentiary. Being governor and ex-officio a member of the prison inspectors, he had the freedom of the 'pen.' Curiosity prompted him to go from convict to convict and ask, 'What are you in here for? Are you guilty or innocent?' Perhaps as many as fifty were thus accosted, and all of them without exception protested they were innocent and victims of false swearing enemies. As he retired from the prison he encountered a squad of 'trusties' engaged in digging a cistern in the front yard of the warden. To those who were plying the windlass he propounded the same question: and all of them with one accord said they were innocent. Observing a man in the cistern filling the tub with earth with a spade, he called to him, 'You fellow down there! What are you doing with stripes on your clothes? Are you guilty or innocent?' The man answered: 'Well, Governor, to tell the truth, and I will not tell you a lie, I am guilty; I did break into a store in St. Louis and steal two suits of clothes and a watch, and they proved it on me.' Whereupon the governor said: 'Get into that tub, you rascal; pull him up; now come with me to the mansion, for I will pardon you and send you home, for no such rascal as you are shall stay here and corrupt the morals of the innocent convicts in this penitentiary.' And he did pardon him."

**The First Thanksgiving Proclamation.**

The first proclamation appointing a day of prayer and thanksgiving ever issued by a Missouri governor was by Governor Stewart in 1858. It was suggested to him by Rev. Dr. Prottsman, then a resident of Jefferson City. At the governor's request Dr. Prottsman wrote it.

Stewart probably owed his election to his energetic efforts to push through the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad. Many whigs in Marion, Macon and other counties along the railroad voted for Stewart, much more than enough to make up the majority of 334 which he had over the whig candidate, Major Rollins. It was largely through the good work of "Bob" Stewart at Washington that Congress voted a grant of 600,000 acres of fine agricultural land and the railroad was assured. In recognition of these services hundreds of whigs voted for Stewart.

Governor Stewart became a strong Union man. He returned to St. Joseph and edited the Journal. In 1863 he concluded that he wanted to see service in the field. Governor Gamble encouraged this ambition by giving a commission to recruit a brigade. Switzler said that Stewart "raised several companies,

which he turned in to fill up regiments, not being able to withstand the importunities of his friends. After giving away his last company he concluded he would raise a regiment himself. Luckily, General James Craig, of St. Joseph, arrived in St. Louis and met Governor Stewart at the Planters' House. 'Jim,' said the governor, greeting the general, 'I want $20.'

"'What for, Bob?'

"'I have given away every soldier I had, and now I want to raise a regiment.'

"'What's the $20 got to do with that?'

"'I want to buy a drum.'

"The general concluded that the surest way for him to get the drum would be for him to buy it himself, and so he escorted the governor to a music store and purchased for him a bass drum. The governor put the strap over his shoulders, and, with a drumstick in either hand, started down the street, beating vigorously. In the evening the general, in passing a corner, saw a man sitting on the curbstone fast asleep, or something worse. In front of him was a bass drum with the head beaten in and his right hand holding to the handle of the stick, which was inside the drum. It was Bob, and the general had him taken care of, leaving on the train for military duty in the Northwest. The governor did not raise a regiment or any more men, and shortly returned to St. Joseph. He associated with him Col. Broaddus Thompson, a stanch Union man and brother of the late Confederate general, M. Jeff Thompson, and they got out a prospectus for a new Union paper to be called the Nucleus, but the paper never materialized."

**When Stewart Found His Opportunity.**

When Stewart came to Missouri he, like some others who found this "the State of Opportunity," was so short of money that he worked his way up the river as a roustabout. He carried freight off and wood on the boat, under supervision of the mate. At a woodyard near Brunswick, Stewart did not move fast enough to please the mate who got behind him and kicked him down the gang plank. Later this mate killed a deckhand and was sent to the penitentiary. He was a convict when Stewart became governor. Not long after the inauguration, the governor, who had kept track of the mate with the memory of an Indian, appeared at the door of the prison with a pardon. The convict was brought out, was dressed in civilian clothes and was taken into the room where Stewart was sitting. "Do you know me?" the governor asked. "No," said the mate. "I am the man you kicked down the stageplank of the Steamer Amaranth at the woodyard near Brunswick." Stewart took the convict by the collar, led him to the steps of the prison, handed him his pardon and said. "I do not do this because of any sympathy but because you are not a fit man to be among the convicts of the Missouri penitentiary. You kicked me off the boat. I intend to kick you down these steps and into the street." The governor did it and as he administered the last boost, he said, "Go and try to make a better man of yourself."

As early as the 24th general assembly which met in January, 1867, an attempt was made to submit a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage. Mr. Orrick of St. Charles, made the motion to strike out the word "male" in a proposed amendment but was defeated. At the same session the legislature voted to submit an amendment to the Drake constitution striking out the word "white." This amendment was submitted in November, 1868. Negro suffrage was defeated by a majority of 18,817. Two years later at an adjourned session of the 25th general assembly which met in January, 1870, the 15th amendment to the Constitution

of the United States, granting negro suffrage was ratified by the Missouri senate and house.

**Governor Fletcher's Opportunities.**

Governor Thomas C. Fletcher died a poor man. During the war and at the close of it he had opportunities to make a great deal of money but ignored them. Looking backward upon these experiences, he said:

"The state had large accounts with the government. On one occasion I came to Washington to adjust some of our claims, obtain their allowance and received a check from the treasury department for $1,800,000. That slip of paper I carried around in my vest pocket until the rest of my business was transacted and I was ready to leave. From Washington I went to New York. On the evening I arrived in New York a gentleman who dealt largely in financial transactions called on me at my hotel, and we chatted for some time about Missouri. I had the check for $1,800,000 in my pocket and knew what I was to do with it the next day, but never mentioned it. In the morning I walked down to the bank with which the state did business and deposited the check, to be paid on the coupons of Missouri state bonds. The bonds went up seven cents that day. They had been at forty-nine cents. I didn't make a dollar, although I could have made a small fortune by using the knowledge of what I was going to do with that check. The gentleman with whom I had been talking the night before came to me and wanted to know why I hadn't given him the information. Later on I collected $3,000,000 from the government and applied it on our bonds, which kept going up until they reached par, but I never made anything out of the advance."

**Humanitarian Views of Governor Brown.**

In the messages of the governors of Missouri are many expressions of high-minded, humanitarian views, some of them in advance of the times. Governor B. Gratz Brown urged upon the state a different treatment of law breakers:

"In criminal matters, as in other social appliances, property is but too apt to assert an undue elevation above labor, and forget that theft and conversion of others' possessions does not differ very widely from obtaining another's labor with intent to evade a payment. Yet the punishments are widely different. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished, and we are content to provide civil remedies for restitution. Might it be well to look in the same direction for a corrective to the other kind of criminality, and in cases of trivial larcenies, enforce restitution to the party aggrieved by asylums utilizing the labor of the party offending. Abandon the revenges of society, and teach its industries. The conscience of the condemned, instead of brooding over the degradation, might thereafter stand in some measure acquitted of obligation and reproach. It is the thought of the ablest scientist of the age that the adoption of such measures, cutting off the supply of criminals by educational reform schools, and correcting minor offenses through industrial restitutions, would result in such large reduction of the numbers in state prisons, that they could be treated with greater regard to the offenses for which they are incriminated, and something like a moral hygiene brought to bear that would go far to work a reformation over them."

**Governor Hardin on Pardons.**

Charles H. Hardin made Missouri one of the most satisfactory of governors. He was honest and conservative. He attended strictly to the people's business. But he was the dryest campaign speaker that ever took the stump in Missouri. At the end of his term he decided to make a tour of the state, as he said, "to render an account of his stewardship." He had a prepared speech, and he went over the details of his administration in a statistical and prosy fashion. The

people, out of respect for his high office, listened and tried to appear interested, but failed miserably. After he had gone over other ground, Gov. Hardin reached the penitentiary. He told how many convicts were on hand when he was inaugurated. He stated the number that was confined at noon of a recent date. He reported how many had been turned loose under the three-fourths rule. He continued:

"During my term of office I have granted so many of what are called square pardons. But, my fellow citizens——"

Here the governor would push his spectacles high on his forehead, look out over the audience, and impressively conclude,

"I never pardoned ary horsethief in the lot."

And that always brought down the house. It was the only thing the governor said that received a smile or a response of any kind.

A telegraph operator's mistake determined the appointment of a Missouri judge while Hardin was governor. The district was composed of four counties, Pettis, Johnson, Saline and Lafayette. Three of the counties had candidates and delegations were in Jefferson City working for their friends. One of the candidates was William H. Hill of Pettis. Johnson county had not presented a candidate and was not represented at the state capital. Governor Hardin was a very conservative and cautious man. He noted that Johnson had not been heard from and caused a telegram to be sent to Warrensburg asking what were the views of Johnson in the situation. The Warrensburg lawyers got together and decided that they would have a candidate of their own. They wired, "Johnson county favors Neill," meaning Henry Neill, a lawyer of Warrensburg. When the telegram was handed to the governor, it read "Heill." The governor concluded that the operator had made a mistake in writing out the message and that Johnson meant to indorse the Pettis county man. As two counties had apparently joined in the support of Hill the governor appointed him and felt greatly relieved until he learned the facts about the Johnson county message.

**Waldo P. Johnson on Confederate Disabilities.**

Waldo P. Johnson, in the years immediately following the Civil war, was wont to say, "I doubt very much if any man who was in the Confederate army or whose father was in the Confederate army will ever be governor of Missouri." Judge Johnson sat in the United States Senate until after the Battle of Bull Run and until after his resolutions looking to peace were defeated in the summer of 1861. He then joined his fortunes with the Confederacy, was wounded in battle and went to Richmond as one of the two senators from Missouri. From personal experience he knew political conditions at that time in the North perhaps better than any other Missourian. He would add to the remark just quoted, "I doubt this for the reason that just about the time the delegates assemble, and are about to nominate some man like Cockrell or Vest, the convention will be inundated by telegrams purporting to come from the eastern part of the United States, but in reality manufactured in the city of St. Louis, saying that this is a Presidential year, and the nomination of an ex-rebel for governor of Missouri may endanger the election of a democratic president, as well as defeat some democrat who is running for justice of the peace in Maine."

But even Judge Johnson did not realize the rapidity with which war differences would be healed in Missouri. He did not foresee how soon the time would come when Missourians would reject the dictation of politicians outside of the state.

In 1870 the liberal republican ticket, which carried as the result of the historic "possum" policy, elected six state officers who had been in the Federal army and three others who had been Union men. This election was effected by the action of the democrats in making no nominations.

Governor—B. Gratz Brown, colonel of a Missouri regiment, United States volunteers.
Lieutenant Governor—John J. Gravelly, colonel of Eighth Missouri Militia, United States volunteers.
Secretary of State—Eugene F. Weigel, major of Second Illinois, United States volunteers.
State Treasurer—Samuel Hays, Union man.
State Auditor—Daniel M. Draper, in Federal army.
Attorney General—Andrew J. Baker, in Federal army.
Register of Lands—Frederick Salomon, colonel of volunteers, United States army.
Superintendent of Public Schools—Ira Divoll, Union man.
Judge of Supreme Court—David Wagner, Union man.

**The Candidacy of Hatch.**

In 1872 the democrats and the liberal republicans held separate conventions and agreed on a ticket which gave both parties representation and which included two ex-Confederates. The democrats desired to nominate William H. Hatch for governor. Colonel Hatch was an ex-Confederate and came very near receiving the nomination and would have done so but for representations that the effect outside of Missouri might be damaging to the democrats. The nomination was given to Silas Woodson who had a record as a war democrat and a Union man. The officers elected were:

Governor—Silas Woodson, war democrat.
Lieutenant Governor—Charles P. Johnson, in Union army.
Secretary of State—Eugene F. Weigel, in Union army.
State Treasurer—Harvey W. Salmon, in Confederate service.
State Auditor—George B. Clark, in Confederate service.
Attorney General—H. Clay Ewing, Union man.
Register of Lands—Frederick Salomon, in Union army.
Superintendent of Public Schools—John Montieth, Union man.
Judges of Supreme Court—Henry M. Vories, Union man; Washington Adams, no record; Thomas A. Sherwood, Union man.

**Cockrell's Narrow Escape.**

Two years later, in 1874, General Francis M. Cockrell was apparently the leading candidate for governor. He was barely beaten by Charles H. Hardin on the argument that it would be bad politics to put an ex-Confederate at the head of the ticket. Hardin had attended a session of the Claib Jackson legislature at Neosho but had, after that, remained neutral in his home at Mexico, Missouri. Cockrell was given the United States senatorship by the legislature in the follow-

ing winter. The democratic state ticket in 1874 had upon it three ex-Confederate soldiers and one Union veteran.

Governor—Charles H. Hardin, member of Governor Jackson's Neosho legislature and afterwards neutral.
Lieutenant Governor—Norman J. Colman, Union man.
Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Kelly's regiment, C. S. A.
State Treasurer—Joseph W. Mercer, lost an arm in the Confederate service.
State Auditor—Thomas Holladay, no record.
Attorney General—John A. Hockaday, no record.
Register of Lands—George Deigel, in Federal army.
Superintendent of Public Schools—Richard D. Shannon, no record.
Judges Supreme Court—Edward A. Lewis, no record; Warwick Hough, staff officer under Lee, Polk and Taylor, C. S. A.; W. B. Napton, no record.

**How Vest Was Beaten for Governor.**

In 1876, the year of the Tilden-Hayes campaign, George G. Vest would have been nominated for governor but for the fact that telegrams were received and shown to delegates urging that a Union man be chosen to head the ticket in order to help the national ticket of the democratic party. These telegrams appeared on the face to have come from New York. Vest's friends believed that they originated in St. Louis. The defeat of Cockrell and Vest for the nomination of governor seemed to carry out the prediction of Judge Waldo P. Johnson. The ticket elected in 1876 was headed by a Union man. It carried three ex-Confederates.

Governor—John S. Phelps, colonel of Phelps' Cavalry, U. S. A.
Lieutenant Governor—Henry C. Brockmeyer, colonel of Enrolled Militia.
Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Kelly's regiment, C. S. A.
State Treasurer—Elijah Gates, colonel of a Confederate regiment in Cockrell's brigade.
State Auditor—Thomas Holladay, no record.
Attorney General—Jackson L. Smith, Union man.
Register of Lands—James E. McHenry, no record.
Judges Supreme Court—Elijah H. Norton, Union man; John W. Henry, Union man.
Railroad Commissioners—John Walker, no record; John S. Marmaduke, Confederate general; James Harding, in Confederate army.

In 1876, under the new constitution, began the four-year terms of state officers. In 1878, the off year, the Democrats elected John McHenry register of lands and Richard D. Shannon superintendent of schools, neither having any war record.

**A National Appeal to Missouri.**

In 1880 Missouri Democrats received appeals from the national leaders to put forth a ticket which would help in the Hancock campaign. They again nominated a Union officer for governor, and distributed the other nominations between Union men and Confederates.

Governor—Thomas T. Crittenden, lieutenant colonel Seventh Missouri Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, Federal.

Lieutenant Governor—Robert A. Campbell, Fifth Regiment, Missouri State Militia; adjutant Henderson's Brigade, Federal.

Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Missouri State Guard, Kelly's Regiment, C. S. A.

State Treasurer—Philip E. Chappell, Union man.

State Auditor—John Walker, no record.

Attorney General—Daniel H. McIntyre, lieutenant, Tenth Missouri Cavalry, Marmaduke's Brigade; also, captain in Shelby's Brigade, C. S. A.

Register of Lands—Robert McCulloch; at the breaking out of war he raised a company and reported to Governor Jackson; was lieutenant colonel First Missouri Cavalry; also commanded McCulloch's Brigade, C. S. A.

Judge Supreme Court—Robert D. Ray, Union man.

Railroad Commissioner—George C. Pratt, Union man.

**Disappearance of the War Record Issue.**

In 1882 the successful Democratic ticket contained one Union man and two ex-Confederates.

Judge Supreme Court—Thomas A. Sherwood, Union man.

Superintendent of Public Schools—William E. Coleman, color sergeant, Second Missouri; First Brigade, C. S. A.; lost a leg at Allatoona, Ga.

Railroad Commissioners—James Harding, major in Price's army; major of artillery, C. S. A.; and Archibald M. Sevier, quartermaster sergeant, Eighth Missouri Cavalry, U. S. A.

The next quadrennial election gave the head of the ticket to an ex-Confederate, Missourians declining to be influenced again by the arguments in behalf of the national campaign. The successful ticket had upon it three ex-Confederates and two ex-Federal officers:

Governor—John S. Marmaduke, major general, C. S. A.

Lieutenant Governor—Albert P. Morehouse, Federal army.

Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Kelly's regiment, C. S. A.

State Treasurer—J. M. Seibert, too young to enlist.

State Auditor—John Walker, no record.

Attorney General—B. G. Boone, no record.

Register of Lands—Robert McCulloch, a Confederate brigadier.

Railroad Commissioner—William G. Downing, a Union man.

Judge Supreme Court—Francis M. Black, in Federal army.

After this election of 1884 the war cut very little figure in the make-up of state tickets for Missouri.

**Missouri's State Finances.**

The management of Missouri, financially, after the war made a fine record. In 1865 Missouri had a debt of $36,094,908. On the 1st day of January, 1869, this indebtedness had been reduced to $21,675,000, a decrease of $14,419,908 within four years, beginning January 1, 1865, and ending December 31, 1868. Proceeds derived from sale of stock owned by the state in the Bank of the State of Missouri, payments for railroads sold, together with interest and dues paid into the treasury by railroad companies and the collections by Gen. John B. Gray from the United States for reimbursement of war expenditures, con-

tributed mainly to such an extraordinary reduction of the public debt within the period named.

The stock held by the state in the Bank of the State of Missouri amounted to $1,086,300. In 1866 this stock was sold to Capt. James B. Eads for $1,178,-635.50, and as payments therefor were made in bonds and coupons the state debt was correspondingly reduced.

Payments made by purchases of railroads and interest and dues paid into the state treasury by railroad companies from January 1, 1865, to December 31, 1868, amounted to $6,006,038.

Under the act of Congress, approved April 17, 1866, Gen. John B. Gray collected the sum of $6,472,289.35 as indemnity to the State of Missouri for military expenses incurred during the rebellion.

Receipts into the state treasury from the sources named, and which were applied to the reduction of the state debt, amounted to $12,048,598.40.

Deducting the above amount, or $12,048,598.40 from $14,419,908, the aggregate indebtedness retired within the four years ending December 31, 1868, there remained to be accounted for a balance of $2,371,309.60. The amount withheld from the public schools in consequence of the suspension in 1865, 1866 and 1867, of 25 per cent of the state revenue; bonus paid into the state treasury by banks in lieu of all other taxes; surplus funds arising from the military taxes levied in 1865 and 1866, and from the interest tax of 40 cents on the $100 valuation levied in 1867 and 1868, together with miscellaneous receipts, accounted for this balance.

**Advance of Missouri Bonds.**

Missouri bonds advanced steadily from the war time ebb to the class of "gilt edged" and then disappeared from the market. In 1865 the highest price paid for Missouri bonds was 79, and the lowest 51 per cent. In 1866 the highest price paid was 93, and the lowest 71 per cent. In 1867 they sold as high as 95 per cent. All past due coupons went with the bonds that were sold in the years 1865, 1866 and 1867; thus a bond sold in 1867 had attached to it the coupon due July 1, 1861, and all subsequently matured coupons, for which the purchaser of the bond paid no additional consideration.

In 1870 Missouri bonds were worth 87 per cent of their face value. In 1871 they sold as high as 89½ per cent.

In 1873 the fund commissioners sold bonds at 92½ per cent. In 1875 the fund commissioners sold 3,687 state funding and state renewal funding bonds for $3,623,746.50, or at a fraction over 98.28 per cent. In 1876, 425 renewal funding bonds were sold for $441,951.31, or at a fraction over $1,039. The average price paid for 4,112 bonds sold in 1875 and 1876 was $988.73 per bond. In 1876 the highest price paid was $1,045.03 per bond, and in 1875 the lowest price paid was a fraction over $950 per bond.

In 1879 the market value of bonds having ten years to run was 103¾. In 1881 they were quoted at 110.

Since the early part of 1881 but few Missouri bonds have been on the market. They were picked up from time to time by savings banks and trust companies at such rates as would yield 3 or 3½ per cent on the investment.

In 1881 and 1882 a few bonds were sold on a basis of 3½ per cent, so that in 1882 a bond having ten years to run was worth 120.94. At no time during the years 1883 and 1884 could as many as fifty or one hundred Missouri bonds have been bought on the open market. From January 1, 1883, purchases were made on a basis of 3 per cent, consequently a Missouri bond having ten years to run was worth 125¾.

**School Fund Certificates.**

As the state prospered, bonds were cancelled and certificates in corresponding amounts were placed in the public school fund. The form of certificate was:

"The State of Missouri—To All Who Shall See These Presents, Greeting: Know ye that it is hereby certified that the State of Missouri is indebted to the state board of education of said state as trustees for the public school fund of said state in the sum of two million, nine hundred and nine thousand dollars, payable thirty years after date, upon which sum the state hereby promises to pay to the state board of education, as trustees as aforesaid, interest annually at the rate of 6 per centum per annum, out of any money in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, payable on the first day of January of each year.

"This certificate of indebtedness is issued under and by virtue of an act entitled an act to consolidate the permanent school fund and the seminary fund in certificates of indebtedness of the state bearing 6 per centum interest, and to provide for canceling the state bonds and certificates of indebtedness now held in trust for said funds, approved March 23, 1881.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Missouri to be affixed.

"Done at office in the City of Jefferson this first day of July, 1881.

THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN, Governor.

"MICH'L K. MCGRATH, Secretary of State."

A curious fact about the certificates is noted in the form. In the one given nothing is said about the character of the instrument. The language simply shows "the State of Missouri is indebted to the 'state board of education.'" A few years later the thought seems to have occurred to the state administration that somebody might cash or hypothecate one of these school fund assets. Into the body of the new form was printed: "This certificate is non-negotiable." Still later the description was further elaborated. These certificates bore the following: "This certificate of indebtedness is non-negotiable, non-convertible and non-transferable, and shall be sacredly held and preserved in the state treasury as part of the school fund of the state."

**A Three Per Cent Proposition.**

In 1897 New York capitalists made a proposition to fund the entire debt of Missouri in bonds bearing three per cent. This offer was made to Governor Lon V. Stephens, coming without inquiry or solicitation on his part. The state indebtedness was then $4,900,000. It was bearing three and one-half per cent, which had been considered very low.

"I have been thinking of the proposition," Governor Stephens said at the

Albert P. Morehouse, 1887-1889

David R. Francis, 1889-1893

William J. Stone, 1893-1897

Lon V. Stephens, 1897-1901

A. M. Dockery, 1901-1905

GOVERNORS OF MISSOURI

time. "It is certainly very flattering to the state. Acceptance would save us one-half of 1 per cent on our interest account" (about $25,000 annually at the present indebtedness) "but I am not sure that it will be wise to make the change. We should, probably, have to make the new bonds run a stipulated time. The bonds, as they now stand, can be called in and paid at any time, thus saving the whole interest. We shall within sixty days take up at least $150,000, and possibly $200,000, of these bonds."

The governor inclined to the opinion that it would be better to continue paying 3½ per cent and to retain the privilege of canceling the debt in any amount and at any time.

**Governor Francis' Diplomacy.**

Within three months after Mr. Francis became governor he had established such personal relations with the lawmakers as enabled him to make his adminstration effective. He gave a series of receptions in the mansion. He dined the senators and representatives, twenty at a time. When he went to lunch he was accompanied by chairmen or whole committees to talk over pending legislation. With the needs before their eyes, the legislators passed appropriations to refurnish the mansion and to make it worthy of the state. To the credit of the Francis administration was placed this first appropriation since the Civil war. On the recommendations and personal arguments of the governor the first Australian ballot law, the schoolbook commission and uniform text-book law, the reduction of the tax rate, the appointment of a geological survey commission, and a long list of what properly may be termed as constructive laws of the state, the value of which the years have shown, were placed upon the books.

**Distinguishing Characteristic of Governor Stone.**

Conservative forcefulness might be said to have been a distinguishing characteristic of William J. Stone. One of the best illustrations of it was given at a convention of governors of southern states held at Richmond in 1893. Missouri's chief executive became the strong personality in that gathering. Each governor had with him a staff of from two to ten gentlemen deeply interested in the subject of immigration. These gentlemen were prepared to talk. But speeches were tabooed from the beginning. The first rule which the governors adopted sent every proposition to a committee without debate. When this committee met it had before it a stack of suggestions a foot high. The entire collection was turned over to a subcommittee composed of Governors Stone of Missouri and Foster of Louisiana and Mr. George Armistead of Tennessee. The bulky mass was ignored. A brief pointed address, without reference to politics, congratulatory upon what the South had done in the way of development and hopeful as to increased immigration, was drafted. When the convention met again this address was read and adopted. Governor Brown immediately moved adjournment sine die. The whole thing was over. Some of the older men in the body, accustomed to the old southern style of much freedom of speech in convention, were a little dazed. As they went out of the convention and to their hotels they asked each other why it was necessary to come to Richmond if this was all that was intended.

The address was in the handwriting of Governor Stone, of Missouri. It was written after a frank discussion, in which the other members of the subcommittee, Governor Foster, of Louisiana, and Mr. Amistead, of Tennessee, agreed with the Missouri governor that something short and clean cut, without politics or rancor, was what the situation called for.

**The Seal in Missouri.**

Judge H. C. McDougal once read before the Missouri Bar Association an interesting history of the changes made in the use of the seal by this state. Following the acquisition of Louisiana Territory by the United States, in 1803, the importance of the common law seal not only for notaries and other officials but for private persons was recognized. The law required that the seal should be "wax with an impression." But three years later, in 1807, the territorial legislature provided that "scroll by way of seal" put upon instruments in writing should have the same effect "as if it were actually sealed." In 1816 the Territory of Missouri did a curious thing. An act was passed adopting the common law of England in force in 1607. Under that old common law deeds were authenticated by the seal alone.

"A good common law deed," said Judge McDougal, "might then have been made in Missouri by sealing alone and without the grantor's signature. The legislators very promptly discovered that this would not do, for the very next day in the adoption of the original state statute of frauds it was required that all such instruments should be not only "in writing," but should be "signed by the party." Next came the legislation of 1822 which abolished the use of the seal in the execution of certain bonds and other paper. But three years later, in 1825, the law of the State of Missouri became: "Every instrument in writing expressed on the face thereof to be sealed, and to which the person executing the same shall attach a scrawl by way of seal, shall be deemed and adjudged to be sealed." Judge McDougal said that the reasoning of the old law writers was that "a seal attracts attention and excites caution in illiterate persons, and thereby operates as a security against fraud." As people grew wiser the importance of the seal diminished. The Missouri courts gradually came to the recognition that "a mortgage having neither seal nor scrawl by way of seal, was good between the parties, and when properly acknowledged and recorded, imparted notice to subsequent purchasers and mortgagees."

"The statute has always required notaries public to procure and authenticate all of their official acts with seals, and the same is true of clerks of court and some other officials. Nothing is said as to how these seals shall be used, nothing to indicate that it was the legislative intention to depart from the rule of the common law that these seals should be impressed upon wax, yet the good sense of the age has impressed itself in the doctrine that the simple impression of official seals on paper was a good common law sealing."

The occasion which prompted this interesting narrative of the use of the seal in Missouri was the passage of an act of the general assembly in 1893 stating:

"The use of private seals in written contracts, conveyances of real estate and all other instruments of writing heretofore required by law to be sealed (except seals of corporations) is hereby abolished, but the addition of a private seal to any such instrument shall

not in any manner affect its force, validity or character, or in any way change the construction thereof."

"So it comes about," said Judge McDougal, "that the seal of the ancients, after appearing in so many different costumes and playing its part in the world business theater for thousands of years, and our own 'scroll' or 'scrawl by way of seal,' after standing within our borders as the understudy of and substitute for the signet of old, for four score and six years, together make their final exit."

**Life Tenure of Missouri Governors.**

Once governor of Missouri, he is always "Governor" with Missourians. When he has achieved the distinction of chief executive of the Center State, the title clings through life. There may come other distinctions, high or low, but nothing supersedes "Governor."

With the American doughboy in Russia it was not Ambassador Francis but "Governor Francis." As Ambassador Francis they didn't know him, but as the "Governor" they knew him intimately and familiarly. The ambassador told this of his first meeting in Russia with some of the American soldiers:

"I was walking down a street in Archangel one day and saw three American boys looking into a window. I went up to them and said: 'You are Americans and how glad I am to see an American.' They looked up at me, sizing me up, and were very courteous and respectful, but they did not say anything. It seemed time for me to say something more, and then I added: 'I am the ambassador from America to Russia.' They looked me over again and said nothing and I went on my way.

"As I walked away from them, I heard one of them inquire of another American who had just come up: 'Who is that fellow going there?' I heard his reply: 'That is Governor Francis of Missouri.'

"'Well, why in thunder didn't he say so?' I heard one of them remark."

**Pioneer Legislators.**

State government was fully organized in 1820 under the new constitution. The first legislature with fourteen senators and forty-three representatives met in St. Louis the third Monday in September. On the 26th of September it adjourned one day in respect to the memory of Daniel Boone who died that day. On the 28th of November the legislature passed an act making St. Charles the capital of the state until October, 1826, when a new capital to be called Jefferson City was to be established in Cole county, Missouri.

Parmer, from Fishing river, was a member of the first Missouri legislature. He was greatly puzzled over the routine course of legislation. He could not understand why it was necessary for the bills to pass one house and then the other, and yet not become law until the governor approved. He thought it was undemocratic to place such power in the hands of one man.

The legislature included several members who up to that time had never seen a steamboat. One day when a boat was about to start down the river a motion was made to adjourn in order that the members might go to the bank and see the boat leave. The captain had been fully impressed with the honor about to be shown him. He ran the boat upstream, turned around and came down at full speed past the legislators assembled on the bank. As the boat went by, the cannon,

which was part of the equipment on all steamboats in that day, was fired. The legislators raised their hats and swung them, but Ringtail Painter let out a series of yells.

In his maiden speech before the legislature, Martin Parmer, or Palmer, as his name was sometimes written, introduced himself in this picturesque language: "Ringtail Painter from Fishin' river, wild and woolly, hard to curry. When I'm mad I fight, and when I fight, I whip. I raise my children to fight. I feed 'em on painters' hearts fried in rattlesnake grease."

Ringtail Painter, by tradition, was the first white settler in the Grand river country. His cabin home was about five miles east of the present City of Brunswick and gave the name to Parmer's creek. General W. Y. Slack was a leading lawyer of Grand river country. He went with Doniphan to Mexico. He was chosen by Governor Jackson to organize and command one of the divisions of the state guard of Missouri at the outbreak of the war and fell at Pea Ridge. With a taste for local history, General Slack wrote sketches of the Grand river valley which were preserved in manuscript. The subject of one of these sketches was Ringtail Painter.

"His habits were as rude as his cabin, and, like all other pioneers, he was a rude disciple of Esau, and lived by hunting. There were, however, but three kinds of game, Ring Tail Parmer cared to expend ammunition upon, and these, as he expressed it, were deers, bar and Injuns.' The last named, in his judgment, were not the least worthy of his deadly aim. His warfare with the red men was not manly and open, but on the contrary was stealthy and murderous.

"The traveler who called at Parmer's cabin and claimed his hospitality was furnished with dry deerskins for his bed, and venison and wild honey for his repast. The ceiling of the cabin was lined with dried venison; one corner of the room was filled with green hams; another was occupied with a number of deerskins sewed up tight into sacks and filled with honey-comb, and another contained a pole scaffold fitted up as a bedstead. On two hooks over the rude fireplace hung his rifle, the most esteemed article of furniture about the household. Thus fitted up in life, and with such paraphernalia started the first settler in this great valley; and when the reader is introduced to Parmer's cabin and made acquainted with its arrangements and fixtures, he has been introduced to the domicile and its appointments of every early pioneer that first felled the forests and plowed the virgin soil of the Great West. Parmer's cabin, on Parmer's creek, formed the nucleus of a settlement which, in the course of a dozen years, extended along the hilly or bluff lands as far northwest as Salt creek and as far north as the 'great prairie' to which then even the hunters knew no limit."

In a few years the Grand river country became too civilized or, perhaps, better, too thickly settled for Ringtail Parmer. Not long after his service in the Missouri legislature Parmer moved to Texas.

One of those early legislators told how he kept his political record straight. He said he didn't always catch the question but he made it a rule to vote "agin Bates." Edward Bates was a whig. So if this pioneer statesman "voted agin Bates, he was sartin to be Democratical." The story reached Bates who, watching for an opportunity that would queer the pioneer, voted "Democratical" and then changed at the end of the roll call without giving the other the cue to do likewise.

**Missouri's Tax on Bachelors.**

One hundred years ago Missouri levied a tax on bachelors. The first law to raise revenue for the new state was passed December 12, 1820. It provided that

every year there should be collected for state purposes a tax "on every unmarried free, white male person above the age of twenty-one years, and under fifty, the sum of one dollar."

The tax on bachelors proved to be unpopular. Missouri was receiving as settlers many unmarried men. At least one county court assumed to have the power to remit the tax on its clerk. On January 12, 1822, the bachelor tax was repealed and in place of it this was made the reading of the statute:

"There shall be levied and collected from every free, white male person within this state, and who may be above the age of twenty-one years, a tax of fifty cents."

The first revenue law of the state levied a tax of twenty-five cents on the $100 value of realty; twenty-five cents on the $100 value of slaves over three years old, and twenty-five cents on the $100 value of live stock over three years old.

**Unpleasant Relations with Illinois.**

Admitted as a slave state and aligned with the South, Missouri came into such official favor at Washington as to arouse a feeling of resentment on the part of Illinois. Missouri was recognized in the matter of military patronage to such a degree that Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois, in 1829, commented on the favoritism:

"I will venture to say it will be difficult to find any one equal to the task of demonstrating that better and more eligible locations for the troops now stationed at Jefferson Barracks and for the arsenal erecting near St. Louis than the sites of either might not have been had in the vicinities of Kaskaskia and Alton; and had we not been 'the free state' they would doubtless have been preferred."

There were few sessions of the Missouri general assembly previous to the Civil war when legislation regarding slavery did not receive attention. In 1857, the legislature by joint resolution directed Missouri senators and requested Missouri representatives to demand of the Federal government the securing of their property as guaranteed by the Constitution and in particular against the action of certain citizens of Chicago who had aided fugitives to escape and had hindered and mistreated Missouri citizens in search of their slaves.

**Champ Clark on Benton's First Election.**

Missouri, although not first formally admitted to the Union, went on doing business as a state in 1820. Senators were elected. When Champ Clark was made speaker of the House of Representatives his constituents in Ralls county sent him a gavel. The wood was from the old Matson mill. The first Matson miller in Ralls was one of Washington's soldiers. The mill was a famous industry of the pioneer period. Speaker Clark was reminded of the time when he had "ridden astride of a horse on a sack of corn to an old-fashioned grist mill." In accepting the gavel from the hands of his colleague, Representative Lloyd, the Speaker gave the House this chapter from Missouri's early political history:

"The first legislature of the State of Missouri did two remarkable things. The first was to elect David Barton United States senator unanimously. That performance has been repeated a few times, notably in Michigan on one occasion. Then there was a prolonged deadlock for the other senatorship. Col. Thomas Hart Benton, one of the greatest of all

American statesman; Judge J. B. C. Lucas, whose son Benton had killed in a duel, and several other distinguished men were competitors for that place.

"The fight was intensely bitter. At last the legislature did a thing that has never been duplicated and in all human probability never will be duplicated. They asked David Barton, the senator-elect, to pick his senatorial mate. He chose Colonel Benton, but the fight was so bitter that even after Barton picked him there was a prolonged struggle.

"The legislature was holding its sessions in the lower story of the old Missouri hotel, the upper stories being used for hotel purposes. Daniel Ralls, one of the representatives of Pike county, the county in which I live, was sick unto death in one of the rooms upstairs. In the legislature they lacked one vote of having enough to elect Benton on the last ballot they took on Saturday. That night they got a French representative, by the name of Philip Leduc, out and agonized with him all night to induce him to vote for Benton. He had sworn that he would have his arm cut off at the shoulder before he would do it. They induced him to vote for Benton by stating to him that Benton represented all the French land claimants out there, and Leduc was one of them.

"At about sun-up on Sunday morning he finally agreed to vote for Benton. That would elect Benton, provided Daniel Ralls lived until noon on Monday, and the question uppermost in the public mind of St. Louis that day was to inquire after Daniel Ralls' health. He lived until noon on Monday. Four colored men carried him down into the legislative hall on a mattress. The last act of his life was to vote for Benton. They carried him back upstairs and he was dead within an hour. That legislature, out of gratitude for his services, cut a slice out of Pike county nearest her heart and constituted it into a new county, named Ralls county, in honor of Daniel Ralls.

"David Barton and Colonel Benton came to Washington and drew straws for the six-year and four-year terms. Benton drew the six-year straw, was re-elected four times, and was the first man who ever served 30 years in the Senate of the United States. Senator Barton drew the four-year term, was re-elected for six years, quarreled with General Jackson, and that was the end of him, as it was of most men who quarreled with General Jackson.

"Benton had nothing to do with promising Leduc assistance about the French land grant claims, knew nothing about it, and so soon as he was elected called his clients together, retired from the cases, and refused even to nominate an attorney to succeed himself, on the ground that he might have to vote in the Senate on the subject; so jealous was he of his honor and reputation."

**When Missouri Adopted the Prohibition Amendment.**

Missouri was the thirty-seventh state to ratify the prohibition amendment to the United States Constitution. The vote was taken January 16, 1919. It was 22 to 10 in the senate and 104 to 36 in the house of representatives. The prohibitionists had hoped to have Missouri the thirty-sixth and the deciding state to ratify the amendment. Some speechmaking in the Missouri body delayed the completion of the vote until 11:15 a. m., which permitted Nebraska to become the thirty-sixth state by a lead of forty-three minutes.

Before Missouri voted thus for national prohibition, "the prosperity of St. Louis was bound up with breweries," one metropolitan newspaper put it. It was said that of the population of St. Louis the "persons whose living is directly dependent on the brewery industry" was 130,000. The "number of cars handled by railroads annually in serving the brewing industry" of St. Louis was 140,000. The "license tax paid by the brewing industries to the City of St. Louis" was $1,115,000, more than one-fifth of the "total taxes for city purposes." The taxable property owned by brewing and distilling interests in Missouri was $75,000,000. It included "the largest brewery in the world."

Before prohibition passed St. Louis had become the third distributing cen-

SIGNING MISSOURI'S RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Office of Governor Frederick D. Gardner, July 3, 1919:

Seated at table, reading from left to right: Senator J. W. McKnight, Lieutenant-Governor Wallace Crossley, Governor Frederick D. Gardner, S. F. O'Fallon, Hon. W. E. Bailey.

Standing from left to right: Mrs. S. F. O'Fallon, Mrs. Nelle G. Berger, Mrs. J. W. McKnight, Mrs. J. Rudd Van Dyne, Mrs. Fred English, Miss Marie B. Ames, Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Olive B. Swain, Mrs. John R. Leighty, Mrs. Bernice Morrison Fuller, Mrs. Claud Clark, Mrs. W. R. Haight.

STATE CAPITOL AT JEFFERSON CITY, IN 1876

Built in 1838 and occupied for many years. Remodeled and enlarged in 1887. Burned in 1911

ter in the United States for whiskies, wines and other liquors, aside from beer. In a single twelve months 200,000 barrels were sent out of St. Louis. One item was 10,000 bottles of champagne shipped daily from a manufacturing plant established in St. Louis in 1866 when the grape industry of Missouri loomed large. The St. Louis wholesale liquor trade covered the whole of the Mississippi Valley. It was estimated that the wine and other liquor firms of St. Louis gave employment to 10,000 men.

In the matter of taxation legislation to make good from other sources the losses sustained by prohibition, Missouri acted so promptly and effectively that the revenues of the state, in the summer of 1920, August 31, showed $12,441,797 in the state treasury, the largest balance in the history of the state.

The legislature passed an act for the enforcement of the prohibition amendment by the exercise of the police and judicial powers of the state. The provisions were drastic, imposing severe penalties. This act was suspended through the referendum law of the state; it was submitted to the voters at the election in November, 1920. The so-called "bone dry" law was approved and put in force by a majority of 61,299.

**Equal Suffrage in Missouri.**

Missouri women were pioneers in the national movement to obtain equal suffrage. As told in the historical sketch of the suffrage cause in this state by Mrs. William C. Fordyce, "the first organization in the world having for its sole object the political enfranchisement of women" was formed in St. Louis, May 8. 1867. The first meeting was held in the directors' room of the Mercantile library, with Mrs. Alfred Clapp presiding and Mrs. George D. Hall as secretary. In October of that year, 1867, the woman suffrage convention was held in St. Louis, with Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe and Mary A. Livermore present. William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips sent letters of encouragement. In 1872 a national suffrage convention met in St. Louis, with Lucy Stone presiding. Later a Missouri woman, Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard, of Kirkwood, was president of the American Suffrage association. The high character of the Missouri supporters of woman suffrage gave the state nation-wide distinction in the movement. Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot and Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls were among those who early advocated votes for women. Among the members of the first organization were Mrs. Beverly Allen and her three daughters, Mrs. George D. Hall, Mrs. John C. Orrick and Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon. Among the most active members were Miss Phoebe Couzins and Mrs. Elizabeth Avery Meriwether.

**The Test Case.**

A practical step was taken when, at the November election in 1872, Mrs. Virginia L. Minor, of St. Louis, presented herself at the polls and demanded the right to vote. She based her legal contention on the provision that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Mrs. Minor's ballot was refused. Suit was brought against the election officials to make a test case. It was carried to the United States Supreme Court by Mr. Francis Minor, Mrs. Minor's husband. The argument attracted wide attention. Not until March, 1875, was the decision

rendered, putting an end to the hope of women to vote until the Constitution was amended.

From 1870, down to the ratification of the suffrage amendment—a period of fifty years—there was not a session of the Missouri legislature at which the suffragists did not appear and present their appeal for votes for women. Perhaps the most impressive of these appeals was that made by Mrs. W. C. Fordyce (Christine Orrick Fordyce), who addressed the legislature in 1917.

"Gentlemen, fifty years ago my grandmother came before the Missouri legislature and asked for the enfranchisement of women; twenty-five years ago my mother came to make the same request; tonight I am asking for the ballot for women. Are you going to make it necessary for my daughter to appear in her turn?"

**Old Black Mo.**

The Missouri suffragists had a song which they called "Old Black Mo, with apologies to the shade of Stephen Foster." At that time the map of the United States showed in white the states which had given votes to women, while Missouri and the other states which were still denying equal suffrage were patches in dense black. The song ran:

Dark are the days, tho' they hadn't ought to be,
Suffrage is coming and coming rapidly;
The map is growin' white, the East begins to glow,
But on this map we still are seeing Old Black Mo.

Chorus:
It's coming! It's coming! See how the white spots grow!
We hear our happy sisters calling Old Black Mo.

That's why we weep and our hearts are full of pain.
Cold-hearted politicians have knocked us out again.
The Federal Amendment is so infernal slow
And on the map we still are seeing Old Black Mo.

Chorus:
It's coming! etc.

When two years pass, once more we'll try it on.
Some who opposed us will certainly be gone.
We'll be good and ready and then perhaps we'll show
A spot of white instead of Old Black Mo.

Chorus:

**The Golden Lane.**

When the Democratic National convention met in St. Louis to renominate Woodrow Wilson, in 1916, Missouri women organized and carried through "the golden lane." For hours they formed rows on either side of the street by which the delegates to the convention passed to reach the convention hall. Nothing was said but with the white dresses, yellow sashes and yellow parasols the 7,000 women

standing in line and forming this "golden lane" formed a striking appeal for the insertion of a suffrage plank in the platform.

When Missouri entered the World war, the St. Louis Equal Suffrage league did not delay a week in offering service. The Missouri suffragists were militant in the bond drives, in the sale of thrift stamps, in gifts to the soldiers' and sailors' club, in the Red Cross work, in the knitting units, in the welfare work, in food conservation, in every possible line of usefulness. Kansas City had its Jackson County Equal Suffrage League with Mrs. J. B. White as president, carrying on aggressively along these same practical lines. The Missouri Equal Suffrage Association pushed the propaganda under the direction of Mrs. Walter McNab Miller and Mrs. W. W. Boyd into every part of the state. A special session of the Missouri legislature to ratify the submitted amendment to the United States Constitution was the irresistible result. At the regular session previously the legislature had passed a bill giving Missouri women the right to vote for Presidential electors. The special session, called by Governor Gardner, through the ratification of the amendment to the United States Constitution, widened the suffrage right to the whole ballot and the right was exercised in November, 1920.

The special session was held in July, 1920. Without debate, and in twenty minutes after the resolution was introduced, the lower house of the Missouri legislature ratified the amendment. The vote was taken on the 2nd of July. It was 125 in favor and four against. The state senate had adjourned to pay respect to a deceased senator, Clark Mix, of Bates. Later the senate ratified by a vote of 29 to three.

With the centennial year of statehood, Missouri experienced a political revolution. Intense interest of Missouri womanhood in the right of franchise was made apparent in the returns of the election of November, 1920, the first election following the ratification of the suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. For Presidential electors at this test election, Missouri polled 1,332,800 votes. That was an increase of 541,031 over the vote for Presidential electors in 1916. The votes on Presidential electors for Missouri gave the republicans pluralities of about 152,263. The votes on Presidential electors were distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican (Harding) | 727,162 |
| Democratic (Cox) | 579,799 |
| Socialist (Debs) | 20,242 |
| Social Labor (Cox) | 2,164 |
| Farmer-Workman (Christensen) | 3,291 |
| Prohibition (Watkins) | 5,142 |

A division in the democratic party on the question of the relation of the United States to the League of Nations, as formed at Versailles in connection with the treaty of peace between the allies and the central powers, had marked effect in Missouri. A minority of the democratic party favored the stand taken by Senator James A. Reed in antagonism to the position of President Woodrow Wilson and of the national platform. But the result in Missouri was due in much larger measure to the nation-wide reaction and to a spirit of restlessness demanding a change. Missouri elected the republican state ticket throughout, and republican

majorities in both branches of the general assembly. The state returned the republican senator Selden P. Spencer and sent an almost solid delegation to the House of Representatives at Washington.

The successful republican state ticket included three judges of the supreme court, Conway Elder, David E. Blair, and Edward Higbee. On Monday, January 10, 1921, these republican state officers were inaugurated in the presence of throngs of Missourians who overflowed the new capitol: Governor, Arthur W. Hyde; Lieutenant-Governor, Hiram Lloyd; Secretary of State, Charles U. Becker; Treasurer, L. D. Thompson; Auditor, George E. Hackmann; Attorney General, Jesse W. Barrett.

The plurality by which Governor Hyde was elected was 141,398. The pluralities of the other state officers were approximately the same.

## CHAPTER XLIII

## CLASSICS AND VERNACULAR

*The Celebrated Mule Case—Five Years Litigation over Five Dollars—"The Missouri Mule Takes after His Dam and not His Sire"—Benton's Favorite Play upon Names—The Perryville Speech—Bully Pitt, Orator of International Fame—The Birch vs. Benton Slander Suit—"A Sheep-killing Cur Dog"—Nine Years in the Courts and No Finish—Vest on the Dog—"The one absolute, unselfish, Friend"—How Wells H. Blodgett Won a Case—Immaterial John Jameson—When Missourians Voted for Jackson—The Man Higher Up—"Life and Twenty Years"—A Notable Record on the Bench—"I'm from Missouri; you'll have to Show Me"—Authorities on the Origin—"P. K. Price's Kavalry"—"Pat" Dyer and "Pat" Donan—Missouri Proverbs Coined on the Bench—The Speech that Elected Vest—Pioneer Vocabulary—Miles Vernon and His "Old Johnny Congress"—The Jayhawkers Tradition—Newcomers had to Learn the Missouri Language—The Shortest Campaign Speeches—Brevity and Success—A Traveling Preacher's Discoveries—Rings and Rings—A Tribute to the Possum—Jack Pierce, Champion Butter—The Epic of Chouteau's Ram—An Historic Event in St. Louis' Early Period.*

The one absolute, unselfish friend that a man can have in this selfish world, the one that never deserts him, the one that never proves ungrateful or treacherous, is his dog.—*The Eulogy of the Dog, by George G. Vest.*

"The mule case" has found a place among the classics of the Missouri bar. A man riding home in the gloaming from a job of clover hulling in the Ozarks was astride of one mule and was leading another. He met three men in a buggy on a Springfield street. A hole in the ground, a pile of dirt and a heap of bricks complicated the situation. The led mule shied so that his hinder part became mixed up with the wheel of the buggy and a spoke was broken. The buggy owner demanded five dollars for damages. The mule man refused to pay. The courts were called upon to determine whether "a wild and unruly mule" was being led in a "careless and negligent manner."

The case was tried by a justice of the peace, next by a nisi prius court from which it went to the court of appeals. Finally the "five dollar case having its taproot in anger and possibly in liquor" reached the supreme court where it was, with some indignation, disposed of. But Judge Henry Lamm was prompted to an analysis and vindication of the general character of the Missouri mule in these words:

"There being no evidence tending to show the mule was 'wild and unruly,' as charged, is such a mule per se a nuisance, a vicious animal, has he a heart devoid of social duty and fatally bent on mischief when led by a halter on the street of a town, and must his owner answer for his acts on that theory?

"Attend to that view of it:

"(1) There are sporadic instances of mules behaving badly. That one that Absalom rode and 'went from under' him at a crisis in his fate, for instance. So it has been intimated in fireside precepts that the mule is unexpected in his heel action, and has other faults. In Spanish folk lore it is said: 'He who wants a mule without faults must walk.' So, at the French chimney-corner the adage runs: 'The mule long keeps a kick in reserve for his master.' 'The mule don't kick according to no rule,' saith the American negro. His voice has been a matter of derision and there be those who put their tongue in their cheek when speaking of it. Witness the German proverb: 'Mules make a great fuss about their ancestors having been asses.' And so on, and so on. But none of these things are factors in the instant case; for here there was no kicking and braying standing in the relation of causa causans to the injury to the wheel.

"Moreover, the rule of logic is that induction which proceeds by merely citing instances is a childish affair and, being without any certain principle of inference, it may be overthrown by contrary instances. Accordingly the faithfulness, the dependableness, the surefootedness, the endurance, the strength and the good sense of the mule, all matters of common knowledge, may be allowed to stand over against his faults and create either an equilibrium or a preponderance in the scales in his favor. He, then, as a domestic animal is entitled to the doctrine that if he become vicious, guilty knowledge (the scienter) must be brought home to his master, precisely as it must be on the dog or ox. The rule of the master's liability for acts of the ox is old. (Ex. 21:29.) That for the acts of the dog is put this way: The law allows the dog his first bite. Lord Cockburn's dictum covers the master's liability on a kindred phase of liability for sheep-killing, to-wit: 'Every dog is entitled to at least one worry.' So with this mule. Absent proof of the bad habit of 'spreading' when led and the scienter, liability did not spring from the mere fact his hind leg (he being scared) got over the wheel while he was led by a five-foot halter rope; for it must be held that a led mule is not a nuisance per se, unless he is to be condemned on that score out-and-out because of his ancestry and some law of heredity, some asinine rule, so to speak, a question we take next.

"(2) Some care should be taken not to allow such scornful remarks as that 'the mule has no pride of ancestry or hope of posterity' to press upon our judgment. He inherits his father's ears, but what of that? The ass's ears, presented by an angry Apollo, were an infliction to King Midas, but not to the mule. He is a hybrid, but that was man's invention centuries gone in some province of Asia Minor, and the fact is not chargeable to the mule. So, the slowness of the domestic ass does not descend as a trait to the Missouri mule. It is said that a thistle is a fat salad for an ass's mouth. Maybe it is also in a mule's, but be it so, surely his penchant for homely fare cannot so far condemn him that he does not stand rectus in curia. Moreover, if his sire stands in satire as an emblem of sleepy stupidity, yet that avails naught; for the authorities (on which I cannot put my finger at this moment) agree that the Missouri mule takes after his dam and not his sire in that regard. All asses are not four-footed, the adage saith, and yet to call a man an 'ass' is quite a different thing than to call him 'mulish' (vide, the lexicographers).

"Furthermore, the very word jack-ass is a term of reproach everywhere, as in the literature of the law. Do we not all know that a certain phase of the law of negligence, the humanitarian rule, first announced, it has been said, in a donkey case (Davies v. Mann, 10 Mees. & Wels. 545) has been called by those who deride it, the 'jack-ass doctrine?' This on the doctrine of the adage: 'Call a dog a bad name and then hang him.' But, on the other hand, to sum up fairly, it was an ass that saw the heavenly vision, even Balaam, the seer, could not see and first raised a voice against cruelty to animals. (Num. 22:23 et sq.) So, did not Sancho Panza by meditation gather the sparks of wisdom while ambling along on the back of one, that radiated in his wonderful judgments pronounced in his decision by the common-sense rule of knotty cases in the Island of Barataria? Did not Samson use the jaw-bone of one effectually on a thousand Philistines? Is not his name imperishably preserved in that of the first proposition of the first book of Euclid—the pons asinorum? But we shall pursue the subject no farther. Enough has been said to show that the ass is not without some rights in the courts even on sentimental grounds; ergo, if his hybrid son, tracing his lineage as he does to the Jacks of Kentucky and Andalusia, inherits some of his traits he cannot be held bad per se. Q. E. D.

MULE DAY IN CENTRAL MISSOURI

EXCHANGE BUILDING AND BUSINESS OFFICES OF KANSAS CITY STOCK YARDS, IN 1871

"It is meet that a five-dollar case, having its tap root in anger (and possibly in liquor), should not drag its slow lengths through the courts for more than five years, even if it had earned the sobriquet of the 'celebrated mule case.'"

*"Memo."*

**Benton's Play Upon Names.**

If Benton realized in 1849 that he was approaching the end of his unprecedented senatorial career, he did not let it appear in his conversation. As for his speeches they differed from those in previous campaigns only in being if possible more bitter toward his enemies. Occasionally he did not spare his friends. At Bolivar, Colonel Robert E. Acock, who had been and was then one of the senator's most devoted friends, yielded to the temptation to rise and ask a question. He had not removed his hat.

"Who is this man, citizens, who dares to stop Benton in a speech?" the senator called out, although he had known the colonel for many years.

"Acock! Acock! Colonel Acock!" was shouted from a dozen places in the audience by excited men who fell into the oratorical trap.

"Acock?" said Benton in reply, with a look of contempt. "No, citizens, no; not a cock but a hen. Take off your hat, sir, and take your seat."

One of the audience at Perryville was John F. Darby, of St. Louis, leading whig. As a fellow St. Louisan, Mr. Darby complimented Benton on his speech and told him he had made an impression on the people. Benton expressed no appreciation for Mr. Darby's judgment but replied: "Always the case; always the case, sir. Nobody opposes Benton but a few blackjack prairie lawyers; these are the only opponents of Benton. Benton and the people, Benton and Democracy are one and the same, sir, synonymous terms, sir, synonymous terms."

At this Perryville speech, Benton had referred proudly to his fight in the Senate against the nullifiers:

"Citizens, no man since the days of Cicero has been abused as has Benton. What Cicero was to Cataline, the Roman conspirator, Benton has been to John Cataline Calhoun, the South Carolina nullifier. Cicero fulminating his philippics against Cataline in the Roman forum; Benton denouncing Calhoun upon the floor of the American Senate; Cicero against Cataline; Benton against Calhoun."

And yet Benton had his standards for the amenities. At one time he was to have replied in the Senate to a speech which Calhoun had made the previous day. Word came that Calhoun was seriously ill. The Missouri senator announced: "Benton will not speak today, for when God Almighty lays his hand on a man, Benton takes his off."

**"Bully" Pitt, American Orator.**

Of a once well known character, who promoted the gaiety of politics in Northwest Missouri, Dean Walter Williams told this:

"When Judge Elijah H. Norton of the supreme court was nominated from the Platte county district for Congress on the democratic ticket, Col. John E. Pitt, otherwise called 'Bully' Pit, announced himself as an independent candidate against him. Judge Norton published a list of his speaking appointments in Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Atchison,

Nodaway and Gentry. Pitt walked over the district and managed to be at every one of Norton's meetings, and he harangued the crowd either before or after Judge Norton's speaking. Pitt carried over his shoulder in a sack a half bushel of what he called onion seed. He told the people it was not necessary to wait until he got to Congress for their onion seed, as he carried a supply with him, which he doled out in small handfuls to the farmers. By some mysterious providence every farmer who planted the seed found himself in possession of a fine patch of jimsons.

"Col. Pitt was a notorious whig. Yet, when there was not a single whig in Platte county except himself, the democrats elected him to the legislature twice. On one occasion he made a speech, such as it was, that was such an oratorical curiosity that it was published in all the newspapers from Maine to California. In that speech he spoke of the fact that as a whig he had about as much show in the house, where all were democrats, as 'a bob-tail bull in fly time.' In the same speech he indulged in poetry after this fashion:

"I love to see the green grass grow
Among the red May roses;
I love to see an old gray horse,
For when he goes, he goeses."

"Extracts from Col. Pitt's famous speech were copied in an article in Blackwood's Magazine as a specimen of American eloquence."

**Birch vs. Benton.**

For almost the whole of his thirty years in the Senate, Benton entertained Missouri with tongue-lashing of those who opposed him, and was not called to legal account. His denunciations and his epithets were such exaggerations that they were taken like cartoons, as rather ludicrous than damaging. But in 1849, the old Roman came back from Washington breathing out threatenings and uttering slanders which surpassed previous efforts. He was announced to speak at Liberty, in the court house, one afternoon. That morning the anti-Benton democrats got up a meeting and had a speech from Birch, against whom Benton was especially incensed at the time. When the hour came for the afternoon meeting, Benton declared he would not hold his meeting where Birch had spoken a few hours before. He mounted a wagon and made his speech, a portion of which was devoted to Birch, whom he called "a sheep-killing cur dog." He alleged that Birch had knocked down his wife and had struck out three of her teeth because she had protested against his actions.

Birch sued for slander, his original petition putting the amount at $1,000. But the petition was amended and the amount increased from time to time as the case was taken from county to county and as additional lawyers were employed. In the history of litigation in Missouri there was never another slander suit like this. The array of lawyers was imposing. Among those on one side or the other were A. W. Doniphan, James B. Gardenhire, Henry M. Vories, Basset and Jones, Waldo P. Johnson, H. L. Routt, Russell Hicks, James K. Sheley, John Wilson, Ben. F. Loan, Samuel H. Woodson. Eighteen lawyers volunteered their services to Benton. The speeches that were delivered in the nine years through which the suit dragged would have filled several volumes. They covered a wide range of subjects, many of them historical or political in character and with no direct application to the case. The witnesses summoned were

Sterling Price, Austin A. King and scores of other prominent Missourians. Depositions were taken in California, in Pennsylvania and in Washington. When the case, at length, came to trial on its merits, if it could be said to have any merits, it appeared that the issue was whether Benton said Birch was a "sheep killing" or a "sheep biting" dog. Very little attention was paid to evidence, the lawyers depending upon oratory. It was while Waldo P. Johnson was making his brilliant effort that an enthusiastic listener shouted from the audience, "Go it, my little Johnson; rise and shine, honey. Live in the milk and die in the cream."

The trial took place in Henry county. Johnson was the pride of the adjoining county of St. Clair. The jury returned a verdict of $5,000 damages against Benton. The case went to the supreme court, where Judge Napton had himself excused from sitting because he had been aligned with the anti-Benton faction. The case was remanded for a new trial, but Benton died before another hearing.

Sarcastic play upon names was the favorite oratorical manner of Benton. The senator once referred to Congressman Lamb, of Hannibal, as "the infant sheep." When he was running for governor in 1856, his last appeal to Missourians for votes, Benton would refer to the regular nominee of the democrats, in very deliberate speech, as if carefully measuring his words: "Trusten Polk; Trusten Pólk; a man that nobody trusts; a knave in politics; a hypocrite in religion."

Occasionally Benton took notice of what was said about him and made direct answer, though that was not a common thing for him to do. When he was at Troy to speak his attention was called to a printed attack upon him by a leader of the anti-Benton faction. Benton replied: "Send him word that Benton says he lied from the bottom of his belly to the root of his tongue, and from the root of it out to the tip."

**"The One Absolute, Unselfish Friend."**

The place, the time, the names of the litigants may be forgotten, but the eulogy of the dog, uttered by George G. Vest, will live as a classic in the legal practice of Missouri. It brought moisture to the eyes of the listeners and it won the case. In and out of the United States Senate, Vest made speeches without number, but his few words in the dog case are oftenest quoted. They did not analyze the evidence. In fact it is tradition that the lawyer paid little attention to what the witnesses testified. But when the other side had closed, Vest arose and said to the twelve Missourians and to the world:

"The best friend a man has in this world may turn against him and become his enemy. His son or daughter that he has reared with loving care may prove ungrateful. Those who are nearest and dearest to us, those whom we trust with our happiness and our good name, may become traitors to their faith.

"The money that a man has he may lose. It flies away from him, perhaps, when he needs it most. A man's reputation may be sacrificed in a moment of ill-considered action. The people who are prone to fall on their knees to do us honor when success is with us may be the first to throw the stone of malice when failure settles its cloud upon our heads.

"The one absolute, unselfish friend that a man can have in this selfish world, the one that never deserts him, the one that never proves ungrateful or treacherous, is his dog.

"A man's dog stands by him in prosperity and in poverty, in health and in sickness.

He will sleep on the cold ground, where the wintry winds blow and the snow drives fiercely, if only he can be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer, he will lick the wounds and sores that come in the encounter with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince. When all other friends desert, he remains.

"When riches take wings and reputation falls to pieces, he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens. If fortune drives the master forth an outcast in the world, friendless and homeless, the faithful dog asks no higher privilege than that of accompanying him, to guard him against danger, to fight against his enemies.

"And when the last scene of all comes, and death takes his master in its embrace and his body is laid away in the cold ground, no matter if all other friends pursue their way, there by the graveside will the noble dog be found, his head between his paws, his eyes sad but open in alert watchfulness, faithful and true even to death."

**Vest's Tribute to the Dog.**

Vest's tribute to the dog came about through the agency of Colonel Wells H. Blodgett. Before he was general counsel of the Wabash railroad, Colonel Blodgett was practising law in Western Missouri, having an office at Warrensburg. The story is that two men living on adjoining farms were on friendly terms until one killed the other's dog. Blodgett was the lawyer for the man whose dog was killed. He brought suit against the killer for damages, claiming the modest sum of $300. This was not long after the Civil war. Dogs were of not long pedigrees and the loss of one was not considered a basis for heavy damages. Mr. Vest was in the court room when the case came up for trial. Blodgett asked him to assist. Vest said he knew nothing of the case. Blodgett suggested that something in the way of a tribute to the value of a dog's fidelity to his master was what he needed to help get a verdict of damages for the loss of this particular dog. Upon that suggestion Vest pronounced the eulogy. The jury was moved to moist eyes and gave a verdict for Blodgett's client.

**"Immaterial John" Jameson.**

"Immaterial John" Jameson was the name by which one of the first lawyers in Central Missouri was known among his friends. In his younger life in Callaway county, Mr. Jameson occasionally drank to such an excess as to make his gait uncertain. Under such conditions he would tie a silk handkerchief about his leg and intimate that he was afflicted with rheumatism, but if any one manifested too much sympathy and began to ask too many questions, Mr. Jameson would shut off the inquiry with, "Oh, it is immaterial." Later in life Mr. Jameson studied theology and became a licensed preacher in the Christian church. He was considered about the strongest jury lawyer of his day in that part of the state. He seemed to read the thoughts of jurors as he looked at them. He turned every situation to his advantage. Once he saved a man who was on trial for stealing corn by trapping the witness into the admission that the corn was in shucks and that he did not see what was in the shucks. Then Jameson produced some corn in shucks and asked each juror if he could see any corn through the shucks. When each said he could not, Mr. Jameson in his peculiar manner asked if they could believe a witness who swore to the theft of corn when it was in shucks. The prisoner was acquitted.

Jameson was a man of unbounded personal popularity. He was sent to the

legislature and after that served three terms in Congress. He had a way of his own in presenting a case. While arguing before Judge Tompkins in the supreme court Jameson made use of the expression "when the plaintiff did so I turned around and did so and so. When the plaintiff proved so and so by John Smith, I turned around and proved so and so by John Jones." Judge Tompkins interrupted with, "Now, Mr. Jameson, do you really mean to state that upon every motion made by the plaintiff and upon every step he took in the cause, you actually turned all the way round?" "I will explain, if your honor please," replied Mr. Jameson, turning his back to the court, picking up his hat and walking out of the courtroom. The laugh was on the judge.

**On the Stump in Pioneer Days.**

The source of political inspiration for Missourians in the first generation under statehood was St. Louis. When campaigns came on, leaders went out from the metropolis to inform the country constituency upon the issues of the day. During Andrew Jackson's first candidacy for President, one of the speakers sent from St. Louis, a young lawyer, brought back from the interior of the state a story of his experience which was told in political circles for many years. This spellbinder of 1820-30 was addressing a meeting of pioneers in the woods, some distance this side of what is now Jefferson City. He told of Jackson's military services at New Orleans, in the Creek war and in Florida. He dwelt upon the political principles of Jackson as appealing to the plain people. It was, in those days, quite the proper thing for auditors to ask questions of a speaker. When Mr. Lincoln went east in 1859 to make his Cooper Union speech and followed it with several addresses in New England, he would occasionally pause as if he expected a question or a comment from the audience. At Exeter, after one of these pauses in which he had looked from side to side as if waiting for something to be said, he began again with: "You people here don't jaw back at a fellow as they do out West."

The St. Louis orator calculated on making his most effective points in response to questions or interruptions. At the Jackson meeting, a settler broke in with, "Wa'll now capting, mought I ax if Ginral Jacksing's a riglar Missourian, an' what he did for the people of this here state?"

"A very fair question," replied the orator from St. Louis, with an air of gratitude toward the settler. "General Jackson settled away far west in Missouri, and there opened a store for the special accommodation of farmers who were at the mercy of Yankee speculators charging big prices for their 'notions' and taking in return three times the fair amount in 'prodooce.' It's well known the honest general, when things were dearest, never charged more than a picayune a pound for sugar and coffee."

The orator told when he returned to St. Louis that this statement aroused great enthusiasm with shouts of "Hurrah for Jacksing!" "Bully for the ginral!" "He'll carry Osage county, sure!"

The story lived beyond the campaign of 1824. It was told in Washington. Long after Jackson had been twice President, St. Louisans visiting the East were asked if it was true that democrats in Missouri were "still voting for Gineral Jacksing."

**"The Man Higher Up."**

"The man higher up" is of Missouri coinage. The author of this phrase, which became of nation-wide application to those who made criminal tools of others, was Judge Elmer B. Adams. In 1903, while charging a grand jury of the Federal court at St. Louis to investigate naturalization frauds, Judge Adams told that body it must "look not only for the little man who is made a tool, but for the man higher up." The expressive phrase was a principle of action by Judge Adams in marked degree. About 1905, there came before Judge Adams what were known as the peonage cases of Southeast Missouri. Owners of large plantations established labor camps, built stockades and imprisoned laborers, with armed guards. The cases went through district, circuit and appellate courts with heavy punishment to wealthy men who had attempted to make slaves of employes. "Life and twenty years" was the sentence this judge imposed on a city hall employe who had held up a mail carrier and robbed him of a pouch of registered mail. The case was an aggravated one. It was explained afterwards that the added twenty years meant that if a higher court should deem "life" an excessive sentence and set that aside, the prisoner would still have twenty years to serve. The "get-rich-quick" cases gave Judge Adams the opportunity to make practical application of the man-higher-up principle. A United States senator was sent to jail. Some $400,000 from the Baldy Ryan wreck was taken away from the promoter and distributed among the duped investors. There were strikers and strikers in Judge Adams' estimation. When the sympathizers with the street car men barricaded tracks and made trolley lines useless in 1900, Judge Adams enjoined interference with mail cars which then ran on the tracks. He received a waste basket full of threatening letters. Three years later the lawyers for the Wabash tried to enjoin the engineers and trainmen. Judge Adams heard several witnesses, refused the injunction and lectured the railroad lawyers for attempting unjustifiable use of the injunction law, declaring that the men had a grievance against the company.

**"You'll Have to Show Me."**

"I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me." This was coined so far back in the last century that it belongs to Missouri folklore. The origin has been forgotten. The uses have been many. The expression found such extended application beyond the borders of the state that it was accepted in other parts of the country as in some way typical of Missouri character. The late Norman J. Colman, secretary of agriculture in the first Cleveland cabinet, once said that these fewer than half score of simple Saxon words contain "a correct estimate of Missouri character. It is true that we are not a people who will accept as truth statements of moment which the maker should be able to demonstrate as fact."

On one occasion the expression was used in court with telling effect. Ten or fifteen years ago Judge Joseph J. Williams, in Jefferson county, was hearing a case in which James F. Green appeared for the Missouri Pacific legal department. The referee in the case, Mr. Bean, had made a voluminous report adverse to the railroad's contention. The judge was inclined to take Bean's find-

ings. Mr. Green insisted that Bean was wrong in his conclusions and argued that the judge must go through the great bulk of testimony to satisfy the ends of justice. The time was summer. The judge fingered the top sheets of the referee's transcript and said:

"Well, I suppose, then, it will be necessary for me to go over this mass of testimony in order to decide as to the contentions made, and—"

"Well, your Honor," interrupted Mr. Green, "of course that would be necessary, but, as you know yourself, you are from Missouri and I am anxious to show you, you see—all sides of the case."

Commenting on the expression, subsequent to his use of it in court, Mr. Green said, "The last analysis of it exhibits erudition that smacks of legal lore. There is behind that saying the element of such great truth that Missourians should be proud of the sentiment or sense of it. I think I have heard that it was first spoken before a Missouri 'squire in one of the Southeast Missouri counties."

Charles P. Johnson, the former lieutenant-governor, leader of many reforms in Missouri, first heard of the use of the expression in connection with the mining craze which had its run in Missouri along in the nineties. Many Missourians invested not wisely but so generously in holes in the ground from British Columbia to Old Mexico that they had enough handsomely engraved stock certificates to paper a fair-sized bedroom.

"The latent power of that expression," said Governor Johnson, "is that part of it which conveys to your senses the conviction that the person who uses it has had some convincing experience that he is unwilling to enter into ventures of a dubious or unknown character. The saying is exemplification of the truth that in experience there is wisdom."

Judge D. P. Dyer, of marvelous memory in all that pertains to Missouri, first heard of this saying in connection with a fight in a mining camp in the Rocky Mountains. The bully of the camp threatened a Missourian with a thrashing. The Missourian prepared for the encounter. Friends warned the Missourian that he was sure to get the worst of it. "Well," said the Missourian, "maybe he'll lick me, but I'm from Missouri, and you'll have to show me."

For twenty years and more after Missourians by thousands joined the great caravan of gold hunters in 1849, a current saying in Pike county and in fact throughout Northeast Missouri was,—

"I'm going to California—if the rope don't break."

Many years ago, when Judge David P. Dyer was in one of his delightful reminiscent moods, he told the origin of the expression: "One of our old settlers in Pike occasionally indulged in too much liquor. In that condition he was beyond control short of violence. At the time of the rush to the California placers he determined to take his family which included several well grown boys and go across the plains. When the wagon was loaded and the time came to leave, the old resident was over-loaded and not ready to leave. The sons simply took hold of him and roped him to the end of the wagon. In this order they started out of town. A friend of the old man riding in from the country, met the procession, and called out:

"'Hey, Jesse! Where you goin'?'

"'To California—if the rope don't break,' said Jesse. And," concluded

Judge Dyer, "that expression came into general use to indicate a tardy or rebellious submission to superior authority."

**P. K.—Price's Cavalry.**

When Kiskaddon was prosecuting attorney of Franklin county he had a story of litigation just following the war, which he told with great glee. Price came up through Southeast Missouri on what was known in military terms as an expedition, but which was commonly called a raid. When the cavalry advance found serviceable stock they exchanged their wornout animals. In the stables of the Pilot Knob Iron company were fifty or sixty mules. They bore the private brand of the company,—"P. K." The Confederates confiscated the mules, left behind their hard ridden mounts and moved on to the outskirts of St. Louis and to the Missouri river. As the mules gave out other exchanges were made with farmers along the route of the raiders. After General Price retired from the state and some degree of order was restored with the cessation of hostilities, officers of the iron company, with an attorney, went over the trail hunting up and reclaiming their property. They found one bunch of mules in a neighborhood where the farmers who had received them in the involuntary exchanges declined to give them back. The farmers hired a lawyer and the case went to court. Judge Edwards represented the iron company. He produced his witnesses who swore to the ownership of the mules, identifying them by the "P. K." brand. The judge believed he had made a complete case. But the attorney for the farmers addressed the jury with his own interpretation of the evidence for the iron company. "Judge Edwards has told you," he said, "that the mules belong to the iron company. He seeks to prove it by the brand 'P. K.' Gentlemen, I am astonished at his nerve. Does he think he can deceive this jury by making them believe that P. K. stands for Pilot Knob when you all know that P-i-l-o-t N-o-b spells Pilot Knob. No, sir. Gentlemen, I'll tell you what P. K. stands for. It means P-r-i-c-e-'s K-a-v-a-l-r-y,—Price's Cavalry." And, according to Kiskaddon, the jury returned a verdict for the defense.

**"Pat" Dyer and "Pat" Donan.**

Perhaps in no other Missouri circuit than Pike county could this petition have found standing in court. And perhaps no other young Missouri lawyer of forty-seven years ago would have ventured to file it:

Pat Donan and Ethan Allen, Plaintiffs,

vs.

The Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad Company, Defendant.

In the Pike County Circuit court, Fall Term, 1873.

Plaintiffs state that in 1870 and 1871 they were and have ever since continued to be co-partners in business under the firm name and style of Donan & Allen; that said firm was and is engaged in publishing what is known as the Lexington Caucasian, a newspaper, (so-called) printed and published in Lexington, Missouri; that the chief editor of said paper, to-wit: Pat Donan, is an unwashed and unregenerate rebel, in favor of a "white man's government," opposed to negro suffrage and all other similar and modern improvements; and is and has been in favor of the repudiation of the national debt contracted for the purpose of saving the nation from the hands of the said editor and his confederates; that the said editor-in-chief was also, in the year 1872 in favor of the election of Silas Woodson as governor of Missouri, but that the said editor is at this time much

disaffected toward his excellency, the said governor, and has duly repented (the first time in his life) in sackcloth and ashes for his want of judgment and discretion in that regard. That notwithstanding all of these things were well known to the defendant, and had been by it duly considered, the said plaintiffs, at the special instance and request of the said defendant, did and performed certain work and labor, and furnished materials for the same to the defendant, as will more fully appear by an account herewith filed, marked exhibit "A," and made a part of this petition. Plaintiffs state that the balance claimed in said account, to-wit: the sum of fifty dollars with interest is due them and unpaid, for which, with the costs of suit, attorney's fees and a railroad pass, they ask judgment. Plaintiffs further state that the said defendant is a body corporate under the laws of this state, and by its corporate name has the right to sue and be sued in any of the courts of this state.

D. P. DYER, Attorney for Plaintiff.

The plaintiff in this case was known far and wide as "Pat" Donan, whereas he had been christened Peter Donan. The attorney for the plaintiff was equally well known as "Pat" Dyer, but his legal name was David Patterson Dyer.

**Missouri Proverbs.**

A book of Missouri proverbs might be assembled from the supreme court decisions rendered by a former chief justice, Henry Lamm:

"Every law suit is hatched from an egg or grown from a seed."

"What cannot be done in a straight line (as the bee flies) may not be done in a roundabout way (as the fox runs)."

"An eagle does not catch flies, so equity deals not with mere trifles in a search for fraud."

"Restitution is the beginning of reformation, even as the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

"In times past, when Satan 'squat like a toad close at the ear of Eve,' spoiled the felicity of the race by his suggestions to that new (and somewhat inexperienced) woman, it was promulgated as a rule, 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.'"

"If one is not to get a stone who asks for bread, no more is he to get water who asks for milk."

"In jurisprudence, as in the other serious affairs of mankind, a mountain is not made out of a mole hill. Those judges who strain at gnats are in the same category as those who swallow camels."

"A new trial is a loaf baked in the oven of the law to be sociably shared by both parties."

"A fair test of the matter is to put the shoe on the other foot."

"What the Legislature has joined together, we ought not to put asunder."

"The use of a given word often makes the stroke that of a feather. The use of another may make the stroke that of a hammer."

"Plaintiffs go into court voluntarily; defendants (speaking in fireside figure) are pulled in by the ears."

"His legs go far and fast who is running to a goal of gain and honor."

"Courts should not be more ignorant than any one else. Hence courts should not pretend not to know what every one else knows."

"We take judicial notice that the need of money is an abiding infirmity, natural and common to all men."

"There is a precept that every man is presumed to know the law—except the road law."

"Old Polybius says sourly, 'man is the most gullible of all animals.'"

"In deciding cases it is a very good rule never to decide in the present case what can be better decided in the next case."

"Running in debt is easy and pleasant while it lasts,—paying is another story."

"However much the cow waters her own milk, the milkman has no right to designedly duplicate nature's gift of water by a furtive gift of his own from the barnyard pump."

**Vest's Election to the Confederate Congress.**

An adroit speech and a single vote elected Vest to the Confederate Congress for his first term. Soldiers and civilians with Price, who came from the district in which Vest had lived, were called together to elect their representative. It was a traveling electorate. The election was as formal as the peculiar conditions would permit. Vest's rival was one of the most distinguished looking lawyers in Central Missouri. His name was George Solon Rathbun. B. U. Massey said of him:

"Colonel Rathbun was always handsomely dressed in a suit of broadcloth, frock coat and black velvet vest. His hair, smoothly brushed, was as black as the wing of the raven. He always attracted attention when he spoke. He was deeply in earnest and fiery at times in debate. I was surprised to learn for the first time after his death that he was of northern birth. His dress, his manner, his whole-souled social character, his voice and aggressive methods in debate all indicated to me a southern ancestry and southern blood."

Rathbun was born at Newburg, Ohio. The war found him one of the most promising of the younger members of the bar at Lexington, Mo. He joined the southern rights wing of the Missourians, accepted a commission under Governor Jackson and became one of the most effective of Price's subordinate commanders. Vest was quite apprehensive that Rathbun would be the choice for Congress. When the meeting was called for the election, Vest, so the story goes, had a friend call for a speech from the candidates. His whole effort was a most eloquent tribute to Rathbun. Vest dwelt upon the splendid record his rival had made as an organizer and as a fighter. He spoke feelingly of Rathbun's physical perfection and bearing and then he drew his conclusion:

"Boys, are you going to allow the Confederate service to lose such a soldier as Colonel Rathbun, when a runt like myself who is of no earthly use to the military, can serve you in the Confederate congress just as well?"

By one vote Vest won the seat in congress. Rathbun continued in the army, distinguishing himself at Prairie Grove, at Lone Jack, at Newtonia, at Granby. He commanded the daring advance of one hundred officers and men who preceded and prepared the way for Price's invasion of Missouri in 1864.

**Pioneer Vocabulary.**

Sixty years ago Missourians were called "Pukes," just as Illinoisans were known as "Suckers"; Indiana people as "Hoosiers"; Ohioans, as "Buckeyes," and so on. The Missourians' nickname was rather the worst of all. Albert D. Richardson, who traveled in Missouri and "Beyond the Mississippi" extensively in the fifties, said: "Early Californians christened as 'Pukes' the immigrants from Missouri, declaring they had been vomited forth from that prolific state." It is more probable that this was a mining camp corruption for "Pikers," as Missourians were more commonly known in the Far West.

"Tolerable" was one of the most familiar words in the Missouri vernacular. Richardson had this experience, upon asking a fellow traveler:

OZARK FOLKS

OZARK FOLKS

OZARK FOLKS

THE OLD FASHIONED MISSOURI LOG BARN

"A DEADENING" IN THE OZARKS

"'Is it a good road from here to St. Joseph?'

"'Tolerable good, sir.'

"It proved intolerably bad. Just afterward meeting a teamster, I changed the form of the question, thus:

"'A bad road from here to St. Joseph, is it not?'

"'Tolerable bad, stranger.'

"Next encountering a little darkey with staring white eyes, I inquired:

"'Is it a straight road from here to St. Joseph?'

"'Tolerable straight, Massa,' replied young Ebony displaying from ear to ear a row of ivory."

Eastern newcomers poked fun at Missourians in the matter of vernacular. As early as 1857, a Missourian was putting up a stout defense of the current expressions, "We uns" and "You uns." An easterner, so the story as told in that day ran, asked, "Are you a grammarian?"

"Which?" asked the Missourian.

"Are you a grammarian?"

"Why, no; I am a Missourian." Fifty years later David P. Dyer revived this story in a notable speech.

Champ Clark is authority for the story that some one asked ex-Sheriff William F. Oglesby of Pike county if he was a grammarian, to which the ex-sheriff replied: "No sir, I am a Virginian."

**Missouri vs. New York Language.**

The laugh was not always on the Missouri vernacular. Richardson recalled this:

"I remember an old Missourian who was brought in contact with many eastern men by the establishment of a new stage line through his neighborhood. Said he:

"'I've lived on the frontier all my life. I know English and the sign language and have picked up a smattering of French, Spanish, Choctaw and Delaware; but one language I can't understand, that is this infernal New York language.'

"Missourians transplanted into Kansas many of their pet home phrases. One morning a squatter host of mine remarked:

"'These molasses is sweeter than any maple molasses I ever seen.'

"This unique use of the national saccharine only in the plural, not uncommon through the Southwest, originated in Pennsylvania. I heard another Missourian reply to inquiries touching his health:

"'I had the shakes last week, but now I have got shut of them.'

"A third, asked concerning his crop of corn, responded:

"'Yes, I raised a power of it. I have fed a heap to my cattle and got a right smart chance left.'

"Still another, with the prevalent contempt for small estates, told me with great merriment about a traveler from Ohio who had only thirty acres of land and actually called that a farm. At a country inn I heard a wayfarer ask:

"'Can I get to stay with you tonight?'

"'I reckon,' answered Boniface, 'though we are right smart crowded.' And before the evening fire he spoke of a swelling on his knee as a 'rising'."

Judge "Pat" Dyer told of the man from Pike county who went down to Washington many years ago. This "Piker" found himself one evening in a well assorted group of strangers. In a lull of the conversation on politics, and perhaps poker, the gentlemen around the table began to exchange information

about themselves. The first man, with unconcealed pride, said he was from Virginia. The second aggressively announced himself "a Kentuckian, sah!" With an air of self satisfaction, if not superiority, the Massachusetts man declared his Yankee nativity. The New Yorker came in after the manner of raising the game of citizenship to the limit. Judge Dyer's friend was last. He hesitated a moment, looked at the others, and then blurted out: "Gentlemen, I'm from Missouri. Don't laugh."

**"Old Johnny Congress."**

Forty years after the battle, Colonel Miles Vernon was still reminding his political audiences south of the Missouri river that he "was thar and fit with Gineral Jackson at Orleens." Vernon was a famous politician. He was born in 1786, but in 1856 he was a force to be reckoned with in the Missouri legislature. He stood six feet and weighed 200 pounds. He was prominent in the Missionary Baptist church as well as in politics. A bill was before the legislature to cut off part of Bates and create a new county. Vernon's name was put in the bill as the name of the proposed county and the bill went through easily. Vernon had a vernacular all his own. In his speeches he was accustomed to refer familiarly to the government at Washington as "Old Johnny Congress."

"Jayhawkers" was the name bestowed on Kansans by Pat Devlin's remark, according to a Western Missouri tradition. Devlin was rather recent from the Old Sod. He heard of a party of Kansans before the war making a raid on a Missouri community and carrying off some plunder. He likened the raid to that made by the jayhawks of Ireland on the nests of other birds.

Newcomers had to learn the Missouri vernacular. The story went round one neighborhood that "Old Miss Badger actually admitted she didn't know what a critter was." It seemed that one of the neighbors came to the Badger claim and asked, "Have you seen anything of our critter today?" Mrs. Badger's answer called out this from the inquirer:

"Why Good Lawd! Woman, whar was you raised? A critter's just the same as a hoss."

Judge Carty Wells of Warren county had wide fame as a cross examiner. He was defending a man charged with stealing an ax. A character witness was put on the stand. Judge Wells asked the man if he thought the defendant would steal an ax. Unexpectedly the witness said he had rather not answer that question. Wells insisted.

"Well," said the witness, "if I must, I must. As to general character, I think the least said the better. As to his stealing an ax, that is a leading question."

"Answer the question," demanded Wells.

"I can't say the old man would steal an ax," said the witness, "but I can swear that when he wants an ax he is bound to have it."

**The Shortest Campaign Speeches.**

"Uncle Reub." Fulkerson, who settled about 1830 in what became Johnson county, was elected to the legislature on a speech of fifteen words. He was a Jackson democrat. His opponent was a whig and a fine campaign orator. Uncle

Reub. went to the meeting of his rival and when the crowd was breaking up, addressed it: "Gentlemen: I'm a farmer. I don't go for lawyers. I go for farmers' interests."

When Sam Thompson was running for office in the Grand river country he sought to make the settlers feel he was one of the plain people. "I was born and reared in poverty, gentlemen," he said. "I went barefooted 'till I was of age, and I wore no other garment than a tow linen shirt until my arm was as big as an ear of corn."

While Buck Lampton was Columbia's popular constable and slave auctioneer, his favorite introduction when about to sell a negro on the block was: "This is a valuable slave. He will prove a fire in the winter and a shade in the summer."

**The Louse and the Lion.**

Judge Henry Lamm, at a gathering of the bar, quoted the proverb that "More trouble is made by a louse in a man's head than by a roaring lion in a neighbor's garden." He gave Judge Franklin Ferriss credit for recalling the proverb. This reminded Judge David P. Dyer of what was said about Judge Forrest, a distinguished lawyer of Mexico, Mo., when he came over to Bowling Green to attend a term of court.

"Old man Hendrick, a farmer living close by Bowling Green, looked at Forrest, a man with an immense head and an immense bunch of hair on his head. It grew so thick that he could not shove his head into a half-bushel. Old man Hendrick wore jeans clothes the year around. He said to me, 'Dyer, who is that man?' I said, 'That is Judge Forrest of Mexico.' 'Well,' he said, 'there isn't a louse in Pike county that wouldn't swim the Mississippi river to get into that head.'"

In the early years Missouri humor in print often took the form of a mixture of Creole vernacular and accent with English. As late as 1854, the Southern Literary Messenger printed the story of Jean Baptiste Robinet who kept a St. Louis restaurant in the thirties. Robinet had a customer who played dominoes and enjoyed his hospitality on a basis which provoked this outburst:

"Sare! You coame—you eat lonch! You eat lonch? Begar, you eat dinaire sure! You eat dinaire! You drink brandee! You drink ten cent wort brandee! You take cigar, de ver best regalia cigar! Vot den?" (Counting on his fingers.) "You eat dinaire—you drink ten cent wort brandee—you smoke five cent regalie cigar; you give me von—leet—five cent—piece! Sa-acre!" (Jerking off his coat and throwing it on the object of his wrath.) "Will you take my coat? Will you take the key of my house?"

**Rev. Samuel Parker's Discoveries.**

Rev. Samuel Parker, who traveled through Missouri in 1835, discovered that provincialisms were common and "amusing." He said:

"If a person intends to commence a journey some time in the month, for instance in May, he says, 'I am going in all the month of May.' For a large assemblage of people, they say, 'a smart sprinkle of people.' The word 'balance' comes into almost every transaction,—'Will you not have a dessert for the balance of your dinner?' 'To make out the balance of his night's rest he slept until eight in the morning.' If your baggage is to be carried, it will be asked, 'Shall I tote your plunder?' The use of the plunder is said to

have originated in the early predatory habits of the borderers. They also speak of a 'mighty pleasant day,' 'a mighty beautiful flower,' 'mighty weak.' A gentleman with whom I had formed an acquaintance invited me when I should make 'an outing' for exercise to call at his house, for his family would be 'mighty glad' to see me."

**Ringing the Changes.**

A single campaign speech which, according to tradition, won the election of John M. Samuel to a county office is quoted in North Todd Gentry's "Bench and Bar of Boone County." Candidate Samuel was from Columbia and had to face the rather telling charge of his opponent that he belonged to the "Columbia ring." It seemed that the campaign was going against him until he took the stump at old Rocheport and said:

"Yes, fellow citizens, we have lots of rings in Columbia. There is the courthouse ring; the university ring; the whiskey ring; and the anvils ring. The boys play marbles in a ring. The race horses trot around the ring; the cooks wring the chickens' necks and then ring the dinner bell. On Sunday morning, the church bells ring; and the ladies, God bless them, wear rings on their fingers. And in time of conflagration the fire bells ring. Yes, if you will go out tonight, in that awful town of Columbia, you will see that the moon has a ring and also see a ring around the raccoon's tail."

When the Possum Club of Columbia, a social organization, was formed, Judge Henry Lamm, then on the supreme bench of Missouri, was asked to attend the first annual meeting. He plead pressure of business that prevented leaving Jefferson City, but he sent a letter:

"The 'possum as an edible is prized by some epicures but he has more attractions to me than as a mere article of food. His mildness under affliction is his cardinal virtue. Smitten on one cheek he turns the other. Dead, he comes to life again. He is the only animal known to me that ever had the honor of originating a policy for statesmen, and I think you have done well to commemorate him by making him a part of the style and name of your firm."

**Jack Pierce, Champion Butter.**

A St. Louis character was a man named Pierce, who was always ready for a fight or a foot race or any other kind of sport. Pierce was a bully. He had a series of encounters, which established his supremacy in the community to such a degree that it was impossible to get up a fight with him except when some stranger who did not know his prowess arrived.

Pierce was not only a hard hitter, but he had a hard head, upon which no blow seemed to have any effect. He was so confident of his skull that one day he offered to fight a ram which was running at large in the commons and was the terror of all of the boys. Pierce said he could whip the ram at butting. He offered to try it on a bet of a gallon of whisky, to be given him if he was successful. The population of the town turned out to see the fight between Pierce and the ram.

After the ram had been teased to the fighting point, which did not take long, Pierce got down on his hands and knees. The ram was turned loose and made a bound toward the man. Pierce waited until the ram was almost upon

him, then dropped his head and jerked it up in time to strike the lower jaw of the ram, breaking the animal's neck. Having won a victory, Pierce was not satisfied to rest upon his laurels. He tried it again and again with increasing honors. At length a bout was arranged between Pierce and a ram of unusual size, owned by Colonel Chouteau.

The usual preliminary performance was gone through. Pierce, following his usual tactics, dropped his head, but his nose struck a sharp-pointed stub of a weed, which penetrated the nostril. Involuntarily Pierce threw up his head too soon and received upon his forehead the full force of the ram's bound. His skull was fractured and he died. Years afterwards the incident was made a Missouri epic by a local poet.

**Chouteau's Ram.**

"If you've learned—if not, why, more's the pity—
The early tales of the inland city,
In the days when it was but a trading post,
With little of beauty or size to boast,
[Though, nearer the sea, Holmes' 'One-Horse Shay'
Was just beginning to show decay,
And new adventure to turn its way
To where the town of the future lay],
*Sawng-Loo-ee,* as natives pronounced it then,
Say in eighteen hundred and nine or ten.
You've learned how the old flatboatmen wrought,
How they worked and frolicked and drank and fought,
Achieving more than a local fame
From the part they played in the rugged game
When swelling thews and a giant frame
Gave to credit the greatest claim.
When, as Pagans bow before idols rough,
And prove, though savage, devout enough,
They had their idols—though two alone—
The gods they worshipped were Brawn and Bone.

"Heavy, indeed, was the hand of him
Could win respect from these champions grim;
Yet a man there stalked 'mong these fighting men,
These Bashi-Bazouks, dated eighteen-ten,
Who ruled like a despot the boatmen coarse,
And ruled, as a despot rules, by force;
For bold Jack Pierce, by the common talk,
Was fairly ranked as 'cock of the walk.'
For 'Nigger Jim' he had beaten back,
Though wide the fame of the fighting black,
And fierce Mike Fink he had overthrown,
Though Mike had passed as the best man known;
But Jack had battered his lowering phiz
In a stubborn fight—where the court-house is,
While other bullies, though strong of arm,
Had risked his wrath, to their lasting harm.
To quote the village vernacular:
'Fight him? You'd better go hug a b'ar!'

"Sturdier one of the boatmen bold
Never perspired in a barge's hold,
Shook the deck with his heavy tread,
Crossed a buttock or broke a head;
Broad of shoulder and chest was he,
Narrow of hip as you'd wish to see,
Straight as an oak of the Meramec,
And his neck—*Il Allah!* it *was* a neck!
Such a neck had never a man before,
So vast a thing for the head it bore;
'Twas a neck as massive and thick and grand
As a monolith from old Egypt's land,
[We're to have one shortly, I understand];
A column fluted with muscles tough,
Vast in thickness—though short enough,
And its owner, in many an ugly fight,
Had proven this neck was a thing of might;
Though a man who seldom a combat hunted,
He would fight when pressed—and he always bunted!
Wrestling deftly, but as a sham,
He would lower his head like a battering-ram,
And fate would the luckless warrior mock
Who faced the force of that levin-shock;
A damaged lung or a rib-bone broke
Was the least to follow the awful stroke!
It tamed the mood of a boatman fierce,
When some one hinted: 'Just call Jack Pierce!'

"Pride is a fruit of the callow mind,
At least is pride of the vaulting kind;
The comment is stale—not worth the heeding,
But it gives a flavor of Sunday reading;
And, flushed by victory, Jack at length
Gloried too much in his special strength,
And swore he could butt, without risking harm,
With a ram that fed on the Chouteau farm!

"Few then living but chanced to know
The farm and the ram of Auguste Chouteau,
For the ram was as famed as a bull of Spain,
And the Chouteau farm was a wide domain.
A broad extent of the village lands,
Beyond where the Union Depot stands—
Its site exact, long out of mind,
Its ancient boundaries undefined—
'Tis the way of ages, but ever strange,
What men have done in the way of change;
Where through the glades crept the hunter lone
Now hurry thousands o'er ways of stone;
Where then was the Indian pony's course
Is heard the snort of the iron horse;
Where echoed the Indian's whooping shrill
Sounds the whoop of the hackman—deadlier still—
And where, on the hillside, violets grew,
Glist'ning with dew-drops each morn anew,
Are the haunts of the money-changing crew,

And it's only notes that get overdue!
There is food for reflection in going back
So far—but meanwhile we're forgetting Jack.

"The word passed that on a certain day,
When all the village might see the play,
One afternoon of the autumn haze,
In the field where the ram was wont to graze,
Jack Pierce, advancing upon all-fours,
In sight, almost, of the farm-house doors,
Would face the beast in a bunting test,
And learn whether ram or man were best.
The odd news ran, as such news will,
For the people then, as the people still,
Liked with their pleasure a little thrill.
As people now-a-days swarm like bees
To witness a risk on the high trapeze,
Or shout for a lion-tamer when
He risks himself in the wild beast's den,
Or manifest an insane desire
For lofty feats on a swaying wire;
Not wishing a tragedy in the scene,
But finding in chances a relish keen;
So, swift as the tidings from Aix to Ghent,
Flew news of the boatman's unique intent,
And, on the day for the combat named,
The halt and ruddy, the strong and maimed,
Full half the village—so Jack was famed—
Went streaming along together;
From the greatest of villagers to the least,
From the north and the south, from the west and east,
All eager as guests to a wedding feast,
To witness the battle of man and beast,
In the sunny autumn weather.
Chattering loudly in *patois* mixed,
A curious language, just betwixt
The French and frontier English fixed,
By various tongues commingling then
In the early year of eighteen-ten,
Marching along together.
Aged sires, by their staffs sustained,
As rising slopes on the way they gained,
Younger men, who such aid disdained,
Capering boys, who in races strained,
Hunters, leathery, lank and stained
To as deep a hue as the leaves had gained
As the tawny days of the autumn waned;
Indians swart from up the river,
Some still armed with the bow and quiver,
Others bearing the white man's gun,
With its deadly gleam in the flashing sun,
Trooping along together.

"Beldames ancient, old withered crones,
Tottering samples of skin and bones,
Maidens, buxom and brown and gay,

Tripping along in that lightsome way,
The heritage of *la belle Francais*,
With a glorious beauty—such as shames
An era of ailing and paling dames.
Their blood danced warmly in healthy veins,
A sonnet I should indite her,
Ere the pen now moving has turned to rust.
This maid of the past, who has gone to dust.
Bright eyes sparkling, and heaving bust—
The pencil lingers—it really must
Not do it longer—it isn't just
The thing, for a sober writer;
But they were real, were the maidens then,
Theme to honor, for tongue or pen,
Women fitted to mate with men
Living in eighteen hundred and ten
And make their tasks the lighter.
And such as these, on that autumn day,
Chatting with sweethearts on the way,
Came strolling along together,
Flocking along together.

"So stream they onward, the sight to see,
The mob of people of each degree;
Voices, figures, costumes blend,
The great event all comprehend;
Each path to a common center leads.
They reach the field where the quarry feeds;
Through copse and hollow, brush and weeds,
They press and jam,
That each may look as the victim bleeds,
And witness bear to the boatman's deeds—
Now see—the Ram!

"No ram of your modern breed was he,
With silky wool and long pedigree;
No pet of the yearly fair was here,
Southdown plump or big Leicestershire,
With back as broad as a Persian mat,
Short-legged, lazy and round and fat,
But a monster gaunt, stepping free and high,
With a wicked look in his gleaming eye,
And horns as gnarled as the cypress limb;
Not one in the village but dreaded him!
A dozen dogs he had slain, at least,
Cracking the ribs of each daring beast
Entering the field in the day or night;
A bellowing bullock he'd put to flight;
And 'Mulatto Bill,' who ne'er shunned a fray,
And dared to venture across his way,
He had treed, and kept for a night and day,
Till the villagers, turning a score out, quite,
Had rescued him from his lonesome plight.
It was held by some, as beyond dispute,
That an evil demon possessed the brute;

And one old sailor, from over seas,
Appealed to on topics all such as these,
Swore by his eyes and his nose and knees,
By his legs and arms, by his hands and hips,
'Twas the real Beast from Apocalypse!

"Now the people swarm round the pasture's edge;
They perch on hillocks, each jutting ledge
Bears a human burden; the very trees
Are filled with youngsters of all degrees—
Sons of sires from 'Ole Virginny,'
Indian youth and piccaninny—
Here and there and all about
Press the throng in a scattered rout.
Jack Pierce steps forth—how the people shout!

"The beast stands stamping the sun-baked ground,
Vexed at the novel tumult round,
With his bright eye fixed on the daring wight
Who thinks to face him in single fight
And settle at once all the village scores.
The man drops suddenly on all fours,
Bleats in mimicry, shakes his head
And waves above him a kerchief red,
To tempt the shock of the quadruped.
Then 'twas a sight for a crowd to view,
A sight to waken a tremor new,
To see the old ram, in his wakened ire,
Just gather himself, while his eyes flashed fire,
As with bleat defiant and head laid low,
He came like a bolt on the daring foe.
'Twas a sight to marvel at. Not an inch,
As the ram came on, did the boatman flinch,
But, facing squarely the contact dread,
He braced his arms and he ducked his head!

"Fortune is fickle, and, soon or late,
The boldest mortal must yield to fate;
A very trifle, a wanton breath,
May be the cause of a giant's death,
And the fatalist must be dull, indeed,
Who lacks support for his iron creed.
The field was covered with stubble brown,
And something pricked him, as Jack bent down,
A straw protruding his nostril grazed,
He swerved a little—his face he raised—
The shock came squarely—with sad result—
On his front, with the force of a catapult!

"'Crash!' 'Crack!' came the sounds so close together,
You couldn't have told for a fortune, whether
'Twere one or two of them; two there were,
As man and beast came in contact there;
First the impact of crushing bone,
Then the 'snap' of a broken neck, alone!
From the staring people a single cry

Rose for a moment, and swelled on high,
Then, as suddenly, ceased the sound;
You might hear the birds in the woods around,
Such silence followed the outcry fierce,
For dead! in the stubble lay poor Jack Pierce!

"A sharp report on the stillness broke,
Came from the fieldside a puff of smoke,
A bullet hummed out its leaden knell,
[A hunter old aimed the weapon well]
And Chouteau's ram, leaping high in air,
Fell dead by Jack in the stubble bare.
'Twas the climax capped of the bloody bout,
The show was ended, the play played out,
And the throng passed back over Chouteau's run,
Its lightness vanished, its laughter done;
A gruesome end to a day of fun!

"The last sad rites were the next day said
Over the form of the boatman dead,
And for many a year was the story told,
To gaping younkers, by greybeards old,
Of how Jack Pierce, above Mill-creek dam,
Died in combat with Chouteau's ram.
Streets crept over the Chouteau land,
Rose on the uplands a city grand,
And the tale died out, in the busy strife
And noisy whirl of this modern life.
'Twas a saga fine of the old frontier,
And reverently I've embalmed it here!"

## CHAPTER XLIV

## SOME MISSOURI CHARACTERS

*Fearless John Smith T.—The Aaron Burr Expedition—A Ste. Genevieve Sequel—The Sheriff Whipped Nine Grand Jurors—Hospitality in Saline—Major Jack Anderson, Surveyor and Joker—Corn Taylor's Patch Test of Thrift—Some Tricks of Joker Jones—Cave Wilson's Natural Mausoleum—A Home in a Log—How Shumate Settled with His Doctor—Chief Justice Taney's Brother—The Anathema of Jesse Range Bayles—Hermit of Town Branch—Giving the Cemetery "a Good Start"—A Cow Trade Extraordinary—Leistendorfer's Sleight of Hand Performance—Missouri Philosophy—An Annual Oration—The Eloquence of Adam Cobb—Aubrey's Amazing Feat—A Warrant Served on a Dog—Sam. Thompson's Plea for "Queen"—Summons and Judgment Against a Bull—Van Bibber's Moving Speech—Fate of Mike Fink, Bully—Pioneers of Cote Sans Dessein—The Man Who Talked to Snakes—How Bennett Outwitted Fort Leavenworth—The Solomon of St. Charles—Squire Colvin's Indian Trap—Cass County's "Firsts"—How Political Campaigns Were Won—Dr. Shewe, Most Versatile St. Louisan—Benton's Tutor in French—A War of Words in Lincoln County—Uncle Blandy's Court of Last Resort—No Appeals in "Plain Cases"—All-night Trial at Badger Settlement—The Astonishing Will of Ira Nash.*

Socrates could not hear of a place where men did not die. When a man has arrived at mature age, and by his industry, care and frugality has accumulated enough of this world's goods to be worth distribution, that he has an inalienable right to dispose of it as may best suit his desire is a doctrine which I have ever supported and which right I hold most sacred. I shall therefore proceed to declare in what manner I desire my little property to be distributed amongst those who may think they have some legal right to it, or a share of it, though they never aided in the collecting of it, and when I may have no more use of it and may possibly leave them behind me. It is my desire that John McDow, having married my eldest daughter, Alpha Morgan, shall have sixteen gallons and one-half of good proof whiskey.—*From the will of Ira Nash who left instructions that he was to be buried standing on the highest hill in Cedar township so that he could look down on the neighbors with whom he had quarreled.*

In an address before the Missouri Historical Society, General Firman A. Rozier of Ste. Genevieve gave some interesting reminiscences of John Smith T. He said the affix of "T" was made by Col. Smith to distinguish himself from other John Smiths of the day, and to commemorate the fact that he had lived in Tennessee. Originally a native of Georgia, he located for awhile in Tennessee, but came to Missouri, then known as Upper Louisiana, about 1798, settling in the Ste. Genevieve district, and giving to his homestead the name of Shibboleth. Col. Smith was tall, slight of build, wiry in person, and mild mannered, even courteous, except when aroused by some real or fancied insult. Gen. Rozier said of him: "He had many personal encounters of the most serious and bloody nature, and stood unrivaled for skill, undaunted courage and great coolness in those terrible conflicts with his enemies."

Col. Smith always went armed to the teeth. His personal equipment consisted of two large pistols swung to a belt about his body, two smaller pistols

carried in the outside pockets of his coat, and a large hunting-knife of the bowie pattern, which reposed in his bosom. His home was a perfect armory. He owned a slave whom he called Dan, who was a remarkably fine gunsmith. He built a shop for Dan, and that slave's only duty was the manufacture and repair of rifles, pistols and shotguns for his master. These weapons were reputed to be the truest and best in the western country.

One of the most notable incidents of the career of John Smith T. was his relationship with Aaron Burr's expedition.

"There came to Ste. Genevieve an Austrian named Otto Schrader, who had been an aide-de-camp to the Archduke Charles in the first battle with Napoleon. Schrader was made coroner shortly after taking up his residence in Missouri. Col. Smith was then judge of the court of common pleas, and Henry Dodge, afterward a senator from Wisconsin, was sheriff of the Ste. Genevieve district. Smith and Dodge were at the time sworn friends, although they afterwards became deadly enemies. They were fired with Burr's ambition to go over to Mexico and the Spanish provinces, and concluded to join the expedition. They purchased a fleet of canoes, and, well supplied with arms and provisions, started down the Mississippi to join Burr. At New Madrid they were met by President Jefferson's proclamation declaring Burr and his whole enterprise unlawful. Much disgusted, the Missourians sold their canoes, purchased horses and rode back to Ste Genevieve. When they returned they found the little town in great excitement. The grand jury was in session and had actually indicted both of them for treason. Dodge at once surrendered himself and gave bail, whereupon, being a man of wonderful physique, he took off his coat, rolled up his sleeves and actually whipped nine of the grand jurors. The other three ran away. Col. Smith lived out in the country. The next day, he was just about sitting down to dinner, when, looking down the road, he saw Schrader, the coroner, coming after him. Smith went to the door and called out to Schrader: 'I know what you have come for; you have come with a writ to arrest me. If you attempt it you are a dead man. It was a great outrage to arrest me. I am as good a friend of the United States as there is in this territory. Mr. Schrader, dinner is just ready. Get down and come in and take dinner, but mark, if you attempt to move a finger or make a motion to arrest me you are a dead man.' Schrader got off and came in. Smith pointed to a chair at the table, and then cocking a pistol, laid it beside a plate and sat down opposite. The dinner progressed as pleasantly as possible under the circumstances, the host plying his guest with the delicacies the meal afforded. After dinner the couple rode into town, but Smith was not a prisoner, nor was he ever arrested on that indictment."

### John Smith T. as Brackenridge Knew Him.

At the time of Henry M. Brackenridge's visit to the Missouri lead mines, John Smith T. was one of the most noted captains of that industry. Colonel Smith entertained the first newspaper correspondent of St. Louis and made this impression upon him:

There was nothing in his appearance to denote the fierce belligerent. He was a small man, of a delicate frame, even somewhat effeminate in his appearance—mild, blue eyes, fair hair, fair complexion—his face smooth and youthful, although he was not less than forty years of age. His manners in his family were mild and gentle; kindness and benevolence appeared to be the natural growth of his heart. Mrs. Smith seemed to be one of the most amiable of her sex, and their only child, a daughter about ten years old, seemed to possess the modesty and sweetness of disposition of her mother.

To enable the reader to form an idea of the desperate intrepidity of my host, I will

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

BESSEHL'S CHARITY BALL

Painted by E. Jump, who drew on [illegible] imagination in placing portraits of St. Louisans and actresses who were not present.

The St. Louis Charity Ball was a notable annual event about 1870

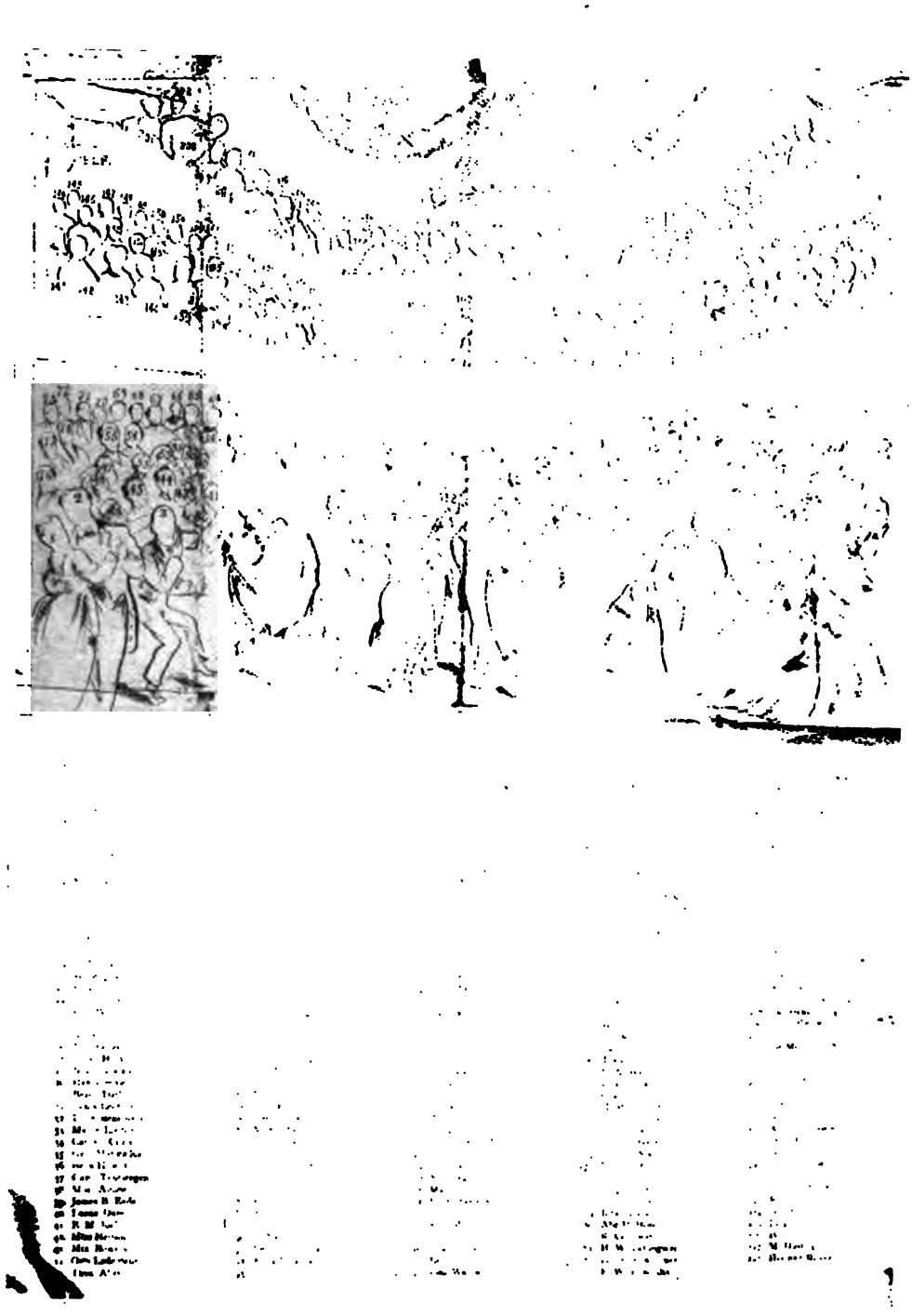


CHART OF BESSEHL'S CHARITY BALL

select from a hundred instances the following: One of the diggers at the mines, a man of ferocious character and herculean frame, either of his own accord, or instigated by some of the imps of Satan about the mines, resolved to assassinate the colonel, and thus get rid of the floating grant and the great monopolist. Taking his rifle, for he was a great shot, he went to the house of his intended victim, and challenged him to a trial of skill at a mark, that is to say, the best in three at the head of a nail, at the distance of sixty yards. The challenge was, of course, promptly accepted, and they proceeded to some distance from the house, where the ruffian seized the first opportunity, when the colonel was off his guard, to turn the muzzle of his rifle on his unsuspecting companion; but in the haste which attended guilt, his ball passed through the colonel's left shoulder without inflicting a mortal wound. He fell; the assailant rushed upon him, and fell with him to the ground, though uppermost; while the colonel, whose presence of mind never forsook him, drew his dirk, but missing his aim, drove it into his own thigh; he drew it out, struck the assassin on the ribs; the weapon bent, and as a last desperate effort, he drew it across the stomach of the ruffian, inflicting a mortal wound. The assassin who had been endeavoring to seize the colonel by the throat, now released his hold, and they both lay for some time bathed in blood. The slaves coming up, carried them both into the house. And here it may be mentioned, as a proof of the magnanimity of the colonel, that by his orders every attention was paid to his treacherous enemy until he died of his wounds.

**John Smith T. in Saline.**

John Smith T. left the memories of his eccentric life in Saline county. There, at a very early date, he acquired the Big Salt Springs, one of the natural assets which gave the name to the county. While in Saline, he wanted to be called "Jack Smith T." and so commanded. A local history of the county says that "his commands were always obeyed, or there was a funeral if they were not." John F. Darby, the fun-loving, story-writing mayor of St. Louis, said that there were fifteen deaths on the score of John Smith T., most of them inflicted in duels. One of the fatalities occurred during the residence in Saline. Smith was on the way to Boonville when he met two men on horseback. He spoke and received a rather curt reply. Reining in his horse, Smith inquired:

"Stop, gentlemen, a moment, if you please. Where are you from, and where are you going?"

"Oh! we are from Virginia, and are going west. We are land sharks," one of the strangers answered. That was the period of land excitement in Missouri.

With an oath, Smith exclaimed: "That is just what I thought. Draw your pistols, gentlemen." Smith fired and killed one and wounded the other. It developed that both of the men were of good repute and were intending to locate homes in Missouri. Smith bore a charmed life not only in his encounters with arms but with the law.

John Scott had great power as a jury lawyer. He defended Colonel John Smith T. for the killing of Samuel Ball in a quarrel at the McArthur tavern in Ste. Genevieve. There was no eye witness. Mrs. McArthur heard the shooting, ran into the room and saw Ball lying on the floor. She demanded of John Smith T. the pistols. "Take them, my daughter," was the reply as the weapons were handed to her. John Smith T. went to jail, was tried and acquitted, John Scott appearing for the defense. When a juror was asked how it happened, he asked with surprise, "Did not Scott tell them to bring a verdict of not guilty?"

**Hospitality According to John Smith T.**

An army officer passing through Saline stopped at Smith's castle and asked to stay for the night. He was assured he should have "the best on the place." A negro led away the officer's horse, and Smith took charge of the sword and pistols. The officer and his host sat down before the fire and talked in a friendly manner until a servant came to the door and said supper was ready. "Bring it in," said Smith. Two negroes brought a large iron kettle filled with steaming corn meal mush. "Bring spoons," said the host. Large iron spoons were produced. "Now, Captain, sit up to supper," said the host. With the kettle between them the two ate heartily. When he felt that he had eaten enough the officer said so and moved back his chair. "Eat some more, eat some more," urged Smith, but the officer insisted that he had had enough. Thereupon Smith took down a dragoon pistol from the wall, cocked it and with an oath presented it to the amazed guest, saying, "you shall eat sir." Three times this occurred, each time the officer taking up his spoon and eating "some more," until he could not possibly swallow another spoon of the mush. Then he was allowed to go. Tradition has it the officer left before breakfast. He did not get back his sword and pistols, until he was out on the road.

John Smith T. was an educated man; he had studied at William and Mary college. Letters which have been preserved show that he was an expert penman. His collection of weapons was a private arsenal, but his choice was what was known as the derringer, a pistol designed for quick action. Among those who were challenged by Smith was General Sam Houston, but the fight did not come off. The business ventures of John Smith T. in Missouri were of widely varied character. They included mining in the Ste. Genevieve country and salt making in Saline. His permanent home, if one who was on the move so constantly can be said to have a home, was at what he called "Shibboleth" in Southeast Missouri. But every year John Smith T. journeyed horseback overland to Saline county where he had 2,000 acres of land. His bodyguard, a negro named Dave, carrying a double-barreled shot gun.

**Major Jack Anderson's Eccentricities.**

Major Jack Anderson was St. Charles county's most eccentric character. He traveled all over the county, running lines and marking boundaries for the government survey. His dress was buckskin throughout, and in the coat were pockets without number, in which he carried not only the records and papers pertaining to his work as a surveyor, but the young puppies of his dogs which went wherever he did. He stopped where night overtook him. If it was at a cabin, Major Jack refused to go to bed but rolled up in a buffalo robe or blanket on the puncheon or ground floor of the house.

One of Major Jack's eccentricities was to keep on a direct line, paying no attention to paths or roads, but going over hills and across creeks, without swerving from his course. The writing and the quickness with figures which Anderson showed amazed the settlers. Apparently, from his melancholy expression of face, Jack Anderson saw nothing in life that amused him, but he left the tradition of some strange practical jokes. Among the places at which he frequently called was the Van Bibber home. Arriving there one night he learned

that there was no meal in the house and that supper could not be furnished. He lay down on the floor and seemed to be asleep. Van Bibber's son-in-law, Hickerson, came in from hunting very hungry. He persuaded his wife to shake enough out of the meal bag to make him a hoecake. Before the cake was done, Anderson got up, said he could not sleep because of thinking about a survey he had been making that day. He had been unable to find the corners, he said. Taking the staff from the compass he began poking about in the ashes to explain the difficulty in the survey. As he went on he divided the cake into parts and mixed it in with the ashes, spoiling it. Then he went back to bed on the floor. Hickerson watched the ruin of his hoecake and then went to his wife and persuaded her to go out and milk the cow in order that he might have something to relieve his hunger. Anderson met the woman at the door, took the milk from her and drank it. Hickerson, declaring that he would yet beat Anderson, went out into the wood, killed and roasted a coon and ate it, before going to bed.

On another night, Jack Anderson came to the house of Thomas Glenn in Montgomery county, where he previously had been treated with hospitality. He brought with him several coons he had killed, roasted them, ate what he wanted and then called in his pack of dogs and fed them what was left. The Harrisons lived in good style with carpet on the floor. Anderson's action so outraged Mr. Harrison that in the morning he presented a bill for the damage to carpet and furniture. Anderson had no money. A hunting companion, Thomas Glenn, had to pay the bill. Previous to coming to the Harrison's, Anderson had taken Glenn on a three weeks' journey through Boone and Callaway counties, confusing him so that he was wholly dependent on Major Jack to get back to the settlements. Anderson was unmarried. He lived his life as a nomad, and died in poverty in an outhouse south of Fulton.

**"Corn" Taylor, Judge of Patches.**

Cooper county had a character in the person of James Taylor, who became widely known as "Old Corn Taylor." He obtained this nickname from his custom of keeping his corn over year after year until he had numerous cribs and pens. Taylor was more than well to do. He had mules and slaves in numbers, but he always rode with a rope bridle. He kept his corn in anticipation of bad years and a scarcity. Less provident neighbors came to Old Corn Taylor when their crops failed. The old man was liberal, giving from his surplus if he thought the borrowers were in distress through no fault of their own. Cooper county tradition has it that when Taylor was thus approached he looked the borrower over carefully, if he didn't know him well, and refused the corn if the party wore patches where they indicated laziness.

"Joker" Jones of Boone county came into his name by a long series of tricks on his neighbors. One of his jokes was to give newcomers a hatching of buzzards' eggs, telling them that these eggs would produce exceptionally fine layers. One of these newcomers called at the home of Jones to grind a bucket of sausage. Jones entertained him with the report that there was a panther in the vicinity. When the sausage was ground and the neighbor was about to leave, Jones slipped out into the woods and imitated a panther scream. The neighbor

dropped his bucket of sausage and ran. Jones came in and emptied the bucket of sausage, carried the bucket to the neighbor's house and showed him the bucket scratched as if by a panther's claws.

When another neighbor put lightning rods on his house, Jones put up pawpaw poles in imitation of a lightning rod. Then he went to his neighbor and induced him to come over and see if he had put up his rod as it should be.

When a boy, Jones began his career as a joker. He painted a pony belonging to his father and then rejoiced when the old gentleman not recognizing the animal set the dogs on it.

Nearly every Missouri county had among its pioneers a hermit, some man who preferred his own company and who lived his life in the woods. Of this character was Thomas Stanley, who located on the bank of the Grand river, and who didn't go to the trouble of building a cabin. His home was in a hollow sycamore log, at the mouth of which he built his fire. When the wind came from a quarter to carry the smoke into the hollow, Stanley rolled his house far enough to let the smoke go by. He was a man of books. In the long evenings of winter, he sat within the log and read by the light of a sycamore splinter dipped in coon oil. He lived on the game he killed, and beyond his books he drew few drafts on civilization.

**"Cave" Wilson.**

A pioneer of Miller county, John Wilson, comes down in the county traditions as "Cave" Wilson. That is because he spent his first winter, with his wife and children, in a cave on Tavern creek. The time of Wilson's arrival at his cave home was about 1822. Wilson was companionable. He made friends with the Indians and they gave him some pigs to start with. As other settlers came into the vicinity, Cave Wilson became the most popular man in that part of the Ozarks. He accumulated much property but was very free with his means in helping others. The cave in which the Wilson family wintered and to which the family name was given by common consent is nearly 750 feet long and sixty feet wide. The mouth is twenty feet high. Within the cave is a spring. Wilson never got over his affection for this first Missouri mansion. He selected a smaller cave near by and gave instructions that he be buried there. He even went so far as to make ready a coffin and place it in the small cave. Further, he enjoined upon his kindred that when he was placed in the coffin, salt should be placed around his body; that a demijohn of good liquor should be placed beside the coffin; that the mouth of the cave should be walled with stones set in mortar; that those who assisted in this burial should be given a good dinner; and that at the end of seven years the tomb should be opened and those present should have a drink from the demijohn. The wishes of Wilson were carried out in the main when he died in 1855. Picnic parties were held afterwards in the large cave but the tomb was not disturbed.

**Joe Shumate's Doctor Bill.**

Joe Shumate was a "character" in Murphy's Settlement, which later became Farmington. He fell sick and sent for Dr. Fleming. When he got well he came up town and called at the office of the doctor to pay his bill. The doctor

presented an itemized statement, dividing the charge between medicines and visits. Shumate studied the account and said: "I will pay for the medicine, doctor; the visits I will return. I will go home with you tonight." Later on Shumate got very sick and thought he was going to die. He sent for a lawyer to draw his will. He had a brother, Uriah Shumate, in whose business capacity Joe had not any confidence. But Uriah was his only heir. Joe told the lawyer how to draw up the will. "I want my brother Uriah to have all my property, but I want it fixed so he never can get it." Uriah was the Missourian who went to work under a contract which he thus described: "I have hired to him for the rest of my life; I am going to get one-half of my pay as I go along and the rest when my time is up."

A brother of Chief Justice Taney of the United States Supreme court, known as Colonel Michael Taney, was one of the early settlers of Missouri. He lived in a cabin and mined for lead unsuccessfully in the vicinity of Potosi. A negro family kept house for him and cooked his meals. When he died, in 1848, he left nothing. Friends saw that he was buried in the Catholic cemetery at Potosi. The doctor who attended Colonel Taney sent a bill for his services to the chief justice, who paid it.

Jesse Range Bayles was the eccentric wanderer among the settlements of Springfield in the early thirties. He came and went, sometimes with the pioneers and sometimes out in the wilderness, with the Indians. He was well educated for that period. His clothing was scant but he clung to a tall white wool hat which was known then as a "bee gum." Part of the time the old man represented that he was looking for a lead mine. Then again he explained his wanderings by saying that he was looking for a wife. Although Bayles carried a tomahawk and a long knife constantly, he was looked upon as partly demented and harmless. His oddities prompted boys to plague him. They put some turpentine on his clothes and set fire to it. The old man was badly burned. After he was able to get out he printed on his tall hat in red letters, "Death, Hell and Destruction." As he wandered about the country he called the attention of all he met to these words.

Old Robert Alexander was probably the first white settler at what became Forsyth, in Taney county. He lived there several years with the Miami Indians. Alexander had come within a few votes of being governor of North Carolina in 1824. He was well educated and of fine family, but becoming dissipated left the Tarheel state and came out to Missouri. While he made his home among the Indians, he roved about the country with fine horses, and spent much of his time gambling. The end came by drowning. Alexander tried to swim his horse across Sac river and went under near Orleans.

**The Industrious Hermit of Town Branch.**

Montgomery county had its hermit in the person of George Baughman who lived in a cave on Town Branch of Loutre creek. Baughman had started to California with a wagon and two yoke of oxen. He camped on Loutre creek to rest. Two of the oxen died and another wandered off into the hills. Baughman conceived the idea that there must be gold in those hills and began to search for it. Two nephews who had started with him went back to Illinois. Baugh-

man continued to live in a cave which he had discovered and for almost thirty years carried on his explorations for gold. The Montgomery City Standard in 1882, after Baughman's death, told this story of the hermit:

> Baughman was a monomaniac on the subject of gold, but on every other subject conversed rationally. The amount of work done by him during his long residence in the cave is surprising. He sank some thirty or forty shafts in depth from fifteen to seventy-five feet, one of them being seventy-five feet through solid rock, with no tools save an old axe and a shovel. When he had reached the depth of seventy-five feet, he stopped work in that shaft, saying he had gone to within three feet of the gold and that he would not take it out until the French emperor sent troops to protect him and the money. He then began sinking other shafts, claiming that other quantities of gold had also been secreted by the French, but that he did not know the exact spot in which it had been placed. He was of a jovial, sociable disposition, loved company and was passionately fond of playing cards,—euchre being his favorite game. He subsisted by hunting and fishing, raised his own vegetables and considerable fruit, and absolutely refused to receive anything as a gift. For several years his health was so bad that he was unable to work and the county took him in charge but before he would consent it was necessary to inform him that the county was only loaning him the means of subsistence, and that as soon as he took out his gold he could repay the loan. His remains were buried near the cave where he had so long lived, and which will long remain as a monument to his industry, patience and perseverance.

**Linneus Cemetery Got "a Good Start."**

When Holland, the first settler and founder of Linneus, gave an acre of ground for a cemetery, Timothy Webber, the grocery keeper, commented on the public spirit of the colonel and added, "It would be a good thing if somebody would die, so that we could make a mark in that graveyard and give it a good start." Webber was the first man in the settlement to die and his burial gave the cemetery its "good start."

Peter Carr came out from Albemarle county, Virginia, and settled in Pike county. He was a relative by marriage of Thomas Jefferson. This, however, didn't save him from some of the experiences which tenderfeet had to meet in Missouri. Carr was a fine lawyer and a fairly successful politician. His family needed a milk cow shortly after the arrival in Pike, and Mr. Carr went to Tom Fretwell who measured the Virginian and told him he knew exactly what he wanted. Fretwell showed the cow and dwelt on her fine qualities. The cow had but one horn and was so nearly "on the lift," to use the Missouri vernacular that it was doubtful if she could get through the winter. Carr was critical. He looked at that one horn and said: "She must be an old cow, Mr. Fretwell. I have always heard that the wrinkles on an animal's horns indicated the age. The wrinkles on this cow's horn extend from her head almost to the tip end." Fretwell at once replied: "That is true. But she is only half as old as the wrinkles indicate. Having but one horn they all had to come on that." Carr was satisfied and took the cow.

A Missouri character of Grundy county, Henry Parberry, made himself famous in tradition by his advice to the ferryman on Grand river. The ferryman was bailing out the leaky boat and was throwing the water out on the "gunnel" up stream. "You ain't doing that right," said Parberry. "Why ain't

I ?" demanded the ferryman. "Because," said Parberry, "when you throw the water up stream it will all run back in yer darned old boat."

**The Pioneer Showman.**

The distinction of being the first professional entertainer in Missouri belonged to John Eugene Leistendorfer. The Missouri Gazette, in announcing "the tricks" which the colonel would perform, said:

> Any person of the company may cut off the head of a living chicken and then he will immediately restore it to life with its head on.
>
> He will cause a shawl or handkerchief to be cut in two pieces. One of the halves will be burnt, the other cut into small pieces, and he will return it entire.
>
> A new way of proving good whiskey, by putting a penknife or any other light article in a tumbler; and in pouring the whiskey on it, if there is any water in the whiskey, the penknife will move only; but if the whiskey is good, the penknife will jump itself out of the water.
>
> He will catch between his teeth a ball discharged from a pistol, actually loaded and fired by one of the visitors, and after having performed a great many more tricks, too long to be enumerated, he will conclude by eating live coals of fire.

The Gazette vouched for the colonel with the statement that "certificates from several gentlemen high in office in this government testify to his character and service." From the forecast of these performances it will be inferred properly that the art of advertising was understood by the earliest St. Louis press agent.

Colonel Leistendorfer gave his entertainments once a week for several months. He reaped a harvest. The performances took place at the Robidoux house. One evening the magician inspired by a crowded room, and seeing in the gathering some of the most prominent citizens, said he would hatch a chicken from an egg, bring it to full growth, cook it and serve it. There was great applause. Colonel Leistendorfer showed the egg and put it in a box. When the box was closed the chirping of the chicken was heard. When the box was opened there was the chicken. Into and out of several boxes the chicken passed, growing larger with the change, until it was shown full grown. With the spectators following every movement, the colonel cut off the chicken's head. The body was put in a box and when the box was opened a well roasted chicken, with gravy dripping, was lifted out. The colonel called for someone to serve the chicken. William C. Carr, a dignified young lawyer, afterwards circuit judge, was pushed forward. He took the knife and fork, but as he was about to begin by plunging the fork into the breast of the roasted chicken a live chicken flew out of the dish, splashing gravy liberally over his ruffled shirt front.

Colonel Leistendorfer had a very profitable season in the old Robidoux house. He liked St. Louis so well that he bought a home in Carondelet, where he raised a large family. The Leistendorfer descendants became quite prominent locally.

**Most Extraordinary Man of Any Country.**

Elihu H. Shepard considered Col. Leistendorfer "one of the most extraordinary and eccentric men of any country or age." Captain Shepard knew Colonel Leistendorfer for some time previous to the latter's death in 1845:

"He was born and educated in Piedmont; went to Constantinople, became a Mohammedan and a dervish, forsook his associates and went to Cairo, Egypt, became a soldier and officer of high rank and had command of all the fortifications around Cairo. In 1805, General Eaton, of the United States army, arrived there in search of the ex-pasha of Tripoli, who had been dethroned by his brother and had fled across the desert Baria to Cairo and then retired to upper Egypt. Gen. Eaton applied at once on his arrival to Col. Leistendorfer for assistance. The colonel, unexpectedly to the American general, tendered his own services and went to the ex-pasha and got him and his followers to go back to Tripoli to dethrone his brother. Having engaged a corp of Greek soldiers, Gen. Eaton with Col. Leistendorfer, the ex-pasha and the Greeks, crossed the desert of Baria to the City of Dorue and took it at the first attack. This so alarmed the pasha that he made peace with the United States commissioner, Col. Lear. Col. Leistendorfer came home with Gen. Eaton and received a small amount for his services, with which he made his way to St. Louis.

Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, an Englishman who traveled in North America and wrote a book, met this strange international character during his visit to St. Louis and Carondelet. He said of him:

His name was given as Leistendorfer. I concluded he must be German but he answered me with such a strange patois in that language that I was soon convinced of my error; upon cross-examination of him I discovered that he was from the Italian side of the Tyrol and that his real name was Santuario. He boasted of speaking German, French, Spanish, Turkish and English equally well. He was made a sharp-shooter in the Austrian army; he was with Bonaparte; he was some years at Constantinople. Then he went to Egypt and contrived to render the pasha some service in Arabia; after which he was employed by General Eaton to assist in his expedition against the Bey of Tripoli, and was instrumental in the settlement of that trouble. For that he was made a colonel in the United States army; he lives now upon the proceeds of some land which he bought with the money earned by his services. He is a strangely prejudiced man but with a fine face and the remains of an athletic frame.

**A Missouri Philosopher.**

Alphonse Wetmore and Mackey Wherry went to see Leistendorfer at his home in Carondelet. They found him standing beside a hand cart loaded with wood. The old soldier said to them:

"Look at this, gentlemen, when I was chef de battailon in the army of Napoleon le Grand, I kept my coach and six,—this is now my equipage. You perceive by this practical illustration of human vicissitude, esta lo mismo; it is all the same thing if the train of thought take the right road. I am not indebted to the coachmaker for I am the fabricator of that machine, and, as Monsieur Kentuck has observed, when I move this vehicle I am one beaucoup team."

Wetmore who was the compiler of the Missouri Gazetteer of 1837 commented that Leistendorfer was evidently a philosopher and a disciple of the school of Democritus. The old veteran introduced his visitors to his wife with this explanation of his domestic relations:

"This is the eighth and last, and, I believe, the best wife I ever had. I have twenty-six children scattered abroad in the world, struggling for a share of the fruits of honest labor, and embracing the good and evil I promised to share with their mothers,—both of which I have realized trop large. I have served many countries in arms, and all of them with zeal, and with more effect, I trust, than I have served myself; but this has

KANSAS CITY IN 1855
When steamboating on the Missouri river was nearing its maximum of prosperity

been all voluntary, and I have no license to complain. When I placed myself under the flag of freedom, avec beaucoup stars and two colours, I made much sacrifice of one house and jardin de plaisance in Alexandria, in Egypt, and four very good wives! Mon Dieu! Can these few acres of land, un don gratuit par Congres, make me reparation? But tout a ete cree par la parole de Dieu,—everything has been created by the word of God; and I console myself with the reflection that if I laugh I am not crying. Gentlemen, will you take one glass of wine of my own vintage? Apres you shall walk in my vineyard. This is the native grape; it is at home, and it is there exhilaration is expressed. In the Tyrol mountains we have every description of climate—on the summit there is winter; as we descend spring opens; and at the foot the warm influence of summer is felt. I train my vine at such elevation as shall suit the climate; and I prune with taste and judgment. I take more pleasure when I see the juice of the grape flow than I have felt in the glory of a crimsoned battlefield. There are no groans uttered when the wine-press is trodden. Gentlemen, I tell you something. That Congres is too grand! There is beaucoup parlez, con una poquito de trabajo,—there is abundance of talk with but little work. I would make one petit Congres, avec two farmers, two priests, two doctors of physic, two bachelors of the law, two artisans (which you call the mechanic). 'Entonces' these law givers will not govern us to death."

**Adam Cobb, Orator.**

Montgomery County fairs, home comings and old settlers' reunions have been famous gatherings two or three generations. Early in the last century Montgomery people kept their holidays with patriotic enthusiasm. A popular Fourth-of-July orator was Adam Cobb. Year after year he delivered the same speech, striding the length of the rostrum, mopping his face with a bandana and shedding tears. Some appreciative editor applied the art preservative to Cobb's oration and left it for posterity in this form:

"Gentlemen and Ladies, Friends and Enemies: I appear before you at this time in behalf of our beloved Washington and our forefathers. I have come to speak their praises, for it was them that bore the brunt of our sorrows and made it a free and a happy people.

"Yes, my friends and enemies, it was my forefathers and ancestors as well as yours that fit with our beloved Washington when he whipped the great battle of the cow pens in the State of old North Carolina. When the Red Jackets came to beguile us from our homes, besides the Red Man of our native land. Our forefathers and our ancestors had to work their craps the best they could, with the rifle in one hand and the Brazin seikle in the other, and the hot, briling sun shining down on their backs.

"But our glorious, beloved Washington is no more, for he is buried way down on old Faginia shore. What the willows wave over his grave, and we see him no more, for he is buried way down on old Faginia shore, where the willows wave over his grave, and we see him no more. So sweetly let him lye, and sleep forever more.

"For I don't expect to detain this large, highly learnt ordinance that is spread out before me this day, but I do expect to spificate the great doctrine of our great and glorious country that spreads from the rivers to the great oceans of the east and west, and should I fail to do it I hope the memory of our forefathers and our beloved Washington will make up all that I lack.

"You, my friends and enemies, I tell you this day with tears in my eyes that it was our beloved Washington, with General Green and our forefathers, that fit the battle of Bunkers Hill, away down in North Carolina. It was there the brazen cannon belched forth her thunder and spit lightning at the same time.

"Yes, my friends, them was trying times with our beloved Washington and our forefathers, for they had to leave their poor wives and little children at home and fight in their bare feet, with their toes bleeding, as they marched down Lundy's Lane, in the State of Georgia, whar our great and good General Montgomery was killed. Yes, you ought to

He treated the voters from a bucket of wild honey and was elected. Sam Thompson had a dog named Queen. The dog broke into Reub. Campbell's smoke house and stole some meat. Campbell was the constable. Thompson prompted him to go to the new justice, make complaint against the dog and ask for a warrant. The justice issued the warrant alleging that "a certain dog of the name of Queen" had "stolen a piece of middlin' meat" and was guilty of larceny "against the peace and dignity of the state." Constable Campbell took the paper, went out and came back leading Queen by a string. Then Thompson presented himself and asked that he be allowed to appear as "next friend" to defend a "member of his household." He entered a plea of not guilty. The justice was entirely in earnest and very much impressed with the gravity of his first case. Witnesses were examined with great care. Thompson, apparently very much affected, cross-examined to preserve the "rights" of his client. He made a long and eloquent plea and in conclusion asked the justice, if he could not acquit, to at least "consider the respect and deference due the female sex."

The justice deliberated, said the dog was "guilty" and sentenced her to receive "thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, well laid on." Sam Thompson gave notice of appeal and went out to get a bondsman. About this time a relative of the justice went to him and exposed the conspiracy, telling him "for the Lord's sake stop whar you are and don't make it no wuss." Along the Grand river valley the story of the dog case before the new squire was told for a generation.

**A Judgment against a Bull.**

Something of a parallel to the dog case was the issue of a summons against a bull by Justice Richard Whitehead of Hudson township in Macon county. A strange bull had wandered into the neighborhood and had committed depredations on several cornfields. The farmers chased him into a tobacco barn and then applied to the justice to know what was the next step to get even. The justice deliberated and issued a summons to the bull, notifying all interested parties to be in court at a certain time. The evidence was heard and judgment against the bull for $28 and costs was declared. Then an execution was issued and the bull was sold for the amount of the judgment. After awhile the owner of the bull came from a distance and claimed him. The purchaser insisted on being paid the amount the bull had cost him and got it.

In the earliest records of Ray county, about 1822, it was "Ordered that the order of this court requiring that William L. Smith, the former clerk, should be charged with half the amount of the tax imposed upon bachelors for state purposes in 1821, be and the same is hereby revoked, and from henceforth discontinued."

**Van Bibber's Eloquence.**

There were promoters in the pioneer days. The annals of Loutre Lick preserve the speech said to have been made by Samuel C. Van Bibber when he was raising a party to go to the Rocky Mountains:

"Westward! Westward! my friends, I am bound. I call on you today to answer, or hereafter hold your tongues.

"Who will join in the march to the Rocky Mountains with me, a sort of high-pressure-double-cylinder-go-to-it-ahead-forty-wild-cats-tearing sort of a feller? Westward bound! Come on, boys; let's streak it like a rainbow, and feast it like a wolf's eye to the West, to the Rocky Mountains, where you may learn to sing rockaby baby up in a tree top to all creation, with a wolf's howl and a bear's growl just by way of echo. Wake up, ye sleepy heads! Kick your eyes open and git out of this place. Git out of this brick kiln—these mortality turners and murder mills, where they render all the lard out of a fellow until he is too lean to sweat. Git out of this warming-pan, ye hollyhocks, and go out to the West where you may be seen. You can't make a shadow where you are nor see how you breathe. Why, I could cram a dozen such nations into a rifle barrel like buckshot; and I have a kind of creeping calculation that about the time you smelt powder there would be little of you left. I guess if all of you chicken-hearted fellers were melted and run into one, you might make a shadow.

"Come, come, jump on behind, boys, and I will gallop you to the West, and I will show you such things that all nature nor a brace of earthquakes couldn't break. Fine people, lots of land—and such land, too! Why, you can plant a pumpkin over night and next morning it will sprout pies! Such good things, such land, such deer—plenty to eat—oceans of Injuns, wildcats, rattlesnakes—and snappers as thick as onions on a rope. So hitch on, boys; there's room for a hog pen full of you, baggage and all. I have got one pocket as is not engaged; besides, I guess I might stow away a ton of you aboard of my hat, taking inside and outside seats in the count, and when you find the craft is too full, why, jump into the hole. This is the only regular United States craft that runs by land, chartered to the Rocky Mountains, as swift as a rocket and as safe as a 'possum in a pie. And those mountain gals will scramble for you like pigs after a punkin'. Such gals! You never saw any like them. They are like young hurricanes! And I guess some of them are full-grown storms, rainbow and all. Some of you would think you had run afoul of an earthquake. What are you sniggering at? I guess if you would sink in a basketful of our western breezes it would check the drawing string and take all the puckers out of your mouth.

"So come along, boys. What is the use of staying here? Come out and pasture awhile in the West, and I will bet a dozen raccoons, and throw in a 'possum, if you will get aboard this dry-land ship of Uncle Sam's that before the year 1840 comes jumping over the stile you will spread out, scatter your limbs, overrun the country with your branches and breed a famine."

### The Fate of Mike Fink, Bully.

Three St. Louis volunteers, who went out with Ashley's fur trading expedition in response to a call for "enterprising young men," were Mike Fink and his friends Carpenter and Talbot. They never came back to St. Louis, and their loss was the city's gain. Fink's favorite way of spelling his name was Micke Phinck. He and Carpenter frequently entertained a crowd of St. Louis boatmen with their feats of marksmanship. At seventy yards either one could shoot a tin cup of whiskey from the other's head. These three men traveled the rivers. They belonged to the roving class of "half horse half alligator" boatmen. Mike Fink's last exploit before he left St. Louis to go fur hunting with Ashley and Henry was to shoot the heel off a negro. The black boy was lounging on the levee. He had a protruding heel. Fink, at thirty yards, raised his rifle and fired. The boy dropped. Fink's defense was that he wanted to make the foot so that a genteel boot would fit it. Public sentiment in St. Louis did not accept this pleasantly. Fink was sent to jail. He got out in time to go with the Ashley expedition. Far up in the Northwest, above Yellowstone, Fink and Carpenter quarreled. Apparently they made up. The next time they

weight was short half a pound. He refused to accept the ice and pay for it. The seller insisted upon delivery. While they quarreled the ice was left on the ground and melted. Then the seller sued the buyer for the price, which was six and a quarter cents. The justice gave judgment against the buyer for that amount but charged the seller half of the court costs, seventy-five cents, because, he said, they ought to divide the cost of litigation between them for being "such blamed fools as to go to law about a little piece of ice that he could eat in five minutes any warm day."

Another of Squire Colvin's cases was the suit of Miller against Kirkpatrick. The litigants were neighbors and couldn't agree on a settlement of business relations between them. Miller won. The judgment was given against Kirkpatrick for certain amounts Miller claimed to be due him. But Miller had a second thought after the judgment was entered. He remembered that he had sold Kirkpatrick a buffalo hide and had forgotten to include that in the bill upon which suit was brought. He slipped up to the justice and asked him to include the robe in the judgment. Squire Colvin obligingly entered on the back of the judgment one buffalo robe. Kirkpatrick protested vigorously against this. He said that if he was going to Heaven and saw Judge Colvin coming in that direction, he would change his course and go to the other place. Thereupon the justice further supplemented his original decision. He said such comment on the judgment was contempt of court and fined Kirkpatrick one dollar.

Squire Colvin's Indian trap was the wonder of his fellow pioneers. It was a deep cellar under the house. In the floor was a trap door which was left unfastened at night. Colvin's explanation was that if an Indian entered the house he would fall through into the cellar. Beside the bed the squire kept a sledge hammer with which to brain the Indian if one should fall in and try to climb out.

An interesting Missouri character was Commodore Ingram. He was an infidel for a number of years. One day, when supposed to be on his death bed, he was suddenly surrounded by a brilliant light, as he described it. Immediately he left his bed fully restored and discovered he had the gift of healing by faith. Marvelous accounts of his power are still remembered in the northern counties of the state. For a period of three years the power left Ingram but it came back and he continued to heal by a touch or by a command.

**Cass County's Firsts.**

In Cass county, "the first man ever elected to office, the foreman of the first grand jury, the first man ever indicted, the first man tried by jury, the first man acquitted," was Thomas B. Arnett, according to an address delivered by Judge Noah M. Givan at the old settlers' meeting in Harrisonville in 1879. Judge Givan said that Arnett if not "first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen" was first in a good many other things in Cass county. Arnett was elected county clerk while it was known as Van Buren county. One of the orders he made of record early in his official career was:

"On motion and on petition it is ordered that a review of a road be made running from Harrisonville the neardest and best rout to Harmony Mission in Bates county. I

is further ordered that John Parsons, David Hugh and James Porter be appointed as reviewers of said road. And that they review the same according to law and make their report. If practible at the August turm of said court and if not practible on account of Hot weather and flys, then to make their report at the Nov. turm without fail."

In swearing a witness Clerk Arnett administered the oath as follows: "You do solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth to the best of your skill and ability."

Judge Ryland interrupted with, "Will have no such swearing. Give me the book."

Court was held under an oak tree. After he had given the charge, Judge Ryland walked over within hearing of the grand jury and asked them to expedite business as he wished to go to Papinsville that night.

Arnett was indicted for selling liquor without a license but was acquitted. He resigned the clerkship but not until he had made many entries of which the following copied by Judge Givan from the county records is a sample:

"Jeremiah and John Farmer, in a petition for a writ of ad quad damnum. Now at this time comes the petitioners and file their petition for a writ of ad god damum, praying to be permitted to build a dam and mill on the south fork of grand river, etc."

While he was still clerk, Arnett directed the sheriff to adjourn court "sine qua non."

While he was foreman of a jury empanelled to determine the sanity of Jackson Violet who had assaulted his wife, Colonel Arnett brought in a verdict, "We the jury sworn well and truly to inquire into the consanguinity of Jackson Violet do hereby concur in the affirmative." One of the other jurors said, "Colonel, that is not right." "Why not sir?" asked Arnett. "You are not trying consanguinity now," was the answer. Turning to Achilles Easley, Arnett asked, "Squire, is it consanguinity or insanguinity?" "It is neither one, sir," said Easley. "Then," said Arnett, "we will put it non compos mentis."

Arnett became one of the leading politicians of the county. He entered into one campaign to elect Francis Prine to the legislature against Andrew Wilson who was a man of considerable means. Making the canvass, Arnett, accompanying Prine, came to a locality where about forty of the residents were cutting a road through Eight Mile Timber. As he approached, Arnett called out, "Gentlemen! Oh yes! Gentlemen, approach me!" The axes were dropped and the crowd gathered in front of Arnett who spoke, according to Judge Givan: "Fellow citizens, I want to introduce to you Mr. Frank Prine, a candidate for the legislature of the great State of Missouri, running in opposition to Andrew Wilson, the great money lender. The very Bible says cursed be he who usurpeth usury off of his neighbor, and I say —— —— him! He shall be cursed." Prine was elected. Arnett moved to West Point and became a candidate for the legislature. The issue was the proposed Pacific railroad and each town in the county wanted the line located with reference to its interests. West Point heard that Arnett was making promises to Papinsville and other places in return for votes. When he got back to his home town, Arnett felt called upon to meet these reports. He said:

"Feller Citizens: Now in regard to the many slandastical reports that have been put in circulation about my position on the railroad question, I have this to say: In the first place I occupy the terra firma upon which I stand. In the second place I am in favor of these great inter communicating iron chain railways, running spherical to the deestrict, parallel to each other and all depoting at West Pint."

**Benton's Tutor in French.**

An eccentric character in the early coterie which represented culture of St. Louis was Dr. Shewe, as Brackenridge described him:

He had been a traveler all his life, having begun by making the tour of Europe as tutor to the young Count Feltenstein; and was in Paris during the first scenes of the French revolution. He used to show a mark on his leg occasioned by a shot at the taking of the Bastile. He related many anecdotes of the great Frederick and of his generals, which he had picked up at Berlin. Mr. Shewe officiated at the Dutch church as a preacher; whether he was ever ordained I know not, but he certainly was not remarkable for his piety. I knew him afterwards as a mineralogist, as a miniature painter and as a keeper of a huckster shop. The last was the occupation he loved best, for he had always before him the two objects upon which his affections were finally concentrated—tobacco and beer. He used to express philosophically the same sentiment which I have heard from Achilles Murat in jest, that whiskey was the best part of the American government.

In his card which appeared in the Gazette, 1810, Dr. Shewe announced that he would continue to give lessons in French, and that he had "a quantity of candles molded from the best deer's tallow which he will sell cheap for cash." One of Dr. Shewe's students in French was Thomas H. Benton.

**The First Session in Lincoln County.**

For a brief period Alexandria was the county seat of Lincoln county. The county court convened there for its first session in the only dwelling house on the site,—of logs and containing one large room and a leanto. The lady of the house retired to the kitchen and the court proceeded to dispose of the docket. Darkness came on with one case remaining. The president of the court, John Cottle, was administrator of the estate of John Ewing, of Pike county. William R. Gilbert, of Pike county, was guardian of Ewing's children. He insisted that Cottle give a bond for $2,000 additional security. Gilbert was represented by Ezra Hunt who had ridden forty miles to attend the court and press this point of additional bond. Judge Joseph A. Mudd has left a graphic description of what took place:

"The judge forgetful of the dignity of his position poured out the vials of his wrath upon the devoted head of the lawyer. The latter was not slow to retort in kind, and for several hours the trial was nothing else than a war of words. Finally about eleven o'clock the disputants quieted down and the case was submitted to the other judges who in a few minutes decided in favor of the guardian's attorney. The court was now ready to adjourn. A motion was made to adjourn to the next court in course, when one of the members suggested that it would be about proper to adjourn till after midnight, then call the court and adjourn over to next term. This would show another day's session and allow the judges to draw, each, two dollars more, and the sheriff one dollar and a half. This latter course was agreed on, the officers of the court being satisfied that they had performed two days' service in one. In the interim, the clerk was making up the records, the justices were lounging about, and Judge Hunt was trying to sleep stretched

## CHAPTER XLV

## PIONEER WAYS

*The Armstrong Mill—Commerce by the Longhorn—Fording the Missouri—Ste. Genevieve's Richest Man—Life on the Gasconade—A Captain of Militia—Stocking Up to Keep Tavern—Major Ashby and the Chariton Monopoly—A Bluff Called—The Cabin Home—Greased Paper for Windows—Folding Beds of One Hundred Years Ago—No Nails, Hinges or Locks—Pioneer Experiences on Labaddie Creek—The Fodder Pen When Visitors Came—First Settlers in Newton—"No Road Further West"—Evolution of Milling at Smithville—Fourteen Hundred Miles Afoot for Machinery—Eighteen Bee Trees in One Day—The Fall of Shelby's Bastile—Low Cost of Living in the Forties—Preaching Suspended to Kill a Wildcat—A Ringer on May's Prairie—Camps of the Forty-niners at St. Joe—Punishment by Banishment—Cooper's Prophecy in the Legislature—"Nobody Died Until a Doctor Came"—Horse Racing on Lane's Prairie—County Fair Premiums for Oxen—Waiting for the Grist—The Diplomacy of Jacob Ish—Cooperation Along the Trail—Coffee Sunday Mornings—The Bee-Gum Post Office—"Going to Mill" at Palmyra in the Thirties—A Batch of Home News—Taxes Paid With Wolf's Ears—Modern Improvements—The "Hoss" Mill—Sacred Fire of Kentucky—The Houn' Dog—How the Harrisons Got Settled—The Year the Stars Fell—Dr. Barlow's Eccentricity—Howard County Races—Dandy Bob Allison's Disaster.*

Our cabins are made of logs of wood,
The floors are made of puncheon,
The roof is held by weighted poles
And then we "hang off" for luncheon.
—*The song that went with the "Raising Bee" in Missouri.*

First settlers in Missouri ground their grain by pounding it in a mortar with a pestle. The stranger coming to a cabin about nightfall could hear a long way off the pestle and mortar at work preparing the home made meal and hominy for breakfast. In large families one member was kept busy with the pestle and mortar. A great improvement was the Armstrong mill. This consisted of two flat stones, the upper balanced on the lower by a pivot. A pin was fitted into a hole on the top stone in such manner as to make it revolve on the lower. With one hand on the pin and the other feeding the grain between the stones the meal and coarse flour were turned out. This mode of grinding took a strong arm and suggested the name of the Armstrong mill.

The enterprising young men of Cox's Bottom, Saline county, in 1820 were Henry Nave and James Sappington. They constructed a flat boat or "long horn" of cottonwood logs. In the late fall they loaded the craft with cured hog meat and floated down the Missouri and Mississippi to St. Louis. That market was overstocked. The young men floated on to Herculaneum, the shipping point of the lead mines. They sold out and walked most of the way back to Cox's Bottom. A son of that Henry Nave founded one of the great wholesale grocery houses of Missouri.

The story is told of a pioneer Missourian that after attending the land sales at Old Franklin he started to go south of the river. Approaching the ferryman of the Missouri, he asked:

"Oh, stranger! What do you ask for ferrying man and horse over this 'ere little muddy fixin?" The ferryman answered that the charge was a quarter of a dollar.

"Rip Roan! Take water!" shouted the pioneer as he sent his horse down the bank and into the river. The horse settled for a long swim and with the rider uttering encouraging words made the crossing and climbed the opposite bank. It is a matter of history that when General Dodge and a party of rangers were sent up from St. Louis to discipline the Miamis who had migrated from Ohio and were making trouble along the Missouri, they swam their horses across the river and surprised the Indians.

Thomas Maddin was one of the richest American settlers while Lewis Bolduc was one of the principal business men of Ste. Genevieve. The two men had a dispute as to which was worth the most. Maddin offered to bet on his surplus. Bolduc accepted the wager and called for a half bushel to measure the silver coin in his cellar. As soon as he realized what was in sight, Maddin gave up, acknowledging that Bolduc had the most.

**Life on the Gasconade.**

Writing of his trip up the Missouri with Manuel Lisa in 1811, Henry M. Brackenridge gave this incident:

"We have been accompanied for these two days past by a man and two lads ascending in a canoe. This evening they encamped close by us, placing the canoe under cover of our boat. Unsheltered, except by the trees on the bank, and a ragged quilt drawn over a couple of forks, they abode the 'pelting of the pitiless storm,' with apparent indifference. These people are well dressed in handsome home-made cotton cloth. The man seemed to possess no small share of pride and self-importance, which, as I afterwards discovered, arose from his being a captain of militia. He borrowed a kettle from us, and gave it to one of his boys. When we were about to sit down to supper he retired, but returned when it was over; when asked why he had not staid to do us the honor of supping with us, 'I thank you, gentlemen,' said he, licking his lips with satisfaction. 'I have just been eating an excellent supper.' He had scarcely spoken when the patron came to inform Mr. Lisa the boys were begging him for a biscuit, as they had eaten nothing for two days! Our visitant was somewhat disconcerted but passed it off with 'Pooh! I'm sure they can't be suffering.' He resides on the Gasconade; his was the second family which settled in that quarter about three years ago. He has at present about two hundred and fifty men on his muster roll. We were entertained by him with a long story of his having pursued some Pottawatomies, who had committed robberies on the settlements some time last summer; he made a narrow escape, the Indians having attacked his party in the night time, and killed four of his men after a desperate resistance. The captain had on board a barrel of whisky to set up tavern with, a bag of cotton for his wife to spin, and a couple of kittens, for the purpose of augmenting his family; these kept up such doleful serenades during the night that I was scarcely able to close my eyes."

**How Major Ashby Broke a Monopoly.**

Missouri pioneers discouraged monopoly. The settlers in Chariton organized and built a mill after plans devised by Ben. Cross. The mill was turned by a

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

THE BOLDUC HOME, BUILT IN 1785

Home of Lewis Bolduc, the richest man in Ste. Genevieve, who kept his silver in his cellar and measured it in a half bushel measure

AN EMIGRANT'S CAMP

Reproduced from an old wood cut

long band made of rawhide twisted about what was called the trundle head. This plan applied the horse power in a manner more effective than the ordinary mill. After the mill had been in successful operation awhile, a combine was formed by a few of the patrons, headed by a man named Hooser and by his relatives, the Clarks. According to Major Daniel Ashby, who told the story, the combine would grind enough meal to last them for some time and then hide one of the irons. When settlers came several miles to get meal ground, the ring would claim something was broken. The iron was hidden in a hollow log which went by the name of Clark's shop with the members of the ring. But those not in the secret naturally inferred that it was intended to say the iron was at the shop of Clark, the blacksmith in Chariton. Major Ashby rode up one day just as the combine had put the missing iron in place and was about to grind. "I see you have got the iron from Clark's shop," remarked the major. "Yes, we have got it from Clark's shop," retorted Reuben Clark in a defiant tone. "Well," said the major, "there have been more infernal lies told about this mill than it is worth. If I had a knife I would cut that old band to pieces." "Here is a knife, sir," said Reuben Clark, handing out a knife with which he had been whittling.

The major called the bluff, promptly. "I took the knife, jumped over the fence, went to the band and cut it in two. I then walked around the mill, and about the middle of the band, I cut it again. I took one-half of the band and wound it up in the shape of a collar and put it around my horse's neck. Handing the knife back to Clark, I again mounted and was in the act of riding off, when Hooser spoke to me and said, "If there was any law for it I would make you pay for cutting that band.' I replied, 'No doubt of it; for I never doubted your meanness and I will further say I consider the whole set of you a pack of unprincipled scoundrels who dare not resent any insult a gentleman may think proper to pass upon you.' After this I rode off with a single comrade by the name of Morse who was traveling with me. I returned home and constructed a similar mill on a smaller scale out of the material I had from my old mill. After this we had no trouble on the bluffs about milling."

**The Missourian's Cabin Home.**

Of the pioneer architecture when Missouri became a state, Dean Walter Williams has given this description:

"The Missourian's cabin was from fourteen to sixteen feet square, seldom as much as twenty feet. It was built ordinarily without glass, nails, hinges or locks. Large logs were placed in position as sills. Upon these were laid strong sleepers, and upon the sleepers rough-hewed puncheons to serve as floors. The logs for the cabin walls were then built up until the desired height for the eaves was reached. On the ends of the building were placed logs longer than the other end logs, projecting some eighteen inches over the sides, these were called 'butting poles sleepers.' And on their projecting ends were placed the 'butting poles,' which gave the line to the first row of clapboards. The clapboards were split, and, as the gables of the cabin were built, were so laid on as to lap a third of their length. They were usually kept in place by a heavy weighted pole laid across the roof parallel to the ridge pole. The cabin was then chinked and daubed.

"A large fireplace was built in one end of the house, where, in the days before the coming of stoves, there was fire for cooking purposes and in the winter for warmth. Sometimes the ceilings were covered with the pelts of the wolf, the opossum and the

raccoon, adding to the warmth of the cabin. Greased paper served for windows. Often a log would be left out on one side and sheets of paper greased with coon grease or bear oil placed in its stead, let in the light for the cabin. Bedsteads were sometimes so contrived as to be drawn up and fastened to the wall in the day time or when not in use, affording more room on the cabin floor for the family. The furniture was ordinarily entirely made with ax and auger. Knives and forks were often not to be found in the cabin. Horse collars were made of braided husks of corn sewed together. Oxen were ordinarily used for transportation purposes."

**Boyhood Days in Franklin.**

At a celebration in Pacific on the Fourth of July, 1876, a letter from C. S. Jeffries telling of poineer life in Franklin County was read. Mr. Jeffries' recollections dated back to 1819 when his father's family settled on Labaddie creek:

"My father wintered in a log cabin on the Crowe farm near by. The cabin was 12x14 feet, with a sort of smokehouse adjoining, which we used as a parlor. With the cabin arrangements, and putting double covers on the wagons, we passed the winter admirably. Occasionally, when we had visitors, the boys would resort to a fodder pen with their buffalo robes, lying on one and covering with the other, where we would pass the night very quietly. Being winter there was no danger from snakes, but it would not have been so safe in summer, owing to the great number of rattlesnakes, copperheads, spreadheads and other reptiles equally poisonous. At that time the County of Franklin was in a great measure a wilderness, covered over with peavine, brush, rushes, buffalo grass, and every variety of growth and flowers. Stock kept in fine order winter and summer, with but little attention. There was but one road in the direction of our travel leading west from St. Louis, running near the Shaw mill trace, crossing the Bourbeuse river, below where Goode's mill now stands. The settlements were mostly confined along the Missouri river. The public lands were all vacant. What was tilled was held by virtue of improvements, and woe be unto him who dared to enter an improvement over a neighbor's head.

"At that day our farming operations were limited. Corn, wheat, tobacco, cotton and flax were the principal crops raised, and for home consumption only; farm rigging, bark collars, rawhide (tug trace) harness, and single trace of wood without iron; sleds and truck-wheel wagons, all wood. Milling was done at different places, according to distance. We had the rawhide band wheel and the cog wheel mill. The most of the Labaddie settlers had their milling done at or near Glencoe, on Hamilton's creek, at a mill owned by Ninian Hamilton, one of the best men that God ever made. Our trading was done at St. Louis. Peltries, venison hams, wild turkeys and furs, with cut money, nine 'bits' to the dollar, were exchanged for such articles as were absolutely necessary for the family; no useless wants were gratified. Out of the cotton, flax and wool most of the clothing was manufactured by the wives and daughters. Not much calico was worn then, only five yards to the dress, now twenty-five. Subsequently we did our trading at Newport, with Pres. G. Rule, when we began to use a little more calico.

"Each neighborhood manufactured its corn into straight, the pure juice. All you had to do was to call and fill your canteen with the 'agility,' and report from time to time as the heavy dew or snake bite required. Doctors were few and far between, so were lawyers. Occasionally we would have a judge and an attorney or two along the river route, who held court at some barn or private shelter, despatched business in a day or two, went their way, and nobody hurt.

"Our spiritual wants were supplied by the Methodists and Baptists. There was no peddling or merchandising the gospel. The preachers went forth without purse or scrip, declaring the unsearchable riches of Christ. Those were the days of ignorance, when, I suppose, God winked at us. But, now a new light has sprung up, we only repent of not having obtained the highest seat in the synagogue, thereby obtaining a policy against fire."

**The First Settlers in Newton.**

Lunsford Oliver is said to have been the first settler in Newton county. He located on Shoal creek in 1829 with his nearest white neighbor at Springfield, sixty miles away. Three years later, in 1832, came the Ritcheys. One of the settlers, in 1877, gave his recollections of those pioneer days:

"After leaving the house of John Williams, a day's travel took us to Prewett's creek, now called Clear creek. Prewett had settled one and one-half miles west of the site of Pierce City, and being the first occupant, the creek bore his name for awhile. Sampson Cooney and John Ross came into his neighborhood in the spring of 1832. Here part of our company stopped, but Gideon B. Henderson, who married my only sister, and I concluded that we preferred to get near the junction of the Six rivers, and so moved on west. At the mouth of Prewett's creek we struck the beautiful valley of Shoal river. Delighted with the scene we drove on down the valley, though the trail was difficult of discovery, until we drove into a large timbered bottom, one mile west of where Ritchey now stands. Making our way through the forest we came upon a high cliff, out of which gushed a large spring of bright clear water, rolling, tumbling, leaping, singing, down to the valley beneath. This looked attractive to a youngster from the prairies of Illinois. Nearby was a log house just built, without chinked cracks, a floor or shuttered door. In front of it stood a man of whom we inquired how the road led out. By this time a woman moved the quilt which covered the aperture for a door, and, surrounded by a swarm of children, came out of the cabin to do the talking.

**No Road Further West.**

"She said, 'There's no road further west; if you want to travel a road, you must turn around and travel back the way you came.' I replied, 'We wish to go west as far as we can without going out of the settlements, and make improvements.' Here the old man broke in and said, 'I'll sell my improvements.' Gideon B. asked, 'What will you take?' The old man responded, 'I'll take less than the work is worth.' Gideon B. Henderson asked, 'Will you take that yearling colt?' at the same time pointing to a colt which was running with us. In plumped the old lady: 'Take it, Jim; I want to get away from here.' 'Do you have the chills?' said I to her. 'Something worse; no chills,' she answered. At that moment I saw a curious grimace on Jim's face as he shot an appealing, warning glance at his wife, who evidently understood it and added simply, 'We've lived here long enough.' Gideon B. Henderson and Jim had now traded, the ladies of both parties being well pleased. This family was named May, and came there that year. My mother and sister were glad that their tiresome moving was ended, and the others were happy to move elsewhere. Next day we were left in full possession of our western house, but not before ascertaining Jim's wife's anxiety to get away. While Jim and his son-in-law were absent from home one day, some Osage Indians visited the cabin and stole a saw, an axe and other tools. Discovering the theft the men pursued to obtain restitution. The Indians, strong in number, abused the two whites, whipping them with Osage gun-sticks.

**Supply and Demand.**

"A few weeks after our settlement I fell back east one mile and built a cabin. The house which I built in 1832, one-quarter mile west by south of Capt. Ritchey's residence, was only 12 by 14 feet, yet I had to go ten miles to obtain eight men, who lived where Pierce City is, to aid in raising it. One door and one window and an earthern floor characterized the building for three months, subsequently doors, shutters and lofts were made; axe-made clapboards, floors laid with hewed puncheons, bedsteads set against walls with one peg. Axles were greased with honey, and meantime farming was carried on on a small scale. A few who had raised corn were liberal in dividing it. Hogs were scarce and pork hard to get, but wild game was so plenty that one hunter with his dog could

supply all the pioneers for a week from one day's hunt. Honey was so plenty that it could be had for 25 cents a gallon, and in comb at 1 cent a pound. Meal for bread was beaten in mortars, the coarse remains being used for hominy. Until the fall of 1833, over a year, I had but one grist ground, and that at Cane Hill, Ark., sent there by a neighbor. In the fall of 1833 George McIntosh started a small mill and a blacksmith shop which won all the custom for fifty miles around. I worked on the construction of his mill-race for 50 cents per day. From the 1st to the 10th of June, 1833, the waters in creeks and rivers were higher than at any time prior to the floods of July, 1865, when they raised three feet higher than in 1833.

"From Springfield, Mo., to Fayettville, Ark., there was neither doctor nor lawyer to be found; old Dr. Sappington, of Saline county, on the Missouri river, supplied us with ague pills and we got along nearly first rate, for we paid neither doctor bills nor lawyer fees, and very little taxes. We endured many hardships and privations. Some times we had to go forty miles to mill, away on Finley and Crane creek, or to the mouth of Flat creek, near White river; to Springfield, Mo., or Fayettville, Ark., for a few necessaries, and to the Indian Nation, Rodgers' salt works, for salt."

**Evolution of Milling at Smithville.**

The Smith family, of which Humphrey Smith was the head, came to Missouri in 1816, established themselves at what became Smithville in Clay county and started a milling industry ten miles from the nearest neighbor. In his autobiography, Calvin Smith, one of Humphrey Smith's six sons, says:

"The first Smith mills were started there. It was a hand mill, two stones, each two feet across, and six inches thick, one on top of the other. We could grind enough fine meal on this mill in about an hour to last all day. In those days, for coffee, we parched corn, put it in a leather bag and then pounded it with a stick or a hammer. We boiled it in a teakettle. For our meal we used a sieve made of rawhide bound round a hoop. We punched holes in the rawhide with a large knitting needle heated to a white heat. When the bran floated on top we blew it off and the heavy part we boiled in a kettle and this made the best of hominy. This meal we baked in a skillet, and though the bread was black we enjoyed it. I remember one day father found eight bee trees, my Uncle Walker seven, and my eldest brother who was only thirteen years of age found three. Father took mother to a tree and they got a whole bucket full without disturbing the bees. After that we never lacked for honey. A large barrel with a square hole, large enough to put your hand in, sawed at the bunghole, was always full of honey."

Humphrey Smith, after starting his settlement at Smithville, walked fourteen hundred miles to New York state to collect money due him, went to Pittsburg and bought the outfit of iron and steel and bolting cloth for a mill and came back to Missouri to make Smithville famous in that generation for an up-to-date mill.

**A Pioneer Bastile.**

Shelby county did not find it necessary to build a jail until 1846, and then constructed one of oak logs, the lower part being a dungeon without openings on the sides except four holes a foot by a foot and a half covered with heavy grating. Entrance and exit was by a trap door in the top of the dungeon. William J. Holliday, one of the first settlers, told in his sketches of Shelby county what happened to the new jail, when the first prisoners, two brothers from Schuyler county, were put in the dungeon, for stealing hogs.

"Mr. Joshua Ennis was sheriff and his father kept the jail. He gave the prisoners their meals through the trap door. The weather was not very cold yet they complained

of its severity, and the jailor had a stove put in the dungeon for their especial comfort. Several times, on opening the trap door, he discovered that the lower room was full of smoke. When he inquired of the prisoners if they were not uncomfortable on account of the smoke, they replied, 'Oh no, the smoke all rises upward; so we don't feel it down here.' One morning Mr. Ennis made his regular visit to the jail with the prisoners' breakfast. He was astonished to find that the birds had flown. Further discoveries showed that they had burned a hole through the floor and walls. They were polite enough to leave a letter directed to the sheriff, in which they said that he had treated them well and that they liked their boarding house; but that their business needed their immediate attention; so much so that they were compelled to leave; if, however, they had occasion to stop in town at any future time, they would stop with him."

**The Low Cost of Living in the Forties.**

In a Fourth of July address at Trenton, Major George H. Hubbell said: "In 1842 I paid $5 for the first cow I ever owned, and $7.50 for a good cow and calf in trade. Horses also were very cheap, while the best could be had for $40, others could be purchased at from $25 to $35. Working cattle were down to what they called in those days almost nothing, $22 buying a good yoke. Hogs, dressed without much regard to weight, were held at the enormous price of $1.25 to $1.50 each—neither were they full of trachina. You could go out in the woods, cut down a bee tree, gather the honey and bring it to market, and you got twenty-five cents a gallon for it. It was thought the bees got well paid for their honey. And such honey, so clear and transparent that even the beekeeper today with his patent hive and his Italian swarms would have had a look of envy covering his face from ear to ear on beholding it. The wild deer came forward and gave us their hams at twenty-five cents each, and the settlers generally clinched the bargain by taking the skins, which, when not cut up into strings or used for patches, brought another quarter, cash or trade as demanded. It was also a habit in those days for farmers to help each other, and their sons to work in the harvest fields or to do the logging to prepare for a new seeding. This was a source of wealth to the early settler and to his rising family. They raked in twenty-five to fifty cents a day and board. It was the foundation of their future prosperity."

**Pioneer Life in Callaway.**

The Kingdom of Callaway seems to have had rather more than a due proportion of strong individualities among its pioneers. When cholera made its appearance in the Coats' Prairie settlement, one of Matthew Agee's sons was taken with the disease and cured himself by "drinking a barrel of water in twenty-four hours." When John Phillips came out to Callaway he took possession of a large cave, scraped up the dust of an inner chamber, ran it through hoppers, extracted nitre and supplied that part of Missouri with gunpowder for several years. This homemade powder had no glaze and would absorb moisture in damp weather, causing flash in the pan or what the settlers called "long fire." It was peddled at musters and political meetings at "three bits the pound." The owner of the best race horses in the early days of Callaway was Harry Hall of whom it was said that in the Battle of New Orleans he lost his hat, ran into the enemy's ranks in his effort to recover it and got back to the American side without a scratch.

The first member of the Methodist church in Callaway was Mrs. Samuel Miller. She offered the use of her home for services, and preaching was held

there regularly for thirty years. People came twenty miles to attend. Mrs. Miller borrowed the beds of her neighbors to accommodate these worshipers from a distance. Men brought their guns and dogs. The guns were stacked in one corner of the house while the service went on. The dogs were left outside. They treed a wildcat one day and gave the alarm. Preaching was suspended while all went out to see the wildcat killed.

The first election in Callaway was held under a large oak tree at the Miller home. Mrs. Miller cooked for the "big men," as she called them. The rank and file of the body politic sat around on logs and ate the gingerbread they had brought with them. Rev. Joseph Howe, a Presbyterian, came from Pennsylvania. He accumulated a fortune for those days, willed $20,000 to pay a church debt, divided the rest of his estate into nine parts, one for each of his eight children and the ninth part was to be given to "the Lord." Snakes were so bad in Cedar Township that in 1824 the settlers formed an organization in which each member pledged himself to kill as many snakes as he could in a given time. When the time was up, the settlers came together and turned in the scalps of the snakes killed. Each man was given credit for the number of scalps turned in. Each scalp called for a bushel of corn from the treasury of the organization. A clearing house was established and the credits balanced and settlement made.

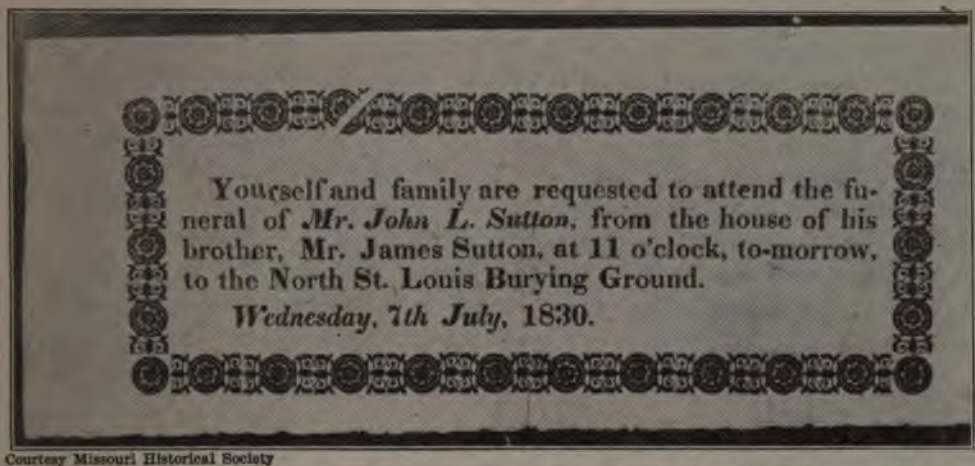
During the cholera epidemic David Dunlap, the one-legged schoolmaster who taught the first school in Fulton, died. Such was the dread of the disease that Dunlap was buried hurriedly with the clothes he had on at the time of being taken sick. Afterwards it was learned that he had $2,800 in a pocket of his undershirt. Two or three men were found who were bold enough to dig up the body and save the money.

Winthrop Hobson became a widely known minister of the Christian church. He had been noted for his wildness in his youth. When he came back from his theological training he met old Tom Nichols, a negro, who had suffered from the practical jokes played by young Winthrop. "Uncle Tom," said the young minister, "don't you know me?" "No sah," said the negro, "never seed you afore as I knows of." "Uncle Tom, who was the worst boy you ever saw?" "Why Massa Winthrop, is dis you? I neber would hab knowed in dis world. What made you so fat Massa Winthrop? Has you been drinkin' whiskey? I bet you has, 'fore God!"

When John Annett decided to join the Doniphan Expedition to Mexico he went into the store of Mr. Broadwell in Fulton and told him he had "called to pay that note." "All right John," said Mr. Broadwell, "an honest man is the noblest work of God." "I suppose you take fur, Mr. Broadwell?" "Oh yes, certainly, John, fur is as good as gold." "Well, Mr. Broadwell, I have joined the army and am going to Santa Fe and if that is not fur enough to pay you I will go to the Gulf of Mexico, and I guess that will settle it."

**A "Ringer" on May's Prairie Track.**

May's Prairie in Callaway county was a famous racing place in 1820. The Shehans had a fast horse they had brought from Kentucky and which had won all the races for some weeks. They called the pony "Nick Biddle." Up in Audrain county was a little mare owned by Sanford Jameson. The Willinghams and



Yourself and family are requested to attend the funeral of *Mr. John L. Sutton*, from the house of his brother, Mr. James Sutton, at 11 o'clock, to-morrow, to the North St. Louis Burying Ground.

*Wednesday, 7th July*, 1830.

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

A FUNERAL NOTICE OF EARLY STATEHOOD DAYS

A PIONEER INDUSTRY

Domestic science in the early years of Missouri statehood

Kilgores borrowed the mare, put burs in her tail and mane and came down to May's Prairie. There was no trouble in making up a race. The Callaway sports placed their money readily on the Kentucky horse, not recognizing the mare in her disguise. When the race was run, Nick Biddle was beaten 250 yards on a course of only 600 yards. The mare was sold and taken to Louisiana where she won her owner $80,000.

Allen M. Vories, at a banquet given in St. Joseph in 1870 told of the scenes about that city during the days of the forty-niners. He said he had seen the California emigrants camped in such numbers that they seemed to occupy all of the vacant ground roundabout the city of 1,500 people. These gold hunters, in getting their outfits, bought out all of the provisions in the stores and all that was on the way from the country, until there was actual scarcity for citizens who had to send out as far as the Grand river country for supplies.

**A Prophet without Honor.**

In his autobiographical narrative, Major Stephen Cooper, who was living in California in the early eighties, told of a speech he made in the Missouri legislature about 1844, in which he said he expected to live to see a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean. The prediction "caused a great deal of laughter."

Speaking of life in Missouri before the organization of the counties, Major Cooper said: "Each did what he thought right in his own eyes. Sometimes my father and my uncle would be sent for to go to the other forts to settle some slight difficulty, but never anything serious occurred. On one occasion a Frenchman had stolen twenty dollars—a large amount at that time. He was ordered to leave the settlement. He begged hard to be permitted to come back at the end of a year, and he promised so faithfully to behave himself well, if he were allowed to, that the desired permission was given, and after serving his term of banishment he returned and was ever after a good citizen."

**Nobody Died Until a Doctor Came.**

John Bozarth was one of the pioneers of what became Lewis county, coming from Grayson county, Ky., in 1819. His son, who was fourteen years old, at the time, gave his recollections for publication in Campbell's Gazetteer fifty-five years later:

"We put up a log cabin, which having no chimney, but merely a hearth in the middle of the room, required an open roof for the escape of the smoke. When the day's work was over, we lay down to sleep around the family hearthstone, the entire family of eighteen occupying the only room. Our food was boiled corn and honey, the latter procured from bee trees which we made a business of hunting, and when found we carried off the spoils in a sassafras log, which we had dug out like a canoe. Hitching our horse to this awkward contrivance, we drew our honey home. Our bread was obtained from pounding corn in a mortar, and our clothes were of buckskin which we tanned ourselves. On Sunday we donned our best suits, and went to call on our nearest neighbors, who lived twenty miles away. We all had chills, but nobody died until a doctor came to the country."

Horse racing on Lane's Prairie was great sport among the pioneers of Maries county. "Brimmer" and "Bertrand" were famous horses. John Crismon owned

one and Thomas Anderson the other. The two owners went before a justice of the peace and gave their affidavits to start their horses on separate tracks at a given hour. This was apparently a scheme to prevent jockeying, if a single track was used, and to assure the betting sports a fair contest. Crismon went out in the night and ran a plow across the track on which Anderson's horse was to run. He made five furrows at a place where there was little likelihood of discovery. Anderson came on the scene only a short time before the time agreed on for the start. He saw what had happened and began to dig holes on Crismon's track. Crismon drew a revolver and insisted that the race start according to affidavit. That left no time to Anderson to dig holes. Anderson lost the race.

Missourians were conservative about adopting newfangled notions. As recently as 1870, the Grundy county fair according to a local historian, James Everett Ford, awarded such premiums as these:

Best domestic jeans, $3.

Best homespun woolen yarn, $2.

Best hose, mittens, best patched clothing, etc.

For the best yoke of oxen, $10.

Best draft oxen tested on the grounds, $5.

At that time eggs were eight and one-third cents a dozen, and chickens, $1.25 a dozen in Trenton.

"The year of the great snow" in Missouri was 1831. A diary kept that year records that on the 3rd of January "there fell a snow which, with the snow already on the ground, measured thirty-two inches. Since the snow the sun rose one clear morning with two great lights, one on each side at equal distances. The lights were of a reddish yellow and rose from the sun, and both lights were in long streams, all closing at the top in a point. The lights moved round with the sun, and were plain to be seen at ten o'clock in the day."

**Diplomacy and the Grist.**

As the settlements increased there came into existence grist mills to which the pioneer Missourians carried their corn to be ground. One of the earliest of these was in Howard county, at the Boone's Lick settlement. It was run by horse power. Walter Williams has told this story of the mill:

"Jacob Ish, of Saline county, tired of pounding corn with pestle in a mortar, went to the Boone's Lick mill to get some corn meal ground. He crossed the Missouri river at Arrow Rock and encamped in the river bottom on the opposite bank, with a number of other settlers from different parts of the country on their way with corn to be ground at the mill. Around the campfire stories were told of encounters with Indians and wild beasts, of adventures in the war of 1812, and there was heard the spirited music of the violin. There were two or three good performers on the instrument, and some of the members of the camp were 'limber as to feet and frisky as to heels.' Pigeon wings and double shuffles were executed in admirable style to the admiration of the lookers-on. The next morning camp was broken up early and the settlers started for the mill. Many of them had brought corn and shelled it on the wagon as they traveled. Upon reaching the mill it was thronged with customers, many of whom had been there for a week, patiently waiting their turn. The mill ran night and day. About four hundred yards away was a cabin, in which a very inferior article of corn whiskey was sold. Ish and party visited this establishment, and its occupants, on learning their business, said to them: 'You won't get your grinding for a month. Better fix to camp or else go back home.'

Mr. Ish had come forty-five miles and did not propose to have his trouble for nothing. He kept away from the grogshop and made friends with the miller's wife. The same night a man whose turn had come had gone to the grogshop and had become oblivious of the fact that he had come to the mill at all. He was not to be found. The miller's wife persuaded her husband to give Ish the turn of the drunken pioneer, and the next morning by nine o'clock he was on his way to the Saline county settlement in triumph, with forty bushels of unbolted meal in his wagon for himself and his neighbors.

### Co-operation Along the Old Trail.

"Jacob Ish had arrived in Missouri from Kentucky in 1817. With him came a number of immigrants from Kentucky and Indiana. They built their cabins along the trail, 'just far enough apart to enable the women to raise chickens.' The settlers were in a certain sense communists, particularly in the borders of Howard and Saline counties. Their work was largely on the cooperative plan. They cleared and fenced a large field, which they divided into lots without any partition fences. There every man planted his crop. The entire settlement contributed toward making the crop in the 'Big Field' as it was called. The field increased from forty to one thousand acres. Each settler was entitled to cultivate what he cleared and helped to fence; that is, made rails for. William Hays took the first wagon into Saline county. The women walked and carried their babies in their arms and assisted in driving a few head of stock during the day when on their way to the settlement. Upon camping at night they prepared the evening meal. The Old Trails road country abounded in all sorts of game, and wild meat of some kind was always to be found on the pioneer's table. Near the salt springs were buffalo, though not in large numbers. Elk were not very rare, while deer, turkeys, raccoons, opossums, squirrels and rabbits were so plentiful as almost to be had for the taking up anywhere. The hollow trees in the woods often contained raccoons or honey. The few hogs in the early settlements ran wild, as did the cattle. Hogs fed largely on wild potatoes, which grew abundantly. Hogs sometimes swam the Missouri river to return to their old homes. The woods were infested with wolves, catamounts, panthers and bears, and it was difficult to raise cattle or hogs.

"The Old Trails road settlers were, for the most part, hunting people and did not care much about acquiring extensive tracts of land or raising large crops or becoming farmers with no other vocation. They raised just as much corn as they thought would serve for the use of their families in furnishing bread and mush and enough vegetables to give variety to their dinners of game. They raised almost everything they had and they manufactured almost everything they wore. Their smokehouses were always well supplied with meats of various kinds and honey of the finest flavor. After the first year or two in any settlement there was usually plenty of meal in the chest and butter and milk in the springhouse or in the cellar. Very little coffee and sugar were used and tea was almost unknown. The pioneer family that had coffee once a week—Sunday morning for breakfast—was considered a high liver. Settlers would hunt and trap and secure furs and peltries, which they would exchange for powder and shot and hunting knives for themselves, and cutlery, scissors, needles, thread, thimbles and a few other simple articles for the use of the women. These latter articles were particularly rare."

### A Post Office in a Bee-gum.

The first postmaster of Palmyra, Major Obadiah Dickerson, carried the mail around in his hat, which was of the tall "bee-gum" pattern. When people questioned this disposition of the mail, the major would tell them, "If I meet a man who has a letter belonging to him, I can give it to him. I meet more men when I travel about than come to the office." As the major was a great hunter and was always "among those present" at almost any kind of a gathering of settlers, his argument for the hat postoffice could not be well gainsaid. One man who came to Palmyra to get any mail there might be for his neighbors and himself in a remote settlement followed the major over to North river. The major found

several letters addressed to people the man represented. Then taking out two more letters he handed them to this man saying: "Take these along with you and see if they belong to any one out in your settlement. They have been here two weeks and no one has called for them yet. I don't know any such men, and I don't want to be bothered with them any longer." The major's methods did not detract from his personal popularity. The county elected him to the legislature.

**Going to Mill in the Thirties.**

"Going to Mill Fifty Years Ago," was written in 1882 by P. S. Stanley, based on the customs in North Missouri near the Iowa line. Palmyra, for years, was the nearest milling point. The settlers cooperated, one furnishing the wagon, another the oxen, a third the wagon cover, and then, perhaps, a fourth would undertake the trip. When the start was to be made each settler gathered two or three bushels of the best ears from his corn patch and dried them in the sun. The shelling of the corn was the occasion of a social gathering at one house. A few bushels of wheat was tramped out or flailed on the bare ground. On the day the trip began the neighbors brought their products and loaded the wagon with the corn and wheat; with pelts, beeswax, and honey. Each furnished a list of what was wanted in exchange for the products. These wants included boots and shoes. Calico, indigo, saleratus, tea, coffee and sugar were the staples. With a supply of corn bread, roasted venison, a coffee pot, some fodder for the oxen, the man chosen for the trip moved away. Not much food for the oxen was needed for plenty of time was taken at the camping places to feed on the grass and wild pea-vines. On arriving at the mill "he meets other settlers from other portions of the new country, does his trading and then, while waiting for his grist to be ground, he engages with the other settlers in shooting at a mark with the trusty rifle which he brought along for protection. He also gets the latest news; hears of a steamboat explosion on the Ohio river which took place two months before; sleeps in the mill among his sacks, and next day starts on his journey home. The children meet him a mile away and tell him the news: 'Papa, the old red sow has got pigs up the branch, and ma had to set up all night and make a fire to keep the wolves off, but we have got a pen now. There is five red ones, four spotted ones and one white one; that one is mine, ma says so.' Home at last, the neighbors assemble to get their goods, and something to quench their thirst. These were the good old times when cabins were built with auger and axe; and county and state taxes were paid with wolf's ears."

Cattle marks were common with the early settlers. Among the registrations in Lawrence county about 1845 was that of Alfred Moore, who took the following method of mutilating his stock: "Ear mark—Crop off the right ear, 2 under bit in the left ear." Henry F. Williams adopted "crop and slit in each ear." Joseph Ellis' cattle mark was "a crop of the right ear," and Alfred Moyear's cattle had "an under bit in each ear." James Bell, of Vineyard, had "one under half crop in each ear." Jackonyer Baldwin, of Greene, used a "crop off the left ear, and under bit in right ear." S. M. Pharis, of Mount Vernon, had his cattle, sheep and hogs marked with "an under bit near the end of the right ear," and William B. Brown, of Vineyard, used "a smooth crop off the left ear."

**Coming of the "Hoss" Mill.**

Modern improvements took an advance when Isaac Hammers established a "hoss" mill at Taylor's Grove in Harrison county. The year before, the Harris mill, run by water, froze early in the fall and remained shut down until March. The new mill ground the grist by horse power, the horses going around in a circle. Rev. John S. Allen, who preached for forty years in the Big Creek church and never charged a cent for his services, had vivid recollection of the "hoss" mill. "Did you ever in cold weather, go twenty miles to a horse mill and swing around the circle until you ground out a two-horse load of corn? If so you have some idea of the circular work. To spin around that circle for four long, weary hours, of a cold, dark, dreary night, punching up the team is no laughing matter. One might despair in this cheerless work were it not for the hope of hearing the cheering words, 'Your grist is out,' which the miller calls out through a chink in the logs. These words would bring renewed courage and send a thrill of joy to the weary twister."

The mill ground so slowly that one of the neighbor boys sent there with a grist told the miller he could eat the meal as fast as it was ground.

"How long could you do that?" the miller asked banteringly.

"Until I starved," replied the quick-witted youngster.

Practical improvements the Grand river settlers stood for encouragingly. But when one of the settlers put some glass windows in his cabin, the first seen in that country, he was criticised for trying to put on airs.

**The Sacred Fire of Kentucky.**

In the first generation of Missouri statehood the Duckworth family moved from Kentucky to what became Livingston county, Missouri. Like all newcomers they brought their "lares and penates" with them. But there was this extraordinary distinction about the Duckworths. To the rear of the covered wagon hung an iron kettle and in the kettle were live coals taken from the Kentucky fireplace of the father of the mover. According to the tradition of the family, given to a writer in the Globe-Democrat eighty years afterward, Duckworth had said: "I'll take one thing with me from old Kentucky, and as long as I live I'll keep it. That's this fire." The young man was sitting in front of the fireplace when he made his vow. The next morning, when the caravan started, the kettle and the coals were in place. It proved to be a great convenience when camping time came, for that was in the days before lucifers. From time to time wood was added and the little pillar of smoke behind marked the trail of the Duckworths to Missouri. When the cabin home was built of logs in Missouri the fire was transferred to the great fireplace and there it burned year after year until almost the end of Missouri's first century. Fourteen children of the family grew to maturity, thirteen of them married and moved away. One son remained at home with the mother who lived to be ninety-three. The fire burned until after her death. Then Mett Duckworth, the bachelor son, left the cabin with the fireplace and moved to a house with a stove and the Kentucky reminiscence became dead ashes.

**The Houn' Dog.**

To Missouri's first century belongs the "houn' dog," performing no small part in the life, pioneer and latterday as well. "Makes no difference if he is a houn'; got to quit kickin' that dog around," the young rural Missourian has chanted through the generations. James Newton Baskett, Missouri's foremost naturalist, told wonderful stories of the trailing prowess of the houn' dog:

"I have seen an old and experienced hound following the trail of a deer some time after the animal had passed, and he did not pursue it directly over its tracks, as they were apparent in the snow or soft earth, but he ran rapidly, upheaded and open mouthed, thirty or forty yards away from these, always keeping on a line roughly parallel with the route of the game, guided solely by the varying strength of its odor.

"I once saw an experienced pack chasing a grown-up pet fox which had answered 'the call of the wild' and gone 'back to nature,' but he ran mostly in short narrow circles about his old home, so that his tactics were often visible. One of his chief dodges was doubling back directly past his pursuers, often nearly meeting them, so that he frequently passed not more than twenty feet of them on either side. Still they went on with 'full cry,' down the other leg of his route, never turning till they reached the place where he had turned. Now, if there had been a setter or pointer running with them, he would have wheeled at once as the fox passed so near and would have 'pointed' it as if it had been a bird in the grass; but to trail the fox the bird dog would likely have been compelled to put his nose tediously to the earth. In strong breezes, however, hounds do often make a short-cut on the game.

"I was once passing to the hunting ground when one of the party shot a skunk, with the usual results. On a little further some prairie chickens were flushed and scattered. As we left the field we passed again directly into the current blowing from the odorous body. Up this breeze a setter pup passed and began creeping with the well known crouch which indicates game ahead, and within a few yards of the skunk, in a stench that was stiffling, he located a grouse, and stood on it stanchly till ordered to flush. In this dog the discriminating sense was remarkably developed and manifested; so that he not only at once knew dead birds from live ones, which is quite usual, but he could judge whether the injury of the game was sufficient to disable it so that he could safely attempt to retrieve it. I have seen him refuse to retrieve birds knocked down and bleeding, which I would almost invariably find able to fly when approached. I was never able to account for this. In like manner, an experienced ranger knows the number of birds under his point, and shows it plainly to his master. Of course he does not count; he rarely springs in till the last bird is 'put up.' His nose quickly tells him the difference between the odor of the bird and of its very recent impression in the grass.

"The difference in scent perception between the hound and the setter is one largely of practice and training; the one has long secured his prey by the chase, and both natural and artificial selection have influenced his primal endowment. The other has sustained himself by the sneaking, rushing or leaping form of capture. The "point," Mr. Darwin has suggested, is, doubtless, the crouch preliminary to the leap. So, as noted, for their respective purposes, one nose may be as keen as the other. A hound may not think of 'winding' a deer a mile away, but a setter may 'draw down' at one edge of a quarter section on a flock of prairie chickens hidden deep in ragweeds on the other; but while a bird dog can trail his flocks only a few hours after they have passed, a hound will 'give tongue' on a deer's cold trail of yesterday, and 'open up' today on a coon track in the snow which is full of the frost crystals of early last night. So dependent are both upon their sense of smell that either would rather risk his nose than his eyes in recognizing his master, and he really never knows his friends till he has the memory of their odor safely stored. It is often amusing to see persons who know not the ways of dogs shy from the close approach of a friendly canine, who by his cold nose touch on the hand, or muzzle thrust on the lower limbs, is simply placing them in the registry of his friends,—taking their

A PIONEER FERRY IN THE OZARKS

QUILT AIRING DAY

An early custom of the Ozarks. Prosperity measured by the number of home-made quilts. One family exhibited more than forty on airing day

cards in his way,—putting them on his visiting list, so that he may greet them properly when they meet again."

**The Coming of the Harrisons.**

The coming of the Harrison family of Alabama, illustrates the ways in which the early settlement of Missouri came about. Judge Harvey Harrison, a pioneer of Johnson county, told this to W. E. Crissey some years before his death:

"My father and his brother Jesse and their wives and my father's sons all started for Missouri. None but the Harrisons composed the party. We came overland. My father had an old fashioned Virginia wagon hauled by six horses and he had it full of his goods. He also had a one horse buggy and besides this a two-wheeled gig, stout and strong. This gig I rigged up with a sort of body to it, large enough to get the stuff of myself and wife in it; and in this my wife and I rode, lived and slept in all the journey. We traveled first toward the north and crossed the Ohio at what was known as Ford's ferry. We reached the Mississippi river at St. Louis and crossed there. I do not remember much about St. Louis; did not pay much attention to it; think we did not stop, simply passed through it. I would say it was a town then about as large as, perhaps a little larger than Warrensburg. Say 6,000 to 7,000 people. We then kept north and struck the Missouri at St. Charles and were ferried over. St. Charles was a small town. We kept our course westward, camping three or four days near Boonville. At Arrow Rock, we crossed the Missouri into Saline county and about the 16th or 18th of April, 1829, we arrived at Tebo grove where Dover is now. We lived there two years. Then my father and his entire family moved to what is now Johnson county. When we unloaded we had nothing to cover us in the way of houses, tents or anything of the kind except father's old Virginia wagon which he still kept. Our household goods were not very extensive, some bedclothes and ordinary utensils,—no bedsteads. The place was about ten miles north and a little west of Warrensburg. In two days we had a shelter, or camp, rigged up, and in two weeks each family had a cabin of poles or logs with ground floor and clapboard roof, very comfortable. There was but one house south of Blackwater creek, and that was a cabin at High Point of Tebo. This was the house of John Brummett, a squatter.

"It was a most delightful country. Everywhere, as far as one could see, there were no houses, no cultivated fields to break the beauty that nature had given. It was one vast expanse of undulating prairie, and in midsummer covered with tall waving grass, interspersed here and there with belts of timber along the courses of the little streams. The choicest varieties of game abounded. Every autumn when the prairie grasses had withered and died, about the month of November usually, the prairies were burned. The prairies would become a vast sea of flames. While these fires were raging we had from four to six weeks of what was known as Indian summer, and for weeks at a time the smoke would be so dense that we could not see the sun. In the spring the ground would be free from grass and the wild flowers would spring up in endless variety and profusion; and for some weeks until the grass had hidden them from view the prairie would be one vast flower garden. As one variety would cease to bloom others would take their places with ever changing colors and perfume. I cannot describe these scenes in all their beauty and delight."

**Notable Events of the Early Days.**

The annals of some of the early settlements of Missouri began with "the next year after the stars fell." That was the night of November 12, 1833.

Dr. Barlow, of marked ability, was an eccentric character in Newton county. He dressed in knee-breeches, and black stockings, with a curtain-calico blouse, and equally peculiar hat. On one occasion he attended religious services at the Hickory creek schoolhouse, ostensibly for the sake of taking part in the singing, which he could do very well; but really to win notoriety. He was asked by Elder

Hearrell why he went in such a dress when he replied, "Well, I want to bring myself into notice." "And, Doctor, you have succeeded," was the elder's comment.

It was to be expected from the strong infusion of Kentucky blood in the first families of Missouri, that horse races should have a place in the recreation. This advertisement appeared in the papers about midsummer of 1818 to relieve the tension over the delay in statehood:

"Howard County Races
"Sportsmen please to attend

"Will be run for on the third Thursday, Friday and Saturday next, the jockey club purse on Welches' track, near Franklin,—four miles the first day—three miles the second day,—and two miles the third day, and a mile and repeat in the evening of the third day, for the entrance money of the three preceding days with one hundred on each."

As a non-conductor of heat and cold the buckskin garments of the Missouri pioneers occasionally led to disaster. "Dandy Bob" Allison of Pike, true to the character which his familiar title gave him, went to a function wearing a suit of broadcloth over his buckskin. In the course of the evening he stood for a time with his back to the fireplace wherein the backlog was giving out rapidly increasing heat. Dandy Bob did not feel the rising temperature until there was a smell of scorching cloth. Pike county tradition has it that "the subsequent proceedings interested him no more," and that he left in haste.

Greene township, according to the official record entered in 1840, was named "in honor of Jineral Green of the Revolution war."

Samuel Martin startled his neighbors in St. Clair county about the middle thirties. He got out several heavy beams fourteen feet long and swung them to the roof of the kitchen of his cabin. While the neighbors marveled, Martin continued work on the completion of a frame which in three months became an efficient loom. The Martin family was nearly out of clothes. Mrs. Martin put the loom in operation and produced a piece of jeans cloth seven yards long. This was the first manufacture of cloth in that part of Missouri.

## CHAPTER XLVI

## MISSOURIANA

*James G. Blaine's Reproach Removed—Motive of the Jefferson Memorial—Louis Houck's Estimate of the Missouri Historical Society's Collections—The State Historical Society—Missouri History in University and Colleges—The Work of the Missouri Historical Review—Unparalleled Newspaper Collections—Centennial Celebration at Daniel Boone Tavern—"Old Packingham" and "Calomel"—The Greatest Contribution to Missouriana—Coming of Joseph Charless—Missouri's "Vestal Fire"—The Pioneer Editor's Side Lines—"Truth without Fear," "Principles not Persons"—Art in Advertising One Hundred Years Ago—Religious Notices—Slaves of the Best Caliber—A Literary Barber—When St. Louis Was Slandered—Versatility in Vocations—Advertising Imprisonment for Debt—Leistendorfer's Plan of Currency Reform—Lotteries and the Editorial Conscience—Winter of the Deep Snow and No News—Making Sport of Porkopolis—Journalism before the Civil War—Huntsville's Independent Missourian—Bold Bacon Montgomery—Jeff Buster's News Sense—James O. Broadhead's Search for a Newspaper Name—Ben. Franklin Russell's "Nuggets of History"—Clay County's Centennial—Henry Clay McDougal's Reminiscences—Mark Twain's Funny Brother—Secret Political History of 1896—Republican Financial Plank Written by a Missourian—A Democratic Friend Elected McKinley.*

Woe to the people that lets its historic memories die; recreant to honor, gratitude, yea, to its own life also, it perishes with them.—*Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post at the unveiling of the Blair statue in Forest Park.*

"Your growth, gentlemen, is the growth of the Republic, but I feel I have one reproach against the trans-Mississippi department. My reproach to every foot, to every inhabitant of the territory of Louisiana, is that on its surface, which represents a third part of the United States, there is not a statue raised to Thomas Jefferson." James G. Blaine talked thus to the Merchants' Exchange in St. Louis on the occasion of a visit in the eighties. The reproach has been removed. When the World's Fair was over and it was found that a surplus remained in the exposition treasury, Congress waived any interest the national government might have in such surplus, adopting a resolution approving "the erection at St. Louis of a monument to Thomas Jefferson in commemoration of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory."

Successful liquidation of the exposition affairs resulted in the accumulation of a half million of dollars. The City of St. Louis gave the site which had been the location of the main entrance of the World's Fair. A commission worked and deliberated a year on various plans for a monument. When conclusions were reached, David R. Francis, president of the World's Fair, summarized them in his description of the Jefferson Memorial and its uses:

"Through its exhibits, its conventions, its celebrations, the Exposition was primarily a revelation of the Louisiana Purchase territory to the rest of the United States and to the world at large. It opened our own eyes to the important part we have performed in the making of the nation. Singularly the Louisiana Territory has furnished the duplicate in number of the original thirteen states, but how much larger are these thirteen states of Louisiana! Jefferson's Purchase doubled the then area of this country. We owe it to our generation to preserve in detail in its entirety the history of the Louisiana territory from the colonial settlements down through the territorial period and through the making of the thirteen states. We owe it to future generations to house our own historical literature and official records and relics in such worthy surroundings that they may be always accessible.

"This great monument to Jefferson is designed to honor not only the man who secured this territory, but the men and women who have been the makers of the history of this territory. Under the grand arch, which marks the entrance to the World's Fair, we associate with him in the galleries and halls those historical characters who made of this added territory what Jefferson prophesied it would become.

"The race which peopled Louisiana when the white man came is vanishing. We have already in hand a nucleus of thirty thousand objects which tell of the life of the aboriginal population. This collection will gain immeasurably in value and interest when properly displayed in the exhibit halls of this memorial structure.

"The World's Fair of 1904 conferred a great benefit in awakening interest in Trans-Mississippi history. The institution which is made possible by the joint action of the United States Government, the City of St. Louis and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company is the logical result of that awakening."

Housed in the wings of the Memorial are the collections of the Missouri Historical Society and of the Louisiana Purchase Historical Association. Occupying a considerable part of one of these wings is an archaeological collection which the Missouri Historical Society has been assembling with continuous effort, directed to all parts of the Louisiana territory, during the last forty years. Another feature is the historical library which includes not only books but thousands of manuscripts, diaries and letters, bearing upon the history of this territory of the thirteen states. The collection of this material has been in progress at St. Louis for more than half a century.

The collection of manuscripts goes back to the earliest settlements in what was the Louisiana territory. It is already one of the largest collections in the United States. Many of the manuscripts relate to the French and Spanish sovereignty. Included are original petitions of early settlers of Missouri and other states in the Louisiana territory for land grants. There are early marriage contracts. There are official letters of the governors and commandants before the American authority superseded the Spanish. There are contracts and negotiations more than a century old. The first printing press set up and used west of St. Louis and the second printing press brought to this side of the Mississippi is one of the historical exhibits. It was used at Franklin, Missouri, to print the "Missouri Intelligencer" as early as 1819. One of the cannon carried on the steamboats of the American Fur company one hundred years ago is preserved. There are many oil portraits of governors and prominent pioneers of the states within the Louisiana Purchase.

The Indian collection is already large; it includes 30,000 specimens. One of the prized possessions of the Historical Society given a conspicuous position is the sun dial which Thomas Jefferson made and used at his home, Monticello, in Virginia.

Genealogies, private letters and diaries of persons resident in the Louisiana Territory are included in a family history department. Some years ago the col-

TYPE OF THE ROBIDOUX HOUSE IN WHICH THE FIRST NEWSPAPER WEST OF THE MISSOURI WAS PUBLISHED IN 1808

WILLIAM HYDE
Editor St. Louis Republican

JOSEPH B. McCULLAGH
Editor St. Louis Globe-Democrat

lection of material of this kind was undertaken by the Missouri Historical Society. The accumulation is already large and receiving frequent additions. With assurances of protection against fire, this department devoted to the history of families resident in the Purchase states has increased rapidly.

In the center of the grand arch, facing the vast domain, or the greater part of what was embraced in the Acquisition, is the heroic marble statue of Jefferson, the masterpiece of Karl Bitter, the greatest of American sculptors in his generation. On the east side of the arch is Bitter's immortal "Signing of the Treaty." It represents in bronze, life size, Monroe, Marbois and Livingston putting their signatures to the treaty of April 30, 1803, whereby the territory of Louisiana was transferred to the United States.

**Louis Houck on the Missouri Historical Collection.**

To President David R. Francis, when the Jefferson Memorial was planned as a permanent fireproof home for The Missouri Historical Society, Louis Houck wrote:

"I am somewhat familiar with historical collections and venture the statement that no other city or state, with the possible exception of the Wisconsin historical collection at Madison, has a collection relating to the Mississippi Valley at all equal to the Missouri Historical Society. In some respects this collection surpasses even the Congressional Library. Few people of St. Louis realize the priceless value of this collection, measured not in dollars and cents, but as original historical material, embracing rare manuscripts, records of Spanish regime in Missouri and Upper Louisiana, letters of the Spanish governors and lieutenant-governors and of prominent individuals during the Spanish dominion, the Spanish archives of St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, and New Madrid. Also copies of interesting documents in Seville relating to Upper Louisiana, rare books and books long out of print relating to early Western and American history, letters from the first American settlers west of the Mississippi, petitions for land grants by them to the Spanish authorities, muster rolls of the early territorial militia, the proceedings of the territorial legislatures, and early newspapers published in the state.

"In addition, the society possesses a very large collection of portraits and pictures of the early citizens of St. Louis and Missouri, and an archaeological collection, if not the equal, at least very little inferior to the Smithsonian collection at Washington. When all this historical material is properly housed, arranged, classified and catalogued, it will attract to St. Louis not only men of learning from this country but from Europe, who will visit St. Louis to investigate the original sources of western history here possessed by our society, just as they now go to the Congressional Library, or Madison to make historical investigations."

**The State Historical Society at Columbia.**

The State Historical Society of Missouri has its habitation at Columbia and is conducted in close relationship with the University of Missouri. Twenty-three years ago, in 1898, the Missouri Press Association founded this society which one year later became a state institution. Francis Asbury Sampson came to Missouri in 1868, was enrolled as a member of the Pettis county bar and following a not frequent natural inclination became a collector of Missouriana. He studied Missouri history, Missouri geology, and Missouri conchology. He assembled everything in print that he could find on these subjects. When Mr. Sampson took the secretaryship of the State Historical Society in 1901, his collection of many thou-

sands of publications became the nucleus which has grown into a library of 200,000 books and pamphlets and 10,850 bound volumes of newspapers. As a collector and bibliographer Mr. Sampson shared honors with William Clark Breckenridge. To these two men Missouri history owes a great debt. Mr. Sampson was secretary of the Society until 1915 when he resigned that office and became the bibliographer of the Society, holding that position until his death at the close of 1919.

Floyd C. Shoemaker, author of the recognized authentic history of Missouri's "Struggle for Statehood," succeeded Mr. Sampson as the secretary of the Society. Growing liberality on the part of the state, especially notable in the administration of Governor Gardner, and the increasing interest manifested by Missourians in the history of the state, have made possible expansion in the activities of the Society. At the annual meeting of the Society in December, 1920, the report of the secretary showed an active pay membership of 996, and a total membership of 1,671.

The Society is supported by an active pay membership larger than the similar organization in any other state west of the Mississippi with the single exception of Iowa which led by seventeen more members. Of the Society's present activities and purposes, Secretary Shoemaker says:

"The library of the Society not only includes all histories published on the state, its cities and counties, but thousands of allied publications. Biographical and genealogical works, books of travel and description on Missouri and the Middle West, all association reports, official publications of the state and municipalities, works by Missouri authors, treatises on slavery and Civil war in Missouri, state and county histories of commonwealths whence Missourians came or whither Missourians went, and official publications of the other states, are also found here. Five hundred current Missouri newspapers are alone being received and preserved. In short, everything is being collected and preserved that throws light on what Missourians have or are doing. So is our people's past being honored.

**The Missouri Historical Review.**

"An historical society cannot create history, that is a people's function, but it can compile and interpret history. The State Historical Society of Missouri endeavors to do this thru its quarterly magazine, The Missouri Historical Review. Established in 1906, the Review is now in its fifteenth volume. Its articles, devoted to an exposition of Missouri history, are contributed by eminent writers over the state and by officers of the Society. The reception given the magazine during the last four years alone is indicated by the 200 per cent increase in its readers. Popular articles on present day history,—Missouri and the War, Equal Suffrage in Missouri, share the pages of the Review with scholarly contributions on past annals. Besides its magazine and historical pamphlets, the Society has published this year a two volume work on the Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, including an historical introduction and biographical sketches of the delegates. So is our people's past being interpreted.

"As an historical society cannot make history, so it cannot manufacture historians, but it can inspire and, in a way, train lovers of history to make contributions. By assistance, encouragement and suggestion, The State Historical Society of Missouri has enlisted the services and co-operation of hundreds of citizens in the state who revere our past. Never in the annals of this commonwealth, and seldom if ever in the annals of other states, have there been so many able, serious, scholarly, historical authors, and historical works produced, as are found in Missouri today.

**Missouri History in the Schools.**

"Scores of young men and women in Missouri are taking more than academic interest in this subject thru both literature and instruction. The University of Missouri, and the North-

east and the Central Missouri State Teachers Colleges are giving collegiate courses of high merit on Missouri history to one hundred and fifty teachers annually. The initial inspiration of this work began in the State Historical Society of Missouri, which has continued to foster it in every way. The same influence of encouragement and suggestion is met with in the press of the state. The local Missouri paper is not only urged to feature historical articles but it is given worth-while recognition by this Society of what it compiles. A complete list of all the important historical and biographical articles in all current Missouri newspapers is published in The Missouri Historical Review. The list is suggestive to all editors, it is helpful to historical writers, and its volume is quite significant of the progress that has been made in the field of Missouri history during recent years. Equally pronounced is the stimulus to Missouri history that has resulted from the co-operation of The State Historical Society and the womens clubs. Hundreds of programs on the story of the state and its literature have been given lately by Missouri club women. The good fruit of this work is obvious. In forwarding the Missouri centennial movement with page and pageant, another great impetus to this cause has resulted, the effects of which will be lasting. And so is our people's past being democratized."

**"Old Packingham" Revived.**

With a vim, as Missourians sang it one hundred years ago, "Old Packingham" resounded through the corridors of Daniel Boone Tavern in Columbia on the eighth of January, 1918. The occasion was the first centennial celebration of the statehood struggle. One hundred years ago that day the petitions demanding Missouri's admission to the Union were presented in Congress. And one hundred and three years ago that day, Sir Edward Packingham and the British army met defeat at the hands of General Jackson using Missouri lead in the battle of New Orleans. The tune to which the Missourians sang was from the singing of a living Missourian. With Tudor Lanius leading and Professor Pommer playing the accompaniment, the five hundred Missourians from all parts of the state roared out the "Old Packingham" of pioneer days:

"Old Packingham had made his brags,
  If he in fight were lucky,
He'd have our girls in cotton bags
  In spite of old Kentucky.

  Refrain:
    Old Kentucky! Old Kentucky!
    Ye hunters of Kentucky!

"But General Jackson was wide awake
  And wasn't scared at trifles,
For well he knew what aim we take
  With our Kentucky rifles.

"He led us down into cypress swamps
  Where the ground was low and mucky
There stood John Bull in martial pomp,
  And here stands old Kentucky.

"Old Packingham, come take a cup,
  Perhaps the last you'll ever sup;
We'll send you home well pickled up,
  Like hogs from old Kentucky."

**The Missouri Ballad of "Calomel."**

"Calomel" was one of the pioneer ballads of Missouri. Mr. Tudor Lanius of the University of Missouri revived this ballad and sang it at the Daniel Boone Tavern in Columbia when the centennial anniversary of the presentation of Missouri's petitions to Congress for statehood was celebrated:

"'Oh, Mr. Williams is very sick;
  Send for the doctor, and be quick'!
The doctor came with a right good will,
  And didn't forget his calomel.

"He takes his patient by the hand,
  Compliments him as a man;
Sets him down his pulse to feel
  And then deals out his calomel.

"His high silk stock around his neck
  With old Scotch snuff is always specked;
His nankeen vest and ruffled frill
  Smells of jalap, aloes and calomel.

"He rides about in an old green chaise
  And doses patients night and day,
While many an unreceipted bill
  Shows right much loss in calomel.

"His good wife seldom leaves the house,
  But labors for her faithful spouse;
She cooks his food and makes his pills
  With seven grains of calomel.

"At last the good old doctor died
  And was mourned by people far and wide;
Yet, strange to tell, when he was ill
  He would not take his calomel."

**The Greatest Contribution to Missouriana.**

The greatest contribution to Missouriana is the collection of Missouri newspapers. Stacks of files, bound and unbound, have been preserved by the historical societies and by the libraries of Missouri. Perhaps no other state can show such complete press annals. From 1808 to 1921 may be found the current history of Missouri written and printed day by day.

Joseph Charless was a man of convictions and had the courage of them. The family was of Welsh origin, settling in Ireland. A young printer, Joseph Charless engaged in one of the uprisings about 1795. To save his neck he went to France and thence came to the United States. Here he was befriended by Matthew Carey, the publisher, by Benjamin Franklin and by Henry Clay. While following his craft in Philadelphia he set type on the first quarto edition of the Bible printed in this country. Finding that his American friends did not give the pronunciation of his name to which he had been accustomed in Ireland, Mr. Charles added an "s" and thereafter was Joseph Charless. About 1800, Charless went to

Kentucky and became connected with newspapers in Lexington and Louisville. He was encouraged by Henry Clay.

In the early part of 1808 Joseph Charless arrived in St. Louis by keelboat from the Ohio. He gave out the information that the first printing press to be set up west of the Mississippi was on the way from Pennsylvania and that type had been shipped from Louisville. As he went about the town, the western limit of which was Fourth street, Mr. Charless circulated a Prospectus reading:

> It is self-evident that, in every country where the rays of the press are not clouded by despotic power, the people have arrived to the highest grade of civilization. There science holds her head erect and bids her sons to call into action those talents which lie in a good soil inviting cultivation. The inviolation of the press is co-existent with the liberties of the people. They live or die together. It is the vestal fire upon the preservation of which the fate of nations depends; and the most pure hands, officiating for the whole community, should be incessantly employed in keeping it alive.

Below the Prospectus, which was partly in French for the benefit of the pioneer habitants, Mr. Charless left space for subscriptions. On the 12th of July, 1808, was issued Number 1 of Volume 1, Missouri Gazette, later the St. Louis Republic. Suitable paper could not be obtained. The first issue was gotten out on a sheet twelve inches long by eight inches wide. It was distributed to 170 subscribers who had promised to "pay three dollars in advance or four dollars in country produce."

The third issue of the Gazette announced the result of the first election in St. Louis, held at the court house to choose five trustees who were to govern the town just incorporated. St. Louis had a population of 1,100 living in 200 houses about one-third of them stone; the others of posts.

The editor of the Gazette carried on the paper largely as a matter of public spirit and from love of the art preservative. He depended upon other sources for livelihood. The following appeared in the Gazette in 1810: "Joseph Charless informs his friends that he receives boarders by the day, week or month. Travelers can be accommodated with as good fare as the town affords on moderate terms. Stabling for eight or ten horses. Subscribers to the paper are requested to pay up. Pork and flour received."

Somewhat later this notice appeared in the Gazette: "Joseph Charless will give one bit a pound for old copper and brass and take it at that price for debts due the printer."

Still later, in 1815, this announcement was published: "Joseph Charless, at the instance of a number of friends in Kentucky and Ohio, intending to remove from Missouri and Illinois Territories, has opened books for the registry and sale of lands, town lots and slaves. Every exertion will be made to render the institution worthy of patronage."

**Truth Without Fear.**

The newspapers of one hundred years ago, and long afterwards, carried conspicuously on the title page a motto. Joseph Charless printed under the "Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser" for several years the line "Truth without Fear." When James Cummins took over the Gazette in 1820 he changed the motto to

"Principles not Persons." After two years Cummins turned over the paper to the son of the founder, Joseph Charless. In doing so he found it expedient to publish this personal "Notice," in the issue of September 11, 1822.

"I have been credibly informed that a certain gentleman, who ought to know better, has busied himself through town to raise a report, that I am preparing to sneak away without giving satisfaction to my creditors, if any I have. Were it not for my character, which I have never merited to lose, and which I owe to myself and family to support, even in preference to my life, I would gladly overlook aspersions from a weak man whom I pity much more than blame. This Christian feeling is the only reason which induces me not to expose my calumniator, and content myself with stating to the public, that here I am, ready to answer all just claims against me, and that it is my intention to leave this place on the 10th of next month. James Cummins."

**Art in Early Advertising.**

There was art in advertising a hundred years ago. Benjamin Estell, about to enter the meatshop business in 1814, invited the attention of the town of St. Louis in a printed card which could hardly have been made more effective by a modern adwriter:

The subscriber respectfully informs the citizens of St. Louis that he will commence the butchering business on Monday next. With deference, he requests the heads of families and the masters of shops to meet him on that morning at market house and partake of his first essay, as a free will, offered at the commencement of his business.

The farmers who make St. Louis a market for their beef are invited to call upon the subscriber at the Sign of the Cross, at the south end of St. Louis, and make positive contracts for their cattle, as the subscriber wishes to destroy the prevailing idea of advantages being taken of them in bringing their beef to this market. Those who will favor him with their custom shall always have their money on the delivery of their beef.

In advertising a reward of fifty dollars for his "negro man David," Nath. Benton went into details and dealt with personalities:

"The cause of my man running off was a knowledge of my intention to move down to the Chickasaw purchase; together with an apprehension of being chastised for disobeying and giving me insolent and abusive language in Colonel Benton's yard as he went off. I have owned said fellow for several years and never molested him; nor should I have had a preterse for undertaking it when he ran off if he had not been spirited up. He has been instigated to give me abusive language by two or three persons within and about this place. I hereby forewarn all persons from employing, harboring or affording him any protection, aid or the like, under the penalty of the law. I will empower a man in this case who understands and has the spirit to assert his rights. I have been told that I had a list doomed to death; but this I say is not true; and that I do not owe but one or two fellows that much harm; and even them I shall not turn out of my course to find, for the poor devils will die of fear. At any rate the man David is not among the proscribed.

"N. B. No person within the territory of Missouri has any authority from me neither to sell, hire, employ or control the said negro David; and any one offending in these particulars, besides other inconveniences, will be posted for a rascal."

**The Bishop's Appointments.**

An advertisement which appeared in the Missouri Gazette, April 10th, 1818, gave the appointments of the Methodist bishop in Missouri after this form:

ADAM BLACK CHAMBERS
One of Missouri's pioneer editors

JOHN KNAPP
Publisher Missouri Republican

RICHARD EDWARDS
Author of Edwards' Great West

"Rev. William McKendree, senior bishop, together with Rev. James Gwin, will attend a campmeeting on Wednesday at Cape Girardeau; on the 22nd, a campmeeting near Jackson; on the 29th, at Belleview campmeeting; at Boone's Lick, 5th, 6th, 7th of June, at a campmeeting; on the 12th, 13th, 14th of June, on the Missouri river in Frazier's Bottom."

In July, 1818, Auguste Chouteau was having so much trouble with trespassers that he published what he called his "Last Notice:"

"Without any regard for the advertisements published for several years by the subscriber, his dam, fences and other property adjoining St. Louis being daily injured, defeated, pulled down, etc., by hurtful or inattentive grown people and children of every description, the undersigned is under the hard necessity to forewarn all people that he is determined not to allow a passage through his fields or dam on any account whatever. And that he will prosecute with rigor all and every person that may hereafter cross over his fences to wash or fish in his pond, or in any manner whatsoever trespass on his premises."

In the settlement of the estate of Auguste Chouteau the sale of 36 slaves was announced to take place of the 30th of August, 1830. The newspaper advertisement said these slaves were "of the best caliber, all young boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 20 years."

S. R. Wiggins advertised in the Missouri Gazette a reward of twenty dollars "for the apprehension of thieves who opened a barrel containing 320 pounds of sugar and took therefrom 100 pounds." And then Mr. Wiggins, with a sense of humor not unknown in the advertising columns of the Gazette one hundred years ago, added:

"N. B. If the person who stole it will come forward, he shall receive in addition to the above twenty dollars the thanks of the owner for not taking the whole."

When the card of Rev. Salmon Giddings appeared giving notice of the school he was about to open in St. Louis in 1818, it concluded with, "Every attention will be paid to the improvement and morals of the youth."

The St. Louis Enquirer, the paper for which Benton wrote the editorials, gave notice in 1819, "Two or three boys from fourteen to fifteen years of age, of moral habits, will be taken at this office to learn the art and mystery of printing." This appears to have been the beginning of a school of journalism in Missouri.

On the 22nd of January, 1820, the Enquirer printed an advertisement which in the next issue it pronounced a fraud and for which it apologized. The fake read, "Ten cents reward for the seizure of Condi Benoist, an apprentice, bound to me by indenture. George P. Todson."

Oliver Holmes, surgeon dentist, informed the people of St. Louis, in 1829 that, "He performs every necessary operation on the teeth and gums, removing with care fixed tartar; he cleans, separates and polishes teeth without injuring the enamel, which some do that have shamefully crept into this profession and by it impaired the confidence of the public."

**Good Reading in the Ad. Columns.**

Is it to be wondered that the reader turned to the advertising columns for interesting reading one hundred years ago? For example the following:

"J. Hoffa, Barber and Hair Dresser.

"Penetrated with gratitude for the unbounded patronage he has experienced since his arrival in St. Louis (the emporium of Missouri), once more returns his sincere thanks to a generous public, and begs leave to inform them, that from their extensive and liberal support he has been enabled to supply himself with every article in his line that would tend to render his shop useful and elegant.

"He can eternally be found at his elaborate room, second door below A. Hull's grocery, toujours pret to wield his razor with skill and dexterity, in shaving the beard, using his scissors to admiration in trimming the hair, and offering his Rose, Cologne and other superlatively ambrosial waters (of which he daily expects a supply) to depurate and beautify the skin.

"As winter is fast approaching he is using his best exertions to make his shop comfortable and amusing to all who may continue to favor him with their faces.

"His unparalleled concave razors will be kept in the best order; his soap of the purest quality and finest flavor; water, warm and clean; and his charges moderate as any of his competitors.

"Done at his impartial shop in St. Louis, this second day of October, 1819, in the fifteenth year of the territorial government of Missouri, and, of his joyful residence in the West, the second. HOFFA."

VERITE SANS PEUR

"To shave or not to shave: that is the question.
For who would wear a long and bristly beard,
The maniac's badge, the vagabond's insignia
Or who would grunt and sweat to shave himself,
Endure the scrapings of a tough edg'd razor,
The chilling lather, and a bleeding face,
When he might easily be shav'd and dress'd
For a bare ninepence?

"Thus avarice does sometimes make deformities,
And thus good looking men, by nature fair,
Have their poor faces cut and hack'd with scars;
And she, who else would have admir'd,
Averts her eyes with horror and disgust."

In September, 1821, this attractive advertisement in the amusement line appeared in the Missouri Gazette:

A LIVING ALLIGATOR

from New Orleans, having resolved to pass a few months of the sickly season at St. Louis, has the pleasure of announcing his safe arrival, per Steamboat Independence, last evening, and will offer himself (for a short time) to be gazed at by the virtuoso of this city. Considering the unsettled state of the times, he has thought it advisable to place himself under the protection of Mr. O'Riley, at the steamboat landing, for the purpose of raising a benevolent fund. This course he confidently hopes will destroy that hostility which has so long unhappily existed between mankind and himself. Twelve and one-half cents will be required of each gentleman as wishes an introduction. Ladies and children may have a gratuitous acquaintance."

**When St. Louis Was Slandered.**

During the prolonged travail of statehood, 1818-1821, press propaganda in the East, unfriendly to Missouri, aggravated the situation. Newspapers repre-

sented that Missourians were unfit, morally, for statehood. Under the heading "Western Morals and Fashions" a newspaper in New York state published in the summer of 1820 the following:

"The ladies as well as the gentlemen, (says a letter to the editor, from St. Louis), wear dirks by their sides; and dirking is very fashionable here. This fact is, of itself, a sufficient commentary on the state of society and morals in Missouri."

The St. Louis Enquirer of August 2, 1820, reprinted and denounced an alleged letter purporting to have been written from St. Louis and widely circulated in the East:

"An infamous publication, purporting to be from a Virginian at St. Louis, to his friend in Richmond, Va., is going the round of the free state papers. It was made in the lie factory of this town on the spur of the late election, and sent over to Edwardsville to be ushered into existence from the sympathetic press of that place. No Virginian ever saw it until it was in print. It is copied into this day's paper from a Philadelphia paper which took it from a New York paper; and is shown to the citizens of Missouri to let them see what infamous stories are sent abroad to blacken the character of the place, and the avidity with which the filthy morsels are swallowed up by the free state editors."

From the New York Daily Advertiser:

"A letter from a gentleman who had lately arrived in St. Louis, to his friend in Richmond, Va., gives him an account of what he witnessed the first week, to enable him to form some idea of the state of society in that section of the country.

"He arrived in town on Wednesday, the same day Mr. Charless, the editor of the Missouri Gazette, and opponent of slavery was violently assaulted by Mr. Isaac N. Henry, editor of the St. Louis Enquirer, a friend of slavery. The Rev. Joseph Piggott was in company with Mr. Charless, and endeavored to separate the combatants, when Mr. Wharton Rector, the friend of Henry, drew a pistol from his pocket and declared he would blow him through if he interfered. Mr. Charless is a man about fifty years of age, his opponents twenty and twenty-five. Mr. C. used the shillelah to great advantage; when the battle ended the amount of damage sustained fell upon Mr. Henry, whose shoulder was unjointed.

"On Sunday evening a gentleman, on returning home, found his quarters occupied by a friend, who extended his friendly visits to rather too great a length. The door being locked, it was broken open by the owner; the visitor jumped out of the window; a battle ensued; the man was struck with a knife.

"On Monday evening a battle royal ensued. It happened at the theater and originated in politics; although that was not the immediate origin; the causes and circumstances it is useless to mention. The result was that one of the combatants received several stabs in his back with a dirk—the other had a black eye. One of the spectators who interfered, received a stab in his hand; another in the arm; and a third was knocked down with a porter bottle.

"On Tuesday two gentlemen engaged in the river trade, vulgarly called boatmen, fought on the subject of politics, which resulted in one of the combatants having his leg broken, and the other having his nose bit off.

"On Wednesday, one of the combatants of Monday evening attacked one of the wounded, and gave him several blows; but the other being wounded in the arm, did not return them. To finish the events of this week, a lady of color flogged her husband, a white man, which so enraged him that he fixed his gun and shot himself."

**Balancing Accounts with Illinois.**

Illinois had been admitted to statehood without any question raised as to the customs and morals of the people, when Dr. Richard Lee Mason came over the

national road from Vincennes to St. Louis. Dr. Mason was from Philadelphia and was coming west to settle. After visiting Kaskaskia and Alton and seeing something more of the settled part of Illinois, Dr. Mason made his home in St. Louis. He died in 1824 and his funeral was the occasion of a large procession escorted by Captain Archibald Gamble's troop. The burial of Dr. Mason was the first interment in the Masonic graveyard on Washington avenue near Tenth street, a location which was abandoned because it was too wet. Dr. Mason wrote a journal of his trip from Philadelphia to St. Louis in the fall of 1819. In that journal he told of the dangers along the road in Illinois. After giving the names of half a dozen men, he added:

"This chain of villains extended for eighty miles through all the dreary and lonesome prairies. We were informed that when they were not engaged in robbing or murdering they were very industriously employed in manufacturing banknotes, which they imposed on travelers at every opportunity. For the convenience of travelers, a new road has been made through this country, instead of going by Shawneetown, and those villains have posted themselves along the road under the name of tavernkeepers, watching for their prey whenever it may pass. Indeed, I conceive it impossible for any man who has cash enough to make him worth killing to travel this road alone.

"Who could believe that a human being could be so depraved as to fall upon a defenseless and unoffending traveler and murder him under the pretense of sheltering him from the storm and giving him a hearty welcome to his table? Who could believe that even devils in human shape could cut the throats of two traveling strangers to obtain two watches, $80 and a pair of saddlebags? I shudder at the blackness of the crime. It occurred only yesterday and we are at this moment near the spot where the horrid deed was committed. Two other murders have lately been committed near this place. A stranger was found hung on a tree and a traveler was murdered near Shawneetown by the same men whose names have been mentioned."

Dr. Mason visited Kaskaskia, then the capital of the new state of Illinois. He told his impressions of the people he found there:

"The inhabitants are all generals, colonels, majors, land speculators or adventurers, with now and then a robber or a cutthroat. I have to keep my long knife sharp and my eyes open. Went to church at night. A fellow tried to pick my pocket. Had my hand on my long knife."

Summing up his conclusions as to the Illinoisans, Dr. Mason wrote:

"Illinois is the hiding place of villains from every part of the United States, and, indeed, from every quarter of the globe. A majority of the settlers have been discharged from penitentiaries and gaols, or have been the victims of misfortune or imprudence. Many of these will reform, but many, very many, are made fit for robbery and murder."

**Versatility in Vocations.**

Vocations were not sharply defined in Missouri one hundred years ago. This announcement appeared in the Missouri Republican of January 31, 1828:

"Clement B. Penrose has removed his office to No. 83 Church street, next door above the Green Tree Inn, where he will thankfully receive employment in his line of justice of the peace, notary public, scrivener, and sworn interpreter. He has opened a register for the sale and hire of slaves; for procuring employment for journeymen mechanics and others, and for the sale and rent of property. He will investigate titles to lands and lots. Each

registry he will enter for the moderate price of twelve and one-half cents, and all his other charges will be moderate if he succeeds. He will attend at Paul's coffee house from ten to eleven o'clock a. m., to receive orders."

Penrose lived in St. Louis long enough and obtained sufficient prominence to have a street named for him. He went back to Pennsylvania, became a political leader in Philadelphia and an officeholder in Washington. Possibly he was the progenitor of another Penrose who became of political importance nearly a century later.

In the years of Missouri's statute imposing imprisonment for debt, a form of legal advertisement, wholly unknown now, was frequent. The illustration is from the Missouri Gazette of September, 1821, and is one of several which appeared in one issue:

"My creditors will take notice that having been discharged from imprisonment and exempted from arrest until the end of the present August term of the circuit court of the County of St. Louis, by order of William Sullivan, one of the justices of the county court of said county, I will make application to the said circuit court upon the 27th day of September next to be finally discharged by virtue of the laws of the State of Missouri for insolvent debtors.

MOSES COSGROVE."

**A Protest Against Rag-barons.**

Currency evils provoked in 1820 under the caption of "A Proposal" this suggestion of a remedy:

"Col. Eugene Leistendorfer, formerly of that part of the army of the U. States which crossed the Desert, and assisted in the capture of Derne, from the Bey of Tripoli, now an inhabitant of Carondelet (near St. Louis), where he is married and where by labor the most herculean he has almost brought to perfection a vineyard and a vegetable garden, which would yield him a comfortable support were it not for the deceptions practiced on him by the circulation of spurious bank notes;

"Now in order to put a stop to the further evil, he proposes to the states and territories to make laws, punishing capitally, the presidents and directors of such banks as will not redeem their notes in silver—and he, the said Col. E. Leistendorfer, will hold himself in readiness to march at a moment's notice, to put the hempen cord about the necks of the Rag-barons, gratis.

"N. B. He has a quantity of Nashville paper which he will exchange at a discount of 50 per cent for pumpkins."

**The Years of the Lotteries.**

One hundred years ago the advertisements of lotteries formed no small part of newspaper revenue in Missouri. As early as April 10, 1818, the Missouri Gazette informed the public that, "The Masonic lottery will commence drawing in this place on Monday, the first of June next, when the first drawn ticket will be entitled to $600. By order of the commissioners."

In 1821 there was "Distribution of Property" advertised in double column space. A long list of articles of varying value was printed. Certificates of the same number as the articles were sold at five dollars making the purchasers the joint owners of this property. The distribution was to be made by putting the numbers of the certificates in one wheel and the numbers attached to the articles

in another wheel. Simultaneous drawing from the two wheels determined the distribution.

When sentiment began to frown on the lottery evil, Missouri editors salved their consciences. An advertisement in the Morning Herald of May 27, 1853, shows the magnitude which the lottery business had reached. The Missouri state lottery announced "two schemes drawn daily. Morning schemes decided by drawings at Covington, Ky. Evening schemes by drawings at Wilmington, Del." The "grand prize" was $30,000. Editorially the Herald said:

"Some forty days ago we commemorated the fact that Mr. Henry Miller had drawn the prize of $30,000, the second grand prize drawn by him in the last six months. Yesterday was the time for cashing, and we, in company with several other gentlemen, were present at the banking house of Messrs. Loker and Renick, and saw the money paid. There can be no mistake about it. They are not the gentlemen to give a man a book showing $25,000 or $26,000 to his credit without having an equivalent in hand.

"It would not be proper, according to our taste, to become advocates of lotteries. If we could we would suppress every species of gaming, and lotteries would probably be the first victims of our dislike. But, in a sense, we are all gamesters. Life itself is a game of chance. The man who marries a woman 'for better or for worse' stakes deeply, and so does she."

**The Winter of the Deep Snow.**

Of "the winter of the deep snow," the Intelligencer of Columbia, in the issue of January 8, 1831, said: "We are informed that the snow in the upper counties of Missouri is 41 inches deep, and, what is very remarkable, the falling was accompanied by frequent and tremendous peals of thunder and vivid blue streaks of lightning. It was an awful scene indeed."

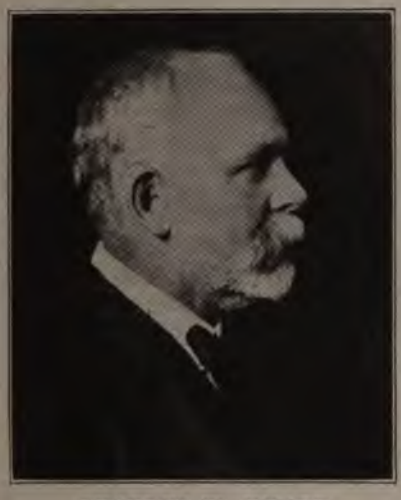
A week later, the Intelligencer issued only a half sheet with this explanation, "Have no news. Last three mails brought only one Washington paper. No paper from Jefferson City. St. Louis Times reports eight to ten inches of snow. Here it is not less than twenty inches and most of it remains, for the weather has been intensely cold."

At the time Cincinnati was killing more hogs than any other city in the world and her famous astronomer, Professor O. M. Mitchell, was reporting discoveries which caused people to marvel, the St. Louis Reveille printed an alleged letter from "Porkopolis," in 1845, reading:

"It is very well known to all that the Lunarians have very long nights, corresponding in length to what we call the dark of the moon. There must necessarily be great demand for lamps, and nature seems to have well provided for this in the abundance of that valuable animal, the hog. They have discovered the art of converting the entire hog into some such inflammable material as stearine; for along the dark edges of the moon, as it begins to show itself, the whole hog can frequently be seen, stuck up on end, resting on his nose and forefeet, and made to burn by lighting his tail; evidently intended for something like our street lamps."

**A "Social Sensation" in the Forties.**

There were "social sensations" in the early days of Missouri journalism. The Brunswicker, started in the flourishing town of Brunswick about 1847, printed the following:

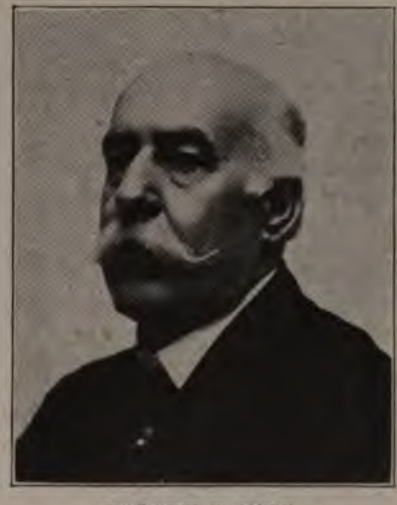


CHARLES W. KNAPP

JOHN SCHROERS

ISAAC S. TAYLOR

Chairman of commission of architects and director of works of World's Fair of 1904. Architect of the Jefferson Memorial.



HALSEY C. IVES

Founder of the School of Fine Arts of Washington University and first director of the city art museum.

"JIM PHILLIPS! WHERE ARE YOU?

"Left the home of his lawful wife, for parts unknown, on the night of the 15th of December, 1847, at Brunswick, Missouri, one James Phillips, alias Jim Phillips, alias Black Jim, a quandam doggery keeper, cidevant horse-racer and ticky black-leg, taking with him the daughter of an honest old countryman, who was hired in the family, for purposes at which virtue shrinks back appalled! He has left me and seven children, wholly dependent upon the charity of our friends for subsistence. He is a man about thirty-five years of age, inclined to corpulency, about five feet, ten inches high, very dark hair, eyes and skin, the latter so strikingly assimilating the shade Ethiopian, as to justify the familiar soubriquet of Black Jim. It is too often the case with poor humanity, when affection's flowers become withered, hope's vestal flame dimmed and all our fairy visions of bliss fade from us, we shroud ourselves in gloom and melancholy and brood darkly over disappointment; but I thank my God that I have sufficient fortitude to bear with misfortune, and sensibilities sufficiently refined to appreciate an accursed iniquity. I therefore pray the public press to give Jim such notoriety by its scorpion lash as to make his couch of sin the very hot-bed of woe.

"BETTSY PHILLIPS."

**Journalism Before the Civil War.**

When E. G. St. Clair established the Independent Missourian at Huntsville about the middle fifties he announced:

"In accordance with a long established custom, as well as with our own views of propriety, we take this opportunity to give the public a brief outline of the course we will pursue as a public journalist. Independent is the name we have chosen for our journal, and independent we intend it shall be in all things but neutral in nothing. To advance the interest of our adopted county and state and to contribute as far as in us lies to the prosperity of this glorious sisterhood of states, is the highest object of our ambition, and to the attainment of which all our energies will be directed. No party in politics or sect in religion will receive our support, except so far as in our judgment its religious or political tenets tend to the great objects we have in view, viz., The welfare of our common country. This is the standard by which we shall judge of the public acts of our public men. Instead of long leaders on the old, stale political dogmas of the whig and democratic orthodoxy, our columns will be filled with all the earliest foreign, domestic news and local items."

Among the advertisements which appeared in the Independent Missourian were these:

Now fortune waves the magic wand: 1,000 dollar lottery to come off in Huntsville on Christmas day. A free dinner will be given to all ticket holders. Call and get a ticket soon or they will all be gone and none left for the lucky ones.

S. W. ROBERTSON.

Slaves for sale: The undersigned will keep constantly on hand negro men, women, boys and girls in Huntsville. All persons who wish to buy negroes can make it their interest to call on the subscribers, or address them by letter giving description of the kind of slaves desired.

All negroes warranted to come up to recommendations, or taken back, or exchanged.

H. L. RUTHERFORD.
WM. D. MALONE.

Wives wanted: Two young men are anxious to secure wives, while men are scarce and girls are plenty. The hair of one is auburn, with fair complexion, rather corpulent; with considerable pretensions to literature; is believed as good-looking. The other has light hair, eyes nearly gray, tall, complexion rather pale, but passable looking, teeth bad. Both possess some money but little inclination to work. We wish wives with a good suit of hair, black preferred, positively no gray ones; of medium size; brunette complexion preferred, but do

not feel disposed to make that a point; rosy cheeks, pouting lips, hands and feet small, straight nose but not sharp, good teeth, sweet breath, and they must abhor tobacco for we wish to use that. No claims as noble descendants of noble parentage, as we wish none higher than the second families of Virginia. Widows we wish included if they possess no more than five responsibilities. We have mutually agreed that one shall have all the money, as we have not enough to serve all plentifully; and that one of the ladies must be in good circumstances, the other may be poor. What the gents lack in money will be made up in kindness. Address Cupid, Huntsville, Mo."

**Sedalia's Fighting Editor.**

Bacon Montgomery filled a large place in the early history of journalism in Central Missouri. He established a newspaper at Georgetown, the old county-seat of Pettis county, and put up the motto: "Born, reared and educated in the Union, we shall die in the Union or die in a struggle to preserve it." Montgomery was a printer and set up his editorials without writing them. He composed them mentally and physically. A company of states' rights men came over to Georgetown from Warrensburg. Montgomery gave the secessionists this editorial greeting: "The word halt had scarcely been uttered when the hospitality of our town was extended to them by an invitation to partake of that wholesome beverage, mint julep, which had been prepared for them before their advent into the city. They were cordially received by men of their own sentiments. The commotion in the world has called them out, and they have girded their loins, and are preparing to share in the contest, and, we may say, to share in the defeat and destruction that awaits them."

The captain of the company was a man named Ruth, which gave Montgomery the never overlooked opportunity of those days, of the pun, to add: "We can but regret that they should so Ruthlessly imperil their lives as to enlist in such an unhallowed cause as is secession and against such fearful odds."

The secessionists formed to clean out Bacon Montgomery's Journal. The editor sent his "devil" out the back door and rallied his friends. The secessionists retreated. But it was not long after that Bacon Montgomery laid aside his shooting stick for shooting irons. He didn't stop fighing when the war ended but became a brigadier-general of the state militia and was active during the reconstruction period. Resuming his newspaper work, Montgomery was ready at any time to go on an expedition in support of law and order. Demuth, who was associated with Montgomery in the late sixties, paid him this tribute:

"At two o'clock in the morning, after eighteen hours hard work, he will put on his rubber coat, buckle on a brace of navy revolvers, ride ten miles into the country at the head of a sheriff's posse in search of a murderer; help to capture the criminal; ride back home, and have the paper out by six o'clock in the morning with a column account of the deed, which he wrote and in some cases assisted in setting up. He knows everybody; he sees everything; he knows how to tell what he sees; and he is never afraid to tell what he ought. Of the tasks that the editor and reporter must do, he can do them all well. He has gone through an amount of labor, physical and mental, which would kill ten 'ordinary' men; but at forty-five years of age, he has not a gray hair, he weighs 175 pounds; has an eye as clear as crystal and a complexion like a school girl."

**How Jeff Buster Revolutionized Missouri Journalism.**

I. Jeff Buster was credited by many Missouri newspapers with having introduced into the journalism of this state the profitable practice of making a feature

of neighborhood news. This practice dates back to the year following the close of the Civil war. Any one who will take the trouble to consult the files of Missouri newspapers previous to 1866, will find that they touched only the high spots in local events and filled their columns with news by mail from Washington, with literary miscellany, prose and poetry, and with long editorials. When Lincoln and Shields came on Missouri soil to fight their expected duel, the Alton paper, although one of its printers attended the gathering on the island near the Missouri side, had not one word of mention of the affair in the next issue. A week later it protested against dueling in an editorial calling on the law officers to take action to punish Lincoln and Shields for violation of the statutes. Buster was a youth living at or near Kaseyville in Macon county. He conceived the idea of getting up a budget of neighborhood happenings no matter how trivial and reading it at a lyceum held in the district schoolhouse Friday nights. Marriages, deaths, births, accidents, personals, crops, weather, jokes—all was grist to Buster. The budget delighted the meeting. Buster carried his idea to Clark Green, who was editor of the Macon Times, and submitted his sample with the argument that if this was applied throughout the county and made a regular part of the weekly issue it would mean subscribers. Green was skeptical. He said the regular subscribers wouldn't stand for the filling of columns with such stuff which everybody knew about. After some argument, Green consented to try out the experiment with Morrow township and to give Buster a chance to see how his neighborhood news would affect the subscription list. The news from Kaseyville appeared one week. Buster took a bundle of papers and went around the neighborhood, showing the new department and telling that it would be made permanent if people wanted it. He carried back to Green such a list of new subscribers that the editor was converted. Green established a department of correspondence from all parts of the county. The innovation spread to the state.

**Colonel Broadhead in Journalism.**

It is not generally known that in his early manhood, James O. Broadhead established and conducted a newspaper at Bowling Green. He became a journalist in order to promote the whig party and especially to help the candidacy of Henry Clay for President in 1844. Judge Fagg says in his reminiscences:

"The enterprise was almost exclusively under the direction and management of Broadhead, and he labored with great zeal for its success. I was very intimately associated with him at the time and knew something of the difficulties he had to encounter and remember how he exulted over the fact that his hopes had been realized at last. The only thing left to be done was the selection of a suitable name for the paper. A great many suggestions were made by his friends but none of them was satisfactory. Finally he concluded to ask his old friend, William M. Campbell, of St. Charles, to furnish him a suitable name to express the true character and purposes of what he hoped to make the leading newspaper of Northeast Missouri. Upon the spur of the moment and without delay, Campbell wrote back to call it 'The Salt River Roarer and Stud Horse Advertiser.' I was present when he opened the letter and shall never forget his disappointment and disgust. When the paper made its appearance it bore the commonplace title of 'The Missouri Journal.'"

**Steelville's "Nuggets of History."**

Ben. Franklin Russell, veteran of the Civil war, poet and politician as well as editor, suggested for Missouri journalism the innovation of an annual "record of

important events." In his Steelville Mirror, Russell gave these "Nuggets of History" for 1888:

January 3. John Fleming renews his subscription for the *Mirror*, having taken it eighteen years.

January 7. Lewis Davis arrested for the murder of David Miller and placed in jail.

February 2. Cuba High School closed for term. The sun did not shine, and consequently the "ground hog" couldn't see his shadow.

February 11. Senator Castleman and Mayor Francis present the C. P. Church with an elegant silver communion service.

March 19. Several dogs show signs of rabies and are killed. Circuit Court met, Judge Barclay presiding in absence of Judge Bland. Salary of Marshal reduced to $10 a month.

April 1. Editor dragged three miles by his fiery, untamed steed. Ladies calling to borrow the horse invited to bring their own liniment and painkiller.

April 4. Constable Wright, of Liberty Township, killed a snake 6 feet long and 4 inches in diameter.

April 5. A couple walked from Sligo to Steelville to obtain a marriage license and go back hand in hand.

April 15. N. A. Bowser released from jail and publishes a card of thanks.

May 14. Republican Congressional Convention at Hermann.

May 17. Firmin Earney, of Dry Creek, died suddenly in St. Louis.

May 19. Snake as big as a stove-pipe and long as a clothes-line seen crossing the railroad on Cuba Hill. Delays the train and agitates the employes.

July 13. Editor and wife returned from the East.

September 25. A masked mob took Lewis Davis from jail and hanged him to a tree near Pat Wallace's grave.

October 18. Top of Democratic flagstaff broke off in the gale.

November 12. County Court met and burned railroad bonds, all having been paid and canceled.

November 16. Ratification meeting at the Court House and fireworks on Public Square.

**Clay. County's Centennial.**

Clay county's centennial is due on the 2nd of January, 1922. One hundred years before that date the county was organized. The first term of the circuit court was held late in the year by Judge David Todd, who was the best part of the bench of Missouri, outside of St. Louis, at that time. A son of Judge Todd, traveling in Texas years later, met a former Missourian who with much emotion told how he owed his life to Judge Todd. He said that he had been put on trial for murder in the judge's court. The charge was based on the killing of a man with whom the prisoner had engaged in a wrestling match. The jury acquitted, but there was so much feeling on the part of the friends of the dead man that a lynching was probable as soon as the prisoner was given his liberty. The judge kept the defendant with him until he could get an opportunity to take him out the back door of the court house. He did not let him go until he saw him safely started on his way to Texas. "Your father," said the former Missourian, "took out his pocketbook, gave me all of the money in it, and a letter to his brother in the parish of St. Landry."

In his historical address before the Missouri Bar Association on the bar of Clay county, Judge McDougal said:

"The west line of this county was, at that time, the west line of Missouri, and Clay county was farther west than any other organized county in the United States. Save for a very few daring hunters, trappers and Jesuit fathers, the wild Indians and wilder buffalo

WALTER B. DOUGLAS

Late vice president Missouri Historical Society. Widely recognized authority on history of the Mississippi Valley.

F. A. SAMPSON

Late secretary and bibliographer State Historical Society of Missouri

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"My goodness gracious! My wife told me to turn my pants down as soon as I got here and I forgot all about it. I am evidently a Pant-loon."

Another evening Mr. Clemens amused the club with a talk on oratory which consisted of alleged quotations. These ranged from Civil war themes to the debate in a country school upon: "Resolved, That the broom is more useful than the dish rag." One quotation was like this: "The red man has been pushed from pillar to post, from mountain to valley, from river to river and lake to lake, until the Pacific yawns for him." "Now," commented Mr. Clemens, in a drawl, "I can't see, nor you can't see, why the Pacific should yawn for those Indians. I am well acquainted with the Indian, and although I know his reputation for laziness is great, yet I can vouch for it that up to date he is not so lazy that he cannot yawn for himself."

Mrs. Clemens used to say "Orion always was the most forgetful boy. If I sent him for a pail of water he was just as likely to come back and tell me he couldn't find any as he was to bring me a pail of chips instead of water."

When Orion Clemens was on his wedding journey and stopped at a hotel he went down to the office to settle his bill, leaving his wife upstairs to pack the last things in their trunk. The hack came for the travelers. Mr. Clemens jumped in and was driven to the station. While walking on the platform he was accosted by a friend, who asked after his wife. "My what?" said Orion, much astonished.

"Why, your wife, to be sure."

"By the four moons of Jupiter," the bridegroom drawled, "I left her trying to get my new boots into our trunk, and I reckon she is at it yet."

**A Missouri Democrat Elected McKinley.**

The author of the financial plank adopted by the Republican National convention in St. Louis, 1896,—the plank upon which McKinley was nominated and elected,—was a Missouri democrat. This was the surprising statement made by General Henry C. Corbin when he was in St. Louis to take charge of the military pageant for the dedication of the World's Fair grounds and buildings. General Corbin was the guest of Colonel Samuel W. Fordyce, who was inspector general of cavalry in the Army of the Cumberland during the Civil war. General Corbin, who was a close friend of McKinley, gave the latter as authority for this interesting revelation. He said that McKinley told him that but for Colonel Fordyce he would not have been elected. Colonel Fordyce entered the army from Ohio; he knew McKinley intimately. After the war he became identified with the Cotton Belt railroad, with the upbuilding of Hot Springs, and with various southwestern enterprises. He took up his residence in St. Louis. Not long before his death, which occurred in 1919, Colonel Fordyce committed to writing an account of his relationship to the nomination of McKinley at St. Louis and of his part in the drafting of the republican platform of 1896. This contribution to political history was printed by Paul W. Brown in America at Work. Colonel Fordyce wrote that about the 1st of January, 1896, while McKinley was governor of Ohio, he was asked by him to come to Columbus:

"I went there, registered under an assumed name, went to his room in the hotel that he used for an office, and had a conference with him in regard to helping plan the campaign

for his nomination for the Presidency. Shortly afterwards, General Grosvenor arrived, also Mark Hanna, and some others. These men, or rather Grosvenor, knowing that I had always acted with the democratic party, remained silent; when McKinley said, 'General, I have sent for my old friend, Fordyce, to come here for a conference. He is a friend of mine, and I have known him longer than any of you. We can trust him for his help in the nomination, but after that, he will probably vote against me.'

## Planning the Campaign.

"A discussion then took place as to the best plan and the best way to proceed to gain the nomination, and I gave my advice freely that the campaign should commence at once; that delegates should be instructed, and that the Arkansas delegation, which was known to be favorable to him, should hold an early convention and instruct its delegates for him. That I would go back to St. Louis and, with the assistance of my republican and democratic friends, get the Missouri delegation to send delegates instructed for him. Mr. Filley had been to see him, and pledged his support.

## Rounding Up the Delegates.

"R. C. Kerens was at that time a member of the National Republican Committee. He cooperated with me and we finally secured an instructed delegation for McKinley. A member of the National Republican Committee for Texas was a Dr. Grant, of Sherman. I cooperated with Grant and we had a hard fight to get the Texas delegation. Reed had many friends in Texas. He was supported actively by Ed Green, a son of Hetty Green, who lived in Texas and had charge of her railroads. A prominent man who afterwards was elected to Congress, named Hawley, in Galveston, also worked in the interest of Reed, as did several others. Senator Allison, of Iowa, was also a candidate for President. General G. M. Dodge and a friend of Allison's was largely interested in the Fort Worth and Denver Railway. He used all the friends he had in Texas to secure a delegation for Allison, but we finally carried the Texas delegation solidly for McKinley.

"The latter part of February, 1896, I made a trip to California to try and get the old soldiers in line, and started a movement there for securing the California delegation. This was successful. Returning, I stopped at Tucson, Arizona, where Whitelaw Reid was spending the winter. I had a conference with him and others in Arizona, and put matters in motion for securing the Arizona delegation. Returning to St. Louis I kept up a correspondence with Hanna and McKinley. About a week before the convention met in St. Louis, I went with Mr. Ethan A. Hitchcock to New York on some railroad business. Before leaving I wrote McKinley that I was going to New York and would stop at the Fifth Avenue hotel; that if for any reason he desired me to return by way of Canton, I would do so. He wired me while in New York that he was anxious for me to return by Canton.

## The Gold Standard Plank.

"Walking up Broadway, on Thursday morning, I met Whitelaw Reid, who was a great friend of McKinley's. He said to me that our friend would never be President; that they had secured a copy of his platform, and that the financial plank did not suit the moneyed interests in New York. That he could not raise a dollar on that financial plank in his platform. He asked me if I would not come out to his house that night. This I did, and found there Pierpont Morgan, Russell Sage, D. O. Mills, and several other very prominent financial men. It was well known at that time that the democrats were going to come squarely out for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, and that the issue would have to be squarely met. The financial plank in McKinley's platform was not satisfactory, as it did not come squarely out for the gold standard. It simply said that the Republican Party was in favor of the existing ratio of metals. This meant nothing. I never saw a lot of men so troubled and anxious as they were. Millions and millions of bonds had been sold all over the world, declaring principal and interest payable in gold, while the law creating the public debt said that the principal and interest of the government bonds was payable in coin. Silver was coin as much as gold. If the country was put on the silver basis, bankruptcy of the

whole country would be the result. Not Hanna nor anyone else, had been able to get McKinley to change the financial plank in his platform. Whitelaw Reid stated that if anybody could do it, I could; that I had always been a democrat, but was a firm, unselfish friend of McKinley's, and he felt McKinley would listen to me, etc., and asked if I would go back to St. Louis by way of Canton and try to get this plank changed.

### The Missourian at Canton.

"I replied that McKinley had asked me to return by Canton. Mr. Hitchcock returned with me. We left New York on Friday. Arrived at Canton about ten o'clock Saturday. McKinley met us at the train with a one horse barouche, driving it himself, and insisted on both of us going down to his house. The delegates were passing through from the East to St. Louis. Many of them stopped over in Canton to confer with McKinley. Shortly after arriving at his house, I asked him to read me his platform. He smiled and said, 'Sam, I know what you are thinking about.' I said, 'I don't think you do. What is it that you think I am thinking about?' He said, 'You are afraid there will be some mean criticism about the South and the southern people's methods of conducting elections, etc.' He said, 'You ought to know me well enough to know that I would not have anything of that kind in the platform. I have never made a "bloody-shirt" speech in my life, and this will perhaps be the first republican platform adopted that did not have in it some adverse criticism of the South and its methods in elections.' I replied that I knew very well that his platform would be free from any ugly criticism of the South, etc., but said, 'I wish you would get out your platform and read it to me, section by section.' It was locked up in a small safe; he got it out, read it over to me, section by section, and when he had finished, I remarked that from a republican standpoint it was all right, except the financial plank. That that would defeat him; that there was no use whatever to make the canvass with that financial plank, as it was written. I told him that he well knew that the democratic party would announce, at the convention to be held in July, for free and unlimited coinage of silver, as well as opposition to government by injunction. That this financial issue must be met. That he must come squarely out for a gold standard.

### Col. Fordyce's Advice Taken.

"He had previously, as a member of Congress, favored in some way the free coinage of silver. He wanted to be consistent and tried to have this financial plank harmonize with the congressional record he had made. I discussed this matter some time, saying that it was a case of the old saying, 'The wise man changes, fools never,' and that the conditions were such that he must simply come squarely out for a gold standard. He changed the plank in some way, handing it to me to examine. I handed it back, and told him it would not do and insisted on his coming squarely out for a gold standard. I did not want to tell him of the conference I had held in New York, but was compelled to do so. I told him what these great financiers had told me—that they would not put up a dollar on that financial plank. Whereupon, he asked me to write the financial plank. This I did and passed it over to him. He made some slight changes. It was inserted in his platform as a substitute for the one that was already in there. A delegation from Canton left for St. Louis at nine o'clock that night. Judge Day took the platform, as changed, carried it to St. Louis. Mr. Hitchcock and myself went on the Canton special, arriving in St. Louis about noon on Sunday. The convention was called to order on the following Tuesday. When Judge Day handed the platform, with the financial plank as changed, to Hanna, he was rejoiced. Other men were rejoiced. Clayton, of Arkansas, and others, were in favor of the original plank. That financial plank was adopted by the convention, and was the cause of the driving of Mr. Teller, senator from Colorado, out of the convention."

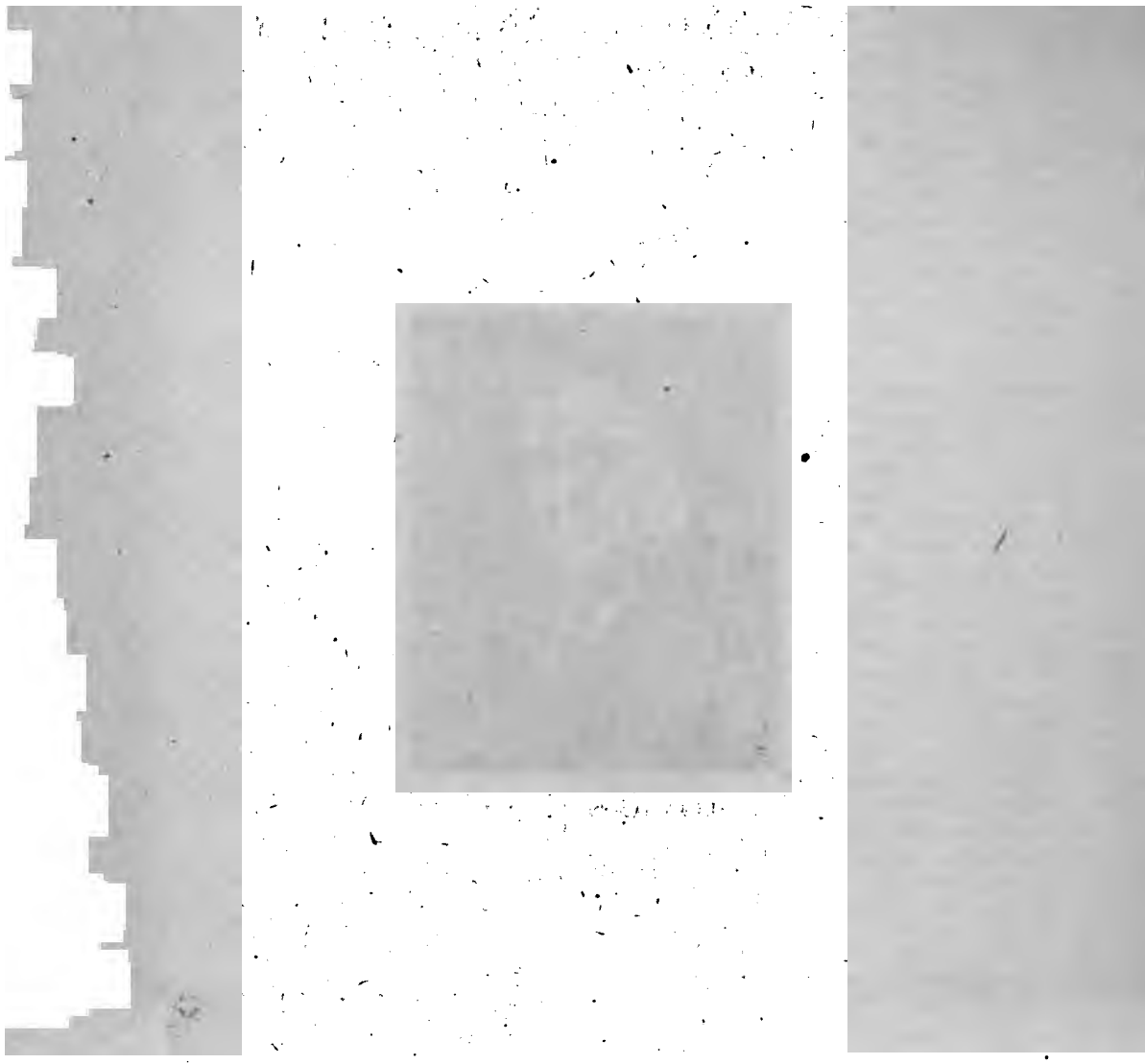
### Inheritances from the World Fair.

Not only did the World Fair remove the reproach, voiced by Mr. Blaine, provide the enduring Memorial to Thomas Jefferson, but it gave to St. Louis two acquisi-

WILLIAM MARION REEDY

NATHANIEL PASCHALL

COL. WILLIAM F. SWITZLER



tions which municipal pride has expanded into popular institutions on broad lines.

The City Art Museum had its beginning in an evening drawing class, which was organized in 1874 by Halsey C. Ives and which met in one of the rooms of Washington University. This experiment proving successful, the university organized, in 1879, an art department. The new department was known as the St. Louis Museum and School of Fine Arts, and was under the presidency of James E. Yeatman and the directorship of Halsey C. Ives. Although encountering many difficulties, the school and museum flourished; and in 1881, through the generosity of Wayman Crow, was provided with a separate building at Nineteenth and Locust streets. Here instruction was given and constantly increasing art collections were assembled, until, by 1904, the space for installation had become inadequate.

When the art committee of the board of directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was organized, an agreement was reached that the art building of the Exposition should be so constructed that it would serve as a permanent home for the St. Louis Museum after the close of the Exposition in 1904. With this end in view, the central art building was permanently constructed after plans by Cass Gilbert of New York City; and in 1906, after the close of the Exposition, the collections of the Museum were installed in the new building.

Until 1907 the funds for the maintenance of the Museum had been principally supplied by gifts and by the organization of an Art Museum Association, the members of which contributed to the support of the work. In 1907 a state law was enacted, giving any city in Missouri of 400,000 or more inhabitants, the power to vote a tax for the purpose of maintaining an art museum; and in the same year, the city of St. Louis voted that a tax of one-fifth mill on the dollar be levied on the assessed valuation of all property in the city for the up-keep of an art museum. The St. Louis Museum was then separated from Washington University and became a purely municipal museum with the name, City Art Museum. The Museum derives its entire support from this tax, which amounts to about $130,000 annually and increases as the assessed valuation of the property in the city increases.

Second only to St. Louis' inheritance of the $1,000,000 art building from the World Fair was the Zoological Garden. A very popular exhibit of the United States government at the Exposition was the immense bird cage of permanent construction. This became the property of the city. With the Bird Cage as the beginning, has been developed one of the most complete zoological collections in the United States, thus preserving in living and most impressive form natural history not only of Missouri but of the entire country. As is the case with the City Art Museum, the Zoological Garden is sustained by an annual tax.

## CHAPTER XLVII

## THE MISSOURIAN ABROAD

*Colonizing Texas—Standard Time—A Lesson in Courtesy at Washington—Missouri the Mother of States—Sponsorship for Oregon—F. N. Judson's Comments—The Four Sublettes—A Mighty Bear Hunter—Benton on the Lyceum Platform—Stephen B. Elkins and the Guerrillas—Impressions of Quantrell—A Divided Family—The Case of Juan Gid—Misadventures of a Colony—Four Missourians in Statuary Hall—Oregon's First Senator—A St. Louis Boy's Ambition—Pat Donan of Devil's Lake—Missouri's Greatest Poet—Eugene Field, Editor and Actor—"Most Studious Designer of Pranks"—The Real Tom Sawyer's Recollections—Private Sam Clemens in the War—Professor of Anecdote—Missourians as Constitution Makers—Ten Members of Washington's Convention—The Left Wing of Price's Army—Governor Samuel T. Hauser—Ashley, the Explorer—First Knowledge of Utah—Jim Bridger—The Duke of Cimarron—Flush Days on the Maxwell Grant—Kit Carson—The Discovery of Yellowstone Park—John Colter's Veracity—Missouri Diplomats—Law and Order in Montana—Judge Alexander Davis and the Vigilantes—The Court of Alder Gulch—Death Penalty for Contempt of Court—What a Home-Coming Would Mean—Emily Grant Hutchings' Suggestions—The Missouri Spirit Epitomized—Britton's Missourians in Review"—Dr. Wainwright in Japan—A Missourian's Pilgrimage to Boston.*

It is a fact that many of the best people of Missouri have gone to Texas to help civilize and Christianize it. In the state of Texas one is never out of sight of Missourians. A decade or two ago the census showed that the majority of the people of Oregon were born in Missouri. The people of Washington are mainly of Oregon stock. Montana is a child of Missouri. The first charter concession granted by the King of Spain for the settlement of Americans in Texas was to Moses Austin, of Missouri. That was afterward confirmed to his son, Stephen F. Austin, by the American republic. The Austins gave their name to the capital of Texas. The most influential man in the financial history of the Union, Hamilton excepted, perhaps, was our Missouri Senator, Benton. There is a fine field for some historians to trace the impress of Missouri and Missourians west of the Mississippi river.—*Governor Lon V. Stephens of Missouri.*

Missouri is both the pioneer and the mother of the West. Missouri was the first state lying wholly west of the Mississippi to be admitted to the Union, and she brought with her the last of those states formed from the territory of the original thirteen colonies. Maine entered the Union upon the shoulders of Missouri. From the time that Missouri hunters, trappers, plainsmen and traders blazed the pathways of travel and commerce westward from the Missouri soil, the Missourian has always been upon that firing line which is the protest of civilization against the wilderness. In that ceaseless yearning for the frontier which has drawn the star of empire in its westward course across the American continent, the Missourian has usually been at the head of the procession. And it has been the work of the Missourian to direct the development of our national life and to leave the impress of his personality in that vast empire that lies between the Mississippi and the Pacific. The Missourian has been the pioneer of the West.—*Governor Herbert S. Hadley at the Dinner of the Knife and Fork Club of Kansas City, 1908.*

Missourians began going to Texas one hundred years ago. Moses Austin gave up what would have satisfied most men—a grant to a great tract of land by the Spanish governor, in what was to become Missouri—to plan the colonizing of Texas. His son, Stephen Austin, took up the enterprise after the father, and went with the colony. Texans perpetuated the memory of Austin from Missouri in naming their state capital.

One of the great days of St. Louis was the reception of the news that Texas had won independence from Mexico. During months the people had flocked to the river front on the arrival of steamboats from below, seeking the latest information from Texas. That was long before the days of the telegraph. Sons and brothers of Missourians, by the hundreds, had cast their lots with the struggling Lone Star republic. The whole state was concerned in the outcome of the war. Boat after boat up from New Orleans brought only meagre news of the varying fortunes. The people, when they heard the whistle of the approaching boats, left workshop and store and office to go to the levee. One day the New Orleans boat rounded to the landing when the city front was black with the crowd. A man stood on the hurricane to give the news. He waved his hat and shouted: "Santa Anna is whipped."

For some seconds the only response was deep breathing, a long drawn out "a—h!" And then the storm of enthusiasm burst. Men, women and children cheered and wept and danced and hugged each other. That night the city was illuminated. Candles burned in the windows.

**A Missourian Established Standard Time.**

Missouri produced a scientist of international fame who could walk into a railroad station, sit down in the telegraph operator's chair, put his finger on the key, send a cannon ball express on its way dodging passenger trains, through freights, local freights and all other kinds of traffic, and bring the flyer into the terminal on the minute. That was Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett, a native of Howard county, who was superintendent of the coast survey at Washington before he was forty, perhaps the youngest executive in the history of that department. Massachusetts called this many-sided Missourian to be the head of the famous Institute of Technology. And later Andrew Carnegie called him to take charge of the foundation. For his scientific attainments he was the recipient of one of the most remarkable collections of honorary degrees. Hamilton College, the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Williams, the University of Michigan, the University of Toronto, Brown University, and Miami University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

About 1884 the railroad managers of the country agreed that conditions demanded standard time. They cut the map of the United States into sections on north and south lines. East of one line was to be eastern time, west of that line, all the way to the next line, was to be central time, beyond came mountain time, and so on. When it was one o'clock in any part of a section it was to be one o'clock in all parts of that section. So the railroad managers theorized. But would the millions of people who had been going by "sun time" all of their lives consent to change their watches and clocks and adopt the new-fangled ideas? Failure was predicted.

Eighteen miles east of St. Louis was the locality where central time was sun time. No change was needed. But eastward to Cincinnati and to the westward into the plains country of Kansas every timepiece would be off from a minute to half an hour when the innovation started. The railroad people went to Professor Pritchett, then at Washington University, St. Louis, and asked him to become the time starter for the Mississippi Valley. A day was set for

the institution of central time. Into the professor's rooms at the university were run telegraph wires connecting with railroad systems east, west, north and south. Pritchett's plans were described in detail and copied into papers all through the valley. Long lists of cities and towns were gotten out, with changes in minutes and seconds noted for each. The programme was thoroughly exploited. The whole population became interested. The day came, and at 12 meridian, by the observation at the university, Professor Pritchett's telegraph instrument clicked. Thousands of keys clicked in sympathy. Thousands of station clocks were set. Every railroad watch was adjusted. The people followed. Within a week, from Ohio to Colorado, central time was the only time. The introduction of the change was marvelously well done. From this successful relationship with the railroads Professor Pritchett passed to a practical connection with the great Wabash. In addition to his other duties he took charge of the time for a railroad system from Toledo to Kansas City and Omaha, ramifying in a score of branches. He learned all of the details of train dispatching, even to the practical mastery of telegraphy, and then he set to work to build up a method of time keeping and time regulating which made the Wabash service a model for the country in this respect. In the eight years of Professor Pritchett's connection with the Wabash his system was carried to such perfection that all of the men in the company's employ who carried time had watches of the same standard make; every clock in a Wabash station or office was set automatically from the observatory; with these clocks every Wabash employe compared his watch before he went out on a train. There wasn't a Wabash man who didn't have within a second or two of the exact time from day to day.

**A Lesson in Official Courtesy.**

A day or two after Dr. Pritchett took office as superintendent of the coast survey a card was brought in by a messenger. "Show the gentleman in," was the prompt acknowledgment. Thereupon a former official entered, and was given a most courteous hearing as he made his plea for reinstatement. Dr. Pritchett listened to the story, made answer and sent the caller away with the knowledge that he had been treated like a gentleman. But there was a ghost of a smile in the eyes of the superintendent when the door closed, and some time afterward he told a friend what the call had brought back to mind. He had seen his caller before—eighteen years before. In that long passed period this man had been in a good position. He had stood so high with the management of the survey that in the absence of the superintendent he acted for him. At that same time plain Mr. Pritchett had been in the naval observatory with the astronomer, Prof. Asaph Hall. On one occasion the young Missourian went to the survey with a note asking for the delivery to him of a chart of the Pleiades. When Mr. Pritchett presented himself he was referred to this man, who sometimes acted in the absence of the superintendent. He tendered the letter and was told to sit down. The official proceeded with the reading of a newspaper which was engaging his attention when interrupted. The letter lay on the table in front of him. Mr. Pritchett sat there a full hour, his presence being entirely ignored. Then he got up from his seat and suggested that he

would return later in the day. With an air of "I'll teach you a lesson in official etiquette," the officer turned to the young man and said pompously:

"I'm very busy, sir. I will attend to this matter as soon as I can."

Mr. Pritchett sat down quickly, prepared to wait all day, if necessary, upon the great man. A half hour passed. The official laid down his paper, picked up the letter and touched a bell. A messenger came. The letter was handed to him. In five minutes the chart was produced and Mr. Pritchett departed. He never forgot the lesson, as his treatment of the teacher showed. During his career in many capacities Dr. Pritchett has been one of the most approachable of men.

**The Mother State of Oregon.**

"Missouri, more than any other state, may claim to be the mother state of Oregon," Frederick N. Judson said at the fiftieth anniversary of statehood held in Salem, February 15, 1909.

"Missouri was the gateway through which passed the great tides of immigration, which made the early settlements on the Pacific Coast, and she therefore contributed more than any other state to the early settlement of Oregon. Many Missouri names are among your pioneers, and very many of your people have come from Missouri homes, or trace back their lineage to Missouri ancestry. St. Louis was the starting point of the Lewis and Clark expedition; the earliest trading point for the fur business of the northwest, and it was in St. Louis that the pioneer bands of emigrants were organized.

"The names of two of the counties of Oregon, Linn and Benton, happily commemorate the services of Missouri senators in behalf of Oregon. Senator Lewis F. Linn first introduced in Congress the appeal of the settlers on the Columbia river for protection, and was the enthusiastic advocate of Oregon until his death. The great senator of Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton, made a thorough investigation and mastery of the situation of Oregon. He was foremost in advocating the termination of the joint occupancy and settlement of the disputed boundary, and he braved the proslavery sentiment of his own state in advocating the territorial organization with the exclusion of slavery in 1848. His name is worthy of lasting honor in Oregon.

"Before his election to the Senate and before the admission of Missouri as a state, he publicly denounced the joint occupancy treaty when it was first made, saying that it was time that western men had some share in the destinies of the republic. He declared there should be no mutuality in the use of Columbia river, and that the effect would be that the English traders would drive out our own. He proclaimed a new route to India to be formed by the rivers, Columbia, Missouri and Ohio, which, he said, would open a channel to Asia short, safe, cheap and exclusively American; and that the route though interrupted by several portages, would present in some respects better navigation than the Ohio, and would be shorter by 20,000 miles than the existing ocean route from the Atlantic states to the East Indies. This was when railroads were unknown. In the Senate he opposed the renewal of the joint occupancy in 1828, and introduced resolutions in secret sessions against it, declaring in favor of a settlement on the basis of the forty-ninth degree as a permanent boundary. He was the leader of the discussion on the final termination of the joint occupancy, saying that the country could have but one people, one interest, one government, and that people should be American, that interest ours and that government republican.

"In the words of Mr. Benton, the great event of this time was the movement of the Anglo-Saxon race to the Pacific Ocean, beginning in 1840 and largely increasing in 1843, and this, 'like all other great immigrations and settlements of that race on our continent, was the act of the people going forward without government aid or maintenance, estab-

lishing their position and compelling the government to follow them with its shield and spread it over them.'

"The settlement of the boundary question and the determination of joint occupancy left the Oregon country, that is, including the territory south of the forty-ninth degree and between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, an unorganized territory of the United States. During the period of the settlement of the boundary question, emigrants had been pouring in through the passes of the Rocky Mountains, so that there were now several thousand American inhabitants who had settled upon the land and were living only under the laws made by themselves, and the demand for Federal protection by formal organization as a territory became imperative.

"The position of the advocates of the organization of Oregon was effectively stated by Mr. Benton when he said that Oregon was left without government, without laws, while at that moment she was engaged in war with the Indians. And he added, 'She is three thousand miles from the metropolitan seat of government, and although she had set up for herself a provisional government, and taken on herself the enactment of laws, it is left to the will of every individual to determine for himself whether he will obey those laws or not.'

"The organization of Oregon with the exclusion of slavery was finally effected by the adoption of the provisional laws enacted by the territory and also subjecting the territory to the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, which excluded slavery from the Northwest territory. An attempt was made to defeat the bill by filibustering, but it was finally passed on the last day of the session, August 14, 1848, through the alertness of Senator Benton, in seizing an opportunity to call for a vote on the bill. It was promptly signed by President Polk."

**The Sublettes.**

There were four Sublettes in the fur trade. William L. was the Captain Sublette. He was six feet two inches, tawny haired and blue-eyed with a deep scar on his face which told he was game. The Sublettes were descended of Kentucky stock on their mother's side from Whitby, the companion of Daniel Boone, who was said to have killed Tecumseh in the battle of the Thames. When William L. Sublette came to St. Louis in 1818, he started a billiard room. When William H. Ashley published his call of the spring of 1822 "to enterprising young men," William L. and Milton G. Sublette responded. The call read:

"The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred young men to ascend the Missouri river to its source, there to be employed one, two or three years."

This meant fur trading, although the call did not say so. Andrew and Solomon P. Sublette, who were younger, joined their brothers later. Captain Sublette served with Ashley, and when the leader was ready to retire became one of the party who bought him out. Twenty years William L. Sublette was a fur trader. Robert Campbell came to St. Louis from County Tyrone, Ireland, when he was twenty. The doctors ordered him to the mountains for his health. Campbell joined one of Ashley's fur trading expeditions. A warm friendship developed between Campbell and William L. Sublette. A partnership was formed. Campbell and Sublette, while with Ashley, were mountain fur traders. When they went into business for themselves they had the temerity to establish posts on the Missouri river. For several years they gave the American Fur company the most serious competition it had. They accumulated handsome fortunes. Sublette lived in a large stone house on the hill south of Forest

Park. He maintained a private zoo of wild animals he had tamed. His house was full of curiosities gathered in his mountain career. At the store which Sublette and Campbell conducted in St. Louis an Indian tepee was set up and inhabited by an Indian family. Captain Sublette surrounded himself with Indian retainers. When one of them died a grave was made in the private burying ground of the Sublettes.

Captain Sublette was a man of sentiment. He avoided conflict with the Indians with rare skill. When it was necessary to fight he did his full part. Famous in fur trading history is the battle of Pierre's Hole with the Blackfeet. There Sublette and Campbell, with their shirt sleeves rolled up, grasping their pistols, charged a breastwork. Just before doing so, each of these close friends made a will remembering the other. Sublette was severely wounded. It was after this battle and the ensuing season that Sublette and Campbell returned to St. Louis; heading a train of pack horses loaded with furs, and attended by hunters, guides and Indians. As the outfit entered the city it made an imposing procession a mile long. After his retirement from active business, Captain Sublette had political aspirations. He wanted to go to Congress from St. Louis. He wrote to Senator Benton asking him for the appointment of superintendent of Indians affairs, and died in 1845 while on the way to Washington to see about it.

Andrew Sublette was a mighty bear hunter. The pelt was the smallest part of the consideration. Whenever Andrew Sublette found himself in new territory he tried the temper of the bears. He was in California with the '49ers, listened to stories of the ferocious grizzlies and went after them. He had a dog that liked bear fighting as well as he did. In the vicinity of Los Angeles, Andrew Sublette came upon a grizzly and wounded it. The mate of the bear rushed out of the bush and attacked. Sublette was caught with an unloaded gun. He drew his knife, and, with the dog beside him, fought until he had killed the two bears. Man and dog were frightfully torn. Sublette lingered and died of the wounds. The dog remained by the bedside throughout the illness, followed the master's body to the grave and lay beside it, refusing to eat or drink until he died.

William Waldo described William L. Sublette as "a prudent, economical man." "Milton, Solomon and Andrew Sublette," he said, "were reckless of life and money." Milton Sublette's Indian fighting exploits won for him the name of "Thunderbolt of the Rocky Mountains." Andrew Sublette could shoot a wild horse through the neck so as to graze the vertebrae and paralyze temporarily but not permanently injure the animal. This was the method of capturing wild horses by creasing. The Boston man who told this of Andrew Sublette said, "I give it as true because I saw it done."

William L. Sublette married an Alabama lady, Miss Frances Hereford, to whom his younger brother, Solomon P., had been quite attentive. When the captain died he left his fortune to Mrs. Sublette, on condition that she would not change her name. After a period of mourning the widow became the wife of Solomon P. Sublette. She did not change her name.

MISSOURI BUILDING AT THE ST. LOUIS WORLD'S FAIR, 1904

**Benton on the Lyceum Platform.**

"For Benton a rod
And a bounty on cod."

In the campaign of 1840, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," New Englanders carried a banner showing Thomas H. Benton on a rock and being whipped with a rod. For further application, the couplet was printed on the banner. Benton had made himself unpopular with the coast people of New England by opposing the action of Congress in giving bounties to vessels which went out fishing for cod. He fought all bounties as a species of graft likely to encourage fraud. It came out later that frauds were committed. False reports were made by the masters of fishing smacks,—such frauds that customs officers refused to pay claims for bounties on cod fishing. Benton was vindicated. Sentiment changed to such an extent that the lecture-loving New Englanders took up Benton as a platform attraction. This was after the successive defeats in Missouri.

Old Newburyport Historical Society extended the first invitation through its secretary, William C. Todd, in 1856. Benton had made his last campaign in Missouri. He had been defeated for governor. There was nothing left for him but literary work. In response to the Newburyport invitation, Mr. Benton wrote to Mr. Todd:

"I have meditated delivering a lecture this winter in different places, intended for practical effect in the present distracted state of the Union. I believe there is danger of disunion, and that the first step toward averting that danger is to face it and fathom it. After the depth and nature of the disease are known, the remedy can be considered, which must be conciliation,—an application to all the feelings of patriotism, national pride and mutual interest, which certainly animate the great majority in both sections of the Union, and an attempt to unite them in a course of conduct which should have harmony and reconciliation for its object. The subject is a large one, and, besides requiring care and knowledge in the preparation of the lecture, would require double the usual time in delivery,—say, two hours. If I go into it at all, it will be to produce effect, and therefore, to be delivered in many places and to thinking audiences such as a literary institution and moderate-priced tickets could collect. I have never received anything for lectures, leaving all the proceeds to the institutions whose invitations I have accepted; but if I should go into the business for a winter's work, I should expect the interest to be mutual."

The venture at Newburyport proved so satisfactory that Mr. Todd arranged a number of dates. Relations with Mr. Benton became intimate in such degree that Mr. Todd was enabled to preserve very interesting reminiscences.

The disease which proved fatal had not then made inroads. Benton was still proud of his physique. He said to Mr. Todd, who congratulated him on his good health:

"That reminds me of what occurred in Missouri last summer. Two anti-Benton men wished to get a look at me for the first time, but would not come into the room, and so peeped in at the door. I was standing up, engaged in animated conversation with some friends, and, I suppose, I looked more vigorous than usual. One turned to the other and said, 'Good God! We shall have to fight him these twenty years.' I keep my health by horseback riding. I might be taken by a foreigner for General Pelissier on my black horse. But few ride as well as I do."

In the interest of publicity for this lecture campaign it was suggested that a picture be taken. When a man with a camera was presented Mr. Benton yielded at once, saying, "A photograph artist! We must gratify these people, you know."

**Benton on Fremont.**

To the suggestion that New Englanders had warmed to Fremont in the Presidential campaign just passed, Mr. Benton said to Mr. Todd, "I shall not quarrel with them for that. I did not support him, because I could not have delivered the address I am now giving. . They told many lies about him. The one in regard to his Catholicism was designed to act against him doubly,—if believed, it would alienate the Protestants; if denied, the Catholics."

On one occasion when his route from one appointment to another was explained to him, it appeared that he would have to retrace his course for some distance to fill the different dates. Mr. Benton at once said, "I must decline, then, for I never like to take the back track." But he yielded, however, rather than miss the engagement.

The New England album habit of that day was faced by Benton with good nature. It rather appealed to him. In one of the albums presented for his inscription, he wrote:

"Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, senator in the Congress of the United States for thirty years, and all that time devoted to the harmony, the stability and the perpetuity of the Union."

"Squatter sovereignty!" he ejaculated when Mr. Todd raised the subject with which the newspapers were full. "It is an insane, demagogical idea, taken up by the timidity of old Cass, as unreasonable as it is for a child to be independent of its own father. I am opposed to the farther extension of slavery."

"Douglas," Benton said, "was driven into the Kansas-Nebraska bill by the southerners,—Atchison and others,—the fire eaters of the South. They threatened to drop him if he would not take hold of it."

He became fond of the lecture platform and of the New England audiences. "They sat like statues," he said. "I could have heard a pin drop." And again, "The sacredness of the church did not restrain their applause."

**War Experiences of Stephen B. Elkins.**

When Stephen B. Elkins was secretary of war in the Cabinet of President Harrison he told how the war in Missouri divided his family. Elkins graduated at the State University in 1860. The address to his class was by Sterling Price and the theme was devotion to one's country.

"My father left everything and went into Sterling Price's army; my brother John, who should have gone to college, succeeding myself, wheeled about and instead went into the Rebel army at 16. I met him on the prairie when the first horns of the war blew, carrying a gun at his saddle string, and he said he was going to kill the Yankees. Said I: 'John, you won't be out three weeks before you will wish you were home in your mother's bed; there is no excuse for going to war against the government. Everything I have read and reflected teaches me that.' He said he would not discuss the question;

that he was going to kill some Yankees. Afterward he told me that when he got into the first fight around Lexington, Mo., and bullets commenced to fly past his ears, he did wish he was home in his mother's bed. Had he been educated he would have made considerable of a man, and probably would have been governor of Colorado, in which state he arrived at distinction, being a state senator before he died. My brother surrendered with Dick Taylor at the close of the war in Louisiana. My father never came into the new situation gracefully."

Before he joined the Union army Elkins had a thrilling experience with the guerrillas:

"I was going along the road one day when I came upon three men wearing the Yankee blue, playing cards at the roadside. One of them said: 'Them boots is too good for him;' another said, 'I am going to have his jacket.' I thought I should be shot right away. Those fellows cared nothing more about taking a man's life than killing a rat or a cat. I asked them to take me to their commander. They marched me along and we got to Quantrell's camp. There I saw Cole Younger, Dick Yager and Todd, and several others afterward known for desperate deeds. Those I have mentioned were farmers' sons around where I lived. They identified me and said: 'Here comes Steve Elkins.'

"All the way along I had been afraid that those fellows who had captured me would shoot me in the back, for I had on the watch which I am carrying now in the office of the secretary of war. Those boys said that I must be all right, as my father and brother were in the Confederacy; that I myself was a little off on the subject, but must come right at last, etc.

**An Intimate View of Quantrell.**

"I asked them to show me Quantrell. I took a look at him. He had dark sandy hair, the eye of a leader, was young and wiry and taciturn. Said I, 'Boys, where is he going to take you?' 'We never know,' said Younger and Todd. 'He never tells anybody where he is going.' They started out in an hour or so with no order given but 'saddle up,' which spread around, commencing with Quantrell's lips. I told these persons not to be in a hurry, but let the others go on. 'Now,' I said, 'let me go home to mother, as there is nobody to look after her. Father has gone off with Price and somebody must take care of her.' So I started off on my horse, which I had been allowed to keep, and as soon as I got to the first foliage you can be sure I went fast.

"The next time I saw Quantrell he had come with a part of his band to a farm house where I was stopping. Those fellows were perfect dare-devils. The moment they were called to halt they were down, with their horses tied, singing, dancing, playing cards, reviving the sports of the buccaneers. Being in the house, I thought I had better put on a bold face, and I went to where they were getting dinner and exchanged some words with Quantrell. He was not a large man, but you could tell that he was a leader.

"I had a hard experience staying at home at the commencement of the war. There was nowhere else to go except into the army. I can hardly tell now how I drifted to the opposite side from father and brother. I suppose that it was education; a disposition for peace, instead of fighting. I finally entered the militia, and we had a meeting and formed a company of which I was elected captain. Kansas City was the only place in Missouri then that had Union people in it, at least in that part of Missouri. The colonel of the regiment to which I became attached was Kersey Coates, who built the big opera house and hotel in Kansas City. I was in continual danger of being killed, and was marked by Quantrell's men as a renegade who was to be shot as soon as taken. I saw one battle while in the service, that of Lone Jack, and a most awful battle it was. Col. Emory S. Foster had a Union regiment which was attacked by the brother of Senator Cockrell, but Foster thought the Confederates were the guerrilla bands who raised the black flag, and never gave any quarter. So he refused to surrender, and every one of his officers was picked off. The guerrillas were victorious. I went over the battlefield afterward, and

the blood, the cries for water and death, the naked bodies stripped of their clothing, the dead horses which served for ramparts, gave me a disgust for war, which makes it seem strange that I am here at the head of the war department of this great government."

**A Missouri Colony that Came to Grief.**

The case of Juan Gid was one of the misadventures of Missourians in the winning of the West: Juan Gid is Mexican for John G. Heath. In 1820, Heath was a Missourian of such prominence that he was one of the leading actors in the constitutional convention which paved the way for the admission of Missouri as a state. Perhaps Heath was disappointed politically. For some reason, notwithstanding he had many valuable possessions scattered along the Missouri river from St. Charles to Boonville, he promptly wandered away to Mexico, and in 1823 was a member of the city council of El Paso. That was the period of Mexico's turbulent deliverance from Spain. Hidalgo had raised the "Grito de Dolores," the "Cry of Dolores." After a struggle of eleven years the revolution had won, when, at Cordoba in 1821, the Spanish Viceroy signed a treaty of peace with the insurgents. Iturbide, the leader of the revolution, had set aside the constitutional authorities and had had himself crowned emperor. That was in July, 1822. The Iturbide dynasty lasted only until March, 1823, when a revolt forced the abdication of the emperor. But in the eight or nine months of his reign Iturbide issued a colonization decree. That was in January, 1823. News traveled very slowly in those days. The decree didn't reach El Paso until the month of abdication. Under it the city council went ahead with a grant to John G. Heath of a valuable tract of land on which to found a colony, and Heath proceeded with his arrangements in unhappy ignorance of the fact that Iturbide was out and the colonization decree repealed. When the city council learned months afterward what a blunder had been made the information was sent to Missouri. It came too late. Heath had sold his possessions, had recruited and outfitted his colony, even to the extent of a printing press and type. He was floating down the Missouri and the Mississippi to cross the gulf and to make his way to El Paso through what is now Western Texas. Just when Heath learned that Iturbide had been shot and that the grant had been repudiated the information now possessed does not show. But the pioneer had burned his bridges and he did not turn back. He went forward with his plans and settled on the grant. The Mexican authorities drove him away and confiscated his effects. The fate of Heath is only shadowy rumor. Later grants covering the now famed Mesilla Valley were made, and 3,000 people have vineyards, alfalfa meadows, apricot orchards where Heath expected to establish his colony. The court of private land claims decided that, however unfortunate Juan Gid may have been, he was the victim of undisputable legal circumstances and left no rights to this land to survive him. His papers were all in proper form, but, Iturbide having been set aside and his colonization decree having been repealed, the council of El Paso had no authority to make any such grant.

In Pettis County there is still a reminiscence of Juan Gid in the name of Heath's Creek. Juan Gid and his brother Robert Heath built salt works at the mouth of the creek and gave it its name.

**Oregon's First Senator.**

The battle of Ball's Bluff sent a shock through the north. For numbers engaged it was insignificant. The time was the first year of the Civil war, before great engagements had inured the people to the consequences of fighting. That which made Ball's Bluff, the Virginia landmark, long remembered was the death of Edward Dickinson Baker, at the head of a regiment which he had raised. At the time of his death Baker was a United States senator from Oregon. Thirty-five years before he was a boy driving a horse and cart in St. Louis. His father had come from Lancaster in England, bringing a large family and little means. The boy was put to work with the horse and cart, hauling dirt and doing such express errands as could be found. One day he left the horse standing at the corner of Third and Market street, and, while waiting for a job, went into the circuit court then held in the building erected for the Baptist church. Edward Bates was addressing a jury. He was a gentle, quiet mannered man. When he arose to speak, he had a power which was peculiarly his own with an audience. There was not the slightest tendency to bombast. There was no effort to be impressive. Bates was a winning speaker. He charmed all who listened. The boy, uneducated and unformed in character, forgot his horse and cart, remaining in the courtroom to the end of the speech. He went home and told his father that was the end of cart driving for him. "I'm going to be a lawyer," he said in reply to the question as to what he meant.

The boy picked up education in scraps. His father, who had been a schoolmaster, taught him as well as he could. Almost before he reached manhood, young Baker got a school to teach in Illinois. He lost no opportunity to practice public speaking. On Sundays he preached in the Baptist church. It is tradition that he picked up some medical knowledge and did a little doctoring. But the law was his goal. He read as opportunity permitted. In 1837 he was elected to the Illinois legislature and in 1840 he became a state senator. After that he ranked with Lincoln and Douglas as a political speaker. There is a story of ambition handed down from the Illinois campaign of 1840 in which Baker was one of the leading participants. It is said that, referring to the fact that his foreign birth debarred him from aspiring to the Presidency, he declared "it is a great calamity and misfortune to me," and shed tears. Four years later an Illinois district sent Baker to Congress. The Mexican war came on. Baker went in command of an Illinois regiment. Then he settled in California when the discovery of gold prompted the flood of immigration there. He moved to Oregon and was elected a senator when that territory was admitted to the Union in 1860. At the outbreak of the war, Baker went to Pennsylvania and, appealing to returned gold seekers, raised a command which was called the "California Regiment." In October, 1861, he fell on the battlefield. At that time the lawyer whose speech in the court at St. Louis had captivated the English boy and had furnished the inspiration of his career was a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet—Attorney General Bates.

**Four Missourians in Statuary Hall.**

By the terms under which Statuary Hall at Washington is gradually filling with figures in marble and bronze of eminent Americans, each state in the Union

is allowed two representatives in the collection. But Missouri has three former senators in the hall. The bronze figure of Gen. James Shields was put there by another state. Yet the last public service of the gallant Irishman "hero of two wars and senator from three states," was for Missouri in the senate chamber. He died a Missourian. The statues of Benton and Blair stand on the east side of the hall. That of Shields is immediately facing them on the west side. The memory of Shields is perpetuated not alone in bronze. His figure has its conspicuous place in the great historical painting of the battle of Chapultepec which hangs in one of the grand staircases of the senate wing. In his shirtsleeves, sword in hand, the general stands in the foreground directing the movements of the American troops on that most picturesque of the Mexican battlefields.

"When Price made his raid into Missouri in 1864," Capt. John Rudd, one of Gen. Jo Shelby's subordinate commanders, said: "I was sent ahead to recruit a regiment for Shelby's brigade. I crossed the Missouri and established a camp in the woods of Carroll county, near the river. There I received recruits and gathered horses and arms and ammunition. In a short time I had between 150 and 200 men, and by skirmishing about after the militia, we got enough horses to mount them. One afternoon I rode across a prairie, and came to a young fellow breaking sod with three yoke of oxen.

"'Are you Captain Rudd?' he asked.

"I said I was.

"'I want to go with you,' he said.

"'How old are you?' I asked.

"'Never mind about that,' he said 'I'm old enough to go.'

"We had some further conversation, and I went to the house. There I saw the young man's mother, and she expressed her willingness to have him join Shelby. I went back and told him the result. He unyoked the oxen, told the negro to take them to the house, and went with me. He didn't even return to the house to get his coat. When we got into camp I found that John Croker, a guerrilla, had just brought in the horses and equipments of fifteen militiamen. We fixed the young recruit with a pair of cavalry boots, a Federal overcoat and a pair of pistols. We let him pick his choice of the captured horses. And that is the way Joseph E. Kenna became a Missouri soldier. A few days afterward we swam our horses across the Missouri and camped on Old Man Galbreath's place. There had been some fighting, and, as we started southward to join Shelby, we encountered a force under Major Emory S. Foster, as brave a man as ever drew a pistol in Missouri. The Federals were on their way to Warrensburg with their dead from the previous battle. Young Kenna went into the fight with us, and behaved gallantly. He was shot in the leg. As soon as we got clear of the Federals we bathed the wound and tied it up with bandages. The boy rode his horse through Missouri to Arkansas, and, when we went into camp at Fulton, his wounded leg had swollen to double its normal size. But in all that ride, every moment of which was torture to him, he never uttered a whimper. He was then just sixteen years old. He remained in the service until the surrender at Shreveport, where the war west of the Mississippi ended. From there he returned to his home about ten miles from Carrollton. Shortly afterward his mother moved to West Virginia, which state Mr. Kenna was representing in the Senate when he died."

The statue of the late Senator Kenna stands on the west side of Statuary Hall. Its location is close to that of Gen. James Shields, who lived in Carroll county when he represented Missouri in the Senate. The body of General Shields rests not ten miles from where Kenna left his breaking plow in the furrow when, without a coat, and without saying good-by to his mother, he went

to join Shelby. One Missourian's career ended in the locality where the other's began. And now their statues stand almost side by side where the nation honors its great. Three states acknowledge in this most conspicuous form the services of four men who were Missourians.

**Pat Donan's Claim.**

Among the Missourians who went to develop North Dakota was Col. Pat Donan. At the mention of that name there arises before the mental vision an erect figure about which the black Prince Albert fits without a crease. The long brown beard, the fresh-colored cheeks, the light blue eyes and inevitable soft black hat are before you. And in a moment you seem to see the lips move and hear the well-modulated, distinct tones utter:

"Excuse me a moment; there goes a lady down the street I know."

And Donan vanishes. In 1873 Donan was editor of the Lexington Caucasian and was carrying on a fierce war against the holders of Missouri county bonds. When the excitement over fortunes in wheat and cattle drew Col. John Ely, the Larimores, Oscar M. Towner and many other Missourians to Dakota, Donan caught the fever and migrated. He took a claim and for some years thereafter his autograph appeared on hotel registers as "Pat Donan, Devils Lake, Dak." The idea of that cosmopolitan Missourian being able to establish a permanent residence anywhere! But he picked out his claim and set about fulfilling the conditions of residence and improvements. The location was magnificent. A feature of it was a promontory which jutted out from the shore line and gave a ten miles' sweep of the lake west as well as east. This headland was given the name of Chilhoa, which was supposed to mean something appropriate in the Sioux language. Donan would go into rhapsodies over his beautiful home, in telling people about it, but in some way there was a fatal hitch about his residence upon it. The Devils Lakers said that the train would come in and Donan would alight, coming from where nobody knew. He would shake hands in his breezy way with everybody, congratulate them and himself on the future of Devils Lake, and then announce that he was going down to his claim, about three miles from the city. In a day or two he would be off for another indefinite absence, only to return after a few weeks, perhaps, and repeat his visit to the shack. The Devils Lakers had their doubts as to whether Colonel Donan ever spent a whole night in his shack. There were some fine young ladies from St. Paul and Minneapolis who had come out with brothers and relatives to take up claims and have a jolly time while proving up. Donan was a general favorite, and when he started for his shack he often stopped to call upon some of these congenial people, and was persuaded to accept their hospitalities. At one time Colonel Donan had a scheme to get Eugene Field, Joaquin Miller and Page M. Baker to visit him on his claim and be his guests for a couple of weeks. He even issued the invitations and laid in supplies, mostly liquid, for the entertainment. The people got ready to give the literary men a genuine Devils Lake reception, but for some reason the scheme fell through.

The sequel is the saddest part of the story of Donan's claim. A brawny blacksmith of Devils Lake cast envious eyes upon Chilhoa, and quietly collected evidence to show that Donan was not fulfilling the requirements of the law and

was not making his residence there. When he thought he had the necessary amount of proof against the colonel he took the claim. A contest dragged itself through the circumlocution of the general land office, and the blacksmith won.

**Missouri's Greatest Poet.**

Eugene Field was "a student at three universities and a graduate of none." He first entered Williams College, but after eight months was called back to St. Louis by the death of his father. That year, 1869, he entered Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois, and remained about a year. In 1871 he joined his brother, Roswell, in the junior class at the University of Missouri, but did not complete the course.

"Missouri's greatest poet" is the tribute accorded Eugene Field by Walter Williams. Of Field as a student at the University of Missouri, Dean Williams, several years ago, wrote the recollections current in Columbia. Field was famous for poetry and pranks. He started the University Missourian, having at that early day a predilection for journalism. The first number was issued March 23, 1871:

"On the editorial page appeared the name of the editorial staff: Editor in chief, H. W. Ewing; assistants, J. N. Baskett and James Cooney; literary editor, Eugene Field; local and news editor, J. S. Dryden; treasurer and business manager, N. W. Allen.

"This is what the Columbia Statesman said of the new student paper in its issue of June 30 of that year: 'The University Missourian is a college monthly paper, issued by the students of the State University of Missouri, the first number of which (for June) is on our table. It is creditably printed and brimful of editorial and other original matter, prose and poetical, which can not fail to interest all who feel any concern for the prosperity of our university. We heartily wish the students great success with their newspaper.'

"Of the little group of students who started the University Missourian, several later won more than local fame. 'Gene' Field, well beloved of all who love pure humor and quaint and sparkling rhymes, has an enduring place in American literature. James Newton Baskett of Mexico, Mo., is a writer of national reputation. Among the best known of his books are 'At You-All's House' and 'As the Light Led.'

"James Cooney, whom the students of that day still remember for his red hair and his wit, paid his expenses in the university by teaching a school in the country. He later was elected to Congress from the Columbia district. He died several years ago. Henry W. Ewing, also now dead, was graduated in 1875 with the degree of Ph. B. and Ph. M. He became editor of the Jefferson City Tribune and later clerk of the Missouri supreme court.

"One of the stanchest friends of 'Gene' Field in Columbia was E. W. Stephens, at whose plant the first University Missourian was printed.

**Field, the Student.**

"The most studious designer of pranks that ever idled on the university campus at Columbia was Eugene Field. During the term of 1871-72 he was matriculated—no one would dare say, as a student—in this institution. Field was seldom bothered with text-books and lectures until the examination period was approaching. Then he would pitch in and make the best grades in his class. It is remarkable that his poem containing the lines, ''Cept just before Christmas, when I'm as good as I can be,' was suggested by his own mental state just previous to his final hour of reckoning with the university professors.

"The poet had a high ideal of what might be called the 'delightfully funny,' and endeavored almost constantly while in school to realize this end. For him the ridiculous or grotesque never failed to call forth his unswerving support. He was the acknowledged

leader in all college pranks, being daring, full of fun and endowed with a remarkable faculty of originality. His wit was so real and ingenious that the university faculty never found sufficient grounds to punish him. Stories are told that Dr. Daniel Read, then president of the school, often in the midst of a censorious lecture, turned from this modern Mercury to repress a smile, while the bad Field, nothing daunted, sat stiff and rigid as if it were deserved.

"Field's first literary work was done while in Columbia. This consisted in writing orations and in contributing to the college paper. He was the acknowledged orator of the university. In 1872 he was awarded the junior medal for oratory. On all occasions of college burlesque or mock trial Field was pressed to assume the important part. The University, then the college publication, furnished an excellent opportunity for the embryo poet to develop his talents. To this paper Eugene Field and his younger brother, Roswell, contributed profusely, signing themselves as 'Ager Primus' and 'Ager Secundus,' the Latin for Field First and Field Second. Their contributions were mostly songs, sometimes new, sometimes old, and so revised as to have local references; parodies and numerous rhymes which were often illustrated by grotesque drawings.

"While at the university Field also developed a deep feeling for nature, for the reverential and sublime. It was his delight to wander along the banks of 'classic Hinkson,' a little stream that flows close to Columbia, and which abounds in much natural and picturesque scenery. 'Sniping on Hinkson,' a descriptive poem of the sport indulged in by many of the students at that time, was composed along the banks of this stream. Two places on this creek are pointed out by an old companion of Field where the poet used to loiter and meditate. One of these is known as the 'Ashland Bridge,' on the Ashland gravel road. The other is at a point about one mile south of the university grounds, where the overhanging cliffs fall 100 feet almost perpendicularly to the water's edge.

## Field, the Lecturer.

"Many stories are still told of Field's pranks, and the parts that he took in burlesque programs which always followed every regular college entertainment. During those days the late Dr. John D. Vincil, at one time a curator of the university, was pastor of the Methodist church at Columbia, and on one occasion aroused Field's sarcastic spirit, the vituperative features of which were well known. The offended gentleman proceeded straightway to exhibit his feelings. He caused an audience to be assembled to hear a lecture on the 'Comparative Greatness of Asia and America,' which was delivered by himself. This was the most witty and sarcastic effusion that ever came from the tongue or pen of Mr. Field, with Dr. Vincil the subject.

"On another occasion, when the Boone County Fair was being planned for the season, Field bought yards of white muslin and stretched it across the streets, first painting on it certain attractions to appear at the fair grounds. A lecture was to be delivered on farming by Horace Greeley, impersonated by Hon. James Cooney. A large number of visitors were in Columbia that week, and the occasion was looked forward to with considerable anticipation. The lecture was given and a large crowd was present, but the audience was not long in discovering that Greeley was not the speaker.

"So bright and witty, however, was the lecture that it was allowed to continue, and the allotted time was devoted to the discussion of the Columbia College campus farming and the management of this industrial branch by members of the faculty. After an hour or so was spent, in which a considerable part was taken up in disgressions, the speaker allowed that if his audience would study a text-book on agriculture for fifteen or twenty minutes it would know more about the subject than he did.

"Field's most successful prank while he was at the university, though hardly so laudable, was of an entirely different nature. Dr. Read, then president of the school, had a large, fine, dignified-looking carriage horse, of which he was justly proud. Eugene Field took this animal in custody one night and proceeded to roach its mane and to shave its tail. The next day he disguised himself, and appeared before the doctor, wanting to buy his 'big gray mule.' Another horse belonging to Dr. Read was decorated by Field

with paint, and was left so unrecognizable the good doctor, upon seeing it, had it docketed 'stray.'

"Tradition tells a story, however true it may be, that Field and some of his companions secured a donkey one night and tied him to a tree not over twenty-five feet from the doctor's bedroom window, which ungracious animal wailed his plaintive intonations until the early hours, when a janitor appeared and led him away."

## Field, the Actor.

Congressman James N. Burnes occasionally told, with much satisfaction to his keen sense of humor, a story of Eugene Field's newspaper career in St. Joseph. Field was city editor of the Gazette. William Lightfoot Visscher, who was no mean second to Field in adding to the gaiety of the community, had a like position with the Herald. Field was a singer as well as a writer. He with other musical amateurs had formed an organization to produce light operas for the entertainment of St. Joseph.

"The guiding spirit of the venture," said Congressman Burnes, "was Litt Lancaster, a prominent attorney, and a man who probably knew more about music, art and literature than any other man in Missouri. Lancaster had a very beautiful and talented sister who afterward became well known on the stage as Louise Manfred, and who, of course, was the prima donna of the company. The remainder of the organization consisted of the best amateur talent in that exceedingly rich and aristocratic community. The production fixed upon for the occasion of which I speak was 'The Two Cadiz,' and Field was cast for one of the characters.

"Just before the performance, Field approached Lancaster and said: 'It will never do for me to write a criticism of a production in which I am to take a prominent part. Now, there is no man so well qualified to do it as you, and I want you to dress it up for me for tomorrow's Gazette.'

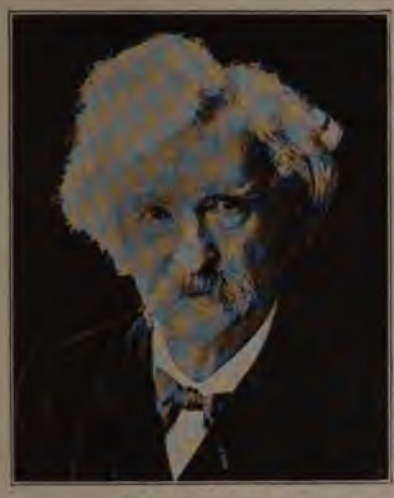
"'I'll write a criticism of you and Miss Lancaster, and also of the male members,' replied the critic, after a short reflection, 'but I'll be blanked if I'll write a line about the other ladies. If I did, and it wasn't just what they thought they deserved it would be charged to my prejudice for my sister, and the devil would be to pay. So I'll leave the criticism with you to finish.'

"This was agreed upon, and they parted. Field had not been gone an hour when Visscher appeared. He had identically the same request to make, and Lancaster promised to do his share, as in Field's case, and Visscher promised solemnly to do the rest.

"The performance was given, and both Field and Visscher hunted up Lancaster to get their criticisms. The latter had faithfully and conscientiously performed his share of the contract, and the two humorists pocketed their manuscripts and went away delighted.

"Now it happened that Field was so excited over his artistic triumph of the evening that in his haste to join a midnight supper party, he scandalously neglected to write a criticism of the other ladies, while Visscher, on the way to the office, happened to meet the advance agent of a fake show that was billed at the theater for the next night, and took several drinks with him. This villain professed to be the retired musical critic of the New York Sun, and so impressed Visscher with his ability to finish up the criticism to suit the high musical cult of St. Joseph, that when they dashed off their thirty-fifth glass of beer, the latter intrusted the sacred manuscript and the histrionic reputation of those unfortunate ladies to the tender mercy of that stranger's scalpel.

"The next morning the whole town arose early to get copies of the Gazette and Herald to devour what that sphinx-like personality, the local critic, had to say of the performance of St. Joseph's leading society stars. Imagine, if you can, the feeling of these ladies when they read in the Gazette an elaborate and carefully analyzed criticism of Eugene Field's



MARK TWAIN
Samuel L. Clemens, from a photograph taken late in life

EUGENE FIELD

MARK TWAIN AND DAVID R. FRANCIS
Unveiling tablet at birthplace of Eugene Field

resonant barytone and of the prima donna's beautiful soprano, and not a word about their own sympathetic contraltos, mezzo sopranos, and charming grace of action?

"But, oh! what a shock when they picked up the Herald and read an equally elaborate review of Mr. Field's performance and that of Miss Lancaster, while as for themselves —well, that villain of an advance agent, retired critic of the New York Sun, had sat down in mad glee and ground out a column of humorous diversion at the expense of those contraltos and mezzos that would have adorned the laureled brow of Bill Nye. It was simply awful! That Mephistopheles of the New York Sun slid out of town at dawn, laughing in his sleeve, leaving his victims to writhe in their agony, and as a very natural result of the whole affair, several indignant husbands called at the Herald and promptly stopped their papers. They were looking for Visscher, but that worthy had been made aware of the approaching storm, and discreetly kept out of the way, but in the course of the day the truth leaked out, and then the wrath of those broken-hearted women and their friends and protectors centered upon Lancaster. Of course, all was quite plain to them. They reasoned precisely along the lines forecast by that gentleman when he declined to write his opinion about the lady members of the company, and denounced him as an unprincipled and corrupt critic who perverted his prerogatives in the interest of selfish relations. Field and Visscher concluded that it was better that one man should suffer than that they should both be helplessly sacrificed upon the altar of public condemnation, and pretended to express great sympathy for the offended stars. Lancaster, of course, never got a chance to explain. The secret remained locked in his bosom of how Field and Visscher betrayed his confidence, and he gradually settled down to a morose contemplation of the perfidy of mankind, and never smiled again except in sardonic contempt of public opinion."

**Mark Twain's Biography in Brief.**

Edward Marshall epitomized Mark Twain's biography in these words: "He was pulled out of the Mississippi river nine times before he was fifteen, so he was evidently not born to be drowned. He was born in Florida, Monroe county, Mo., November 30, 1835, and was soon taken to Hannibal, Mo., by his parents. While yet of a tender age he ran away from home and got work in a New York printing office. One day he met a man from Hannibal and ran back again. He became a Mississippi river pilot at seventeen, earning $250 a month, and kept at it until he was twenty-four years old. It was then, despite Mr. Tom Sawyer's interesting barroom fiction, that he got the name 'Mark Twain.' It is an expression used by river men as they take soundings. He enlisted in the Confederate army, but soon left to become private secretary to his brother, who was lieutenant governor of Nevada Territory. It was the resulting journey across the plains that gave us 'Roughing It.' Then he tried mining. Then he tried journalism on the coast and in the Sandwich Islands. Finally, against the enthusiastic discouragement of his friends, he began to lecture, and was an instantaneous success. In 1867 he went to Europe with a party of Philadelphians, and there came 'Innocents Abroad.' His real name was Samuel L. Clemens."

**Professor of Anecdote.**

Mark Twain told the girls of the class of 1894 at Bryn Mawr College, after they had elected him an honorary member, that he had a great ambition to be a member of the Bryn Mawr faculty. "I should like to be," said he, "a professor of anecdote. It's a very useful art. I'll give you a lesson. One kind of anecdote contains only words. You talk till you're tired and then ring in a

laugh—if you're lucky. I'll illustrate this plan by an anecdote of a Scotch-Irish christening. In this Scotch-Irish village a baby had been born and a large number of friends had collected to see it christened. The minister, thinking this a good opportunity to display his oratorical powers, took the baby in his hands, saying:

"'He is a little fellow, yes, a little fellow, and as I look into your faces I see an expression of scorn that suggests that you despise him. But if you had the soul of a poet and the gift of prophecy you would not despise him. You would look far into the future and see what it might be. Consider how small the acorn is from which grows the mighty oak. So this little child may be a great poet and write tragedies or a great statesman or perhaps a future warrior wading in blood up to his neck; he may be—er—what is his name?'

"'His name?' asked the mother, who had been carried away by the preacher's eloquence. 'Oh, Mary Ann, sir.'"

Some time after Mark Twain became famous, the real Tom Sawyer was discovered. He was keeping a cigar and liquor store on Missouri street in San Francisco. To a newspaper reporter he gave these reminiscences of the author:

"Yes, it was after me that Sam named his book, and I told him lots of things that put in it, too. You see, we used to knock around a good deal together, me and Sam, and we was always tellin' each other stories. Sam was a dandy. He could drink more and talk more than any other feller I ever seen. He'd set down in a chair and take a drink, and then he'd begin to tell us some joke or 'nother, and then somebody'd buy another drink and he'd tell us another joke. Once he got started he'd set there all night. The crowd would always stay as long as he did, too. Yes, sir; I tell you that Sam was the greatest story teller the world has ever produced. I am not prepared to say how he comes up as a liar, but I think that he could hold his own that way, too. But there was so many liars floatin' around them days you never could exactly place 'em. I used to lie myself. You see, I had to be in the game. But I never tried to compete with Sam.

"He was workin' on the Call. He never had a cent, and most of the time his shoes were worn out and his clothes needed patchin'. But he didn't care. They'd send him out down at the paper to write something up, and he'd go up to the Russ House and sit around telling stories all day. Then he'd go back to the office and write up what he'd been sent out for. Most times it was all wrong, but mighty entertainin'. But I believe his city editor said he was unreliable.

"He used to cost me about $50 a month. You see, he was such a good fellow, and he didn't seem able to look out much for himself, and I sorter took care of him. He never had a cent, and I used to pay for most of his clothes. I often hear from him now. He's comin' out here some time, he says.

"I suppose you know how he come to get the name of Mark Twain? No? Well, it was up in Virginia City, away back in 1860. Tom Peasley was keepin' a saloon there then and Larry Ryan was tendin' bar. Sam had been drinkin' some and spent all his money. Maybe he'd gone against faro bank a little, too, but, anyway, he was busted and thirsty. He knew Tom and Larry both just as well as anybody, and he'd hung up many a drink there, too. They was both getting a little tired of it, but whenever they'd kick he'd tell some joke or other and walk off while they was laughin' at it. Well, this time he come in with a friend and ordered two cocktails.

"After they was drank Sam just held up two fingers at Larry and winked. Larry made out as if he didn't understand what Sam was drivin' at, so Sam just leaned over the counter and says in a stage whisper, I believe they call it, 'Mark Twain,' meanin' for Larry to put two chalks on the slate. Well, Tom Peasley heard it and wasn't going to have it that way, but Sam he started in to tell some ridiculous thing or other and Tom had to laugh and say 'All right.' But always after that he called Sam 'Mark Twain,'

and when Sam commenced writin' books he signed that name. Sam was a dandy, you bet. He was his own original in 'Huckleberry Finn,' you know, and I recognized many an incident in that book as having happened to Sam himself."

**A Young Reporter's Shock.**

In his later years Mark Twain, with his wavy mane of hair and his peculiarities of attire, was distinguished looking. But in middle life, even after he became famous, his appearance and manner were not especially impressive. A young newspaper man had this experience:

"It was when I was very young and correspondingly fresh. I had secured a position as reporter, and felt that I held the destinies of nations in my hands. I was taking hotel arrivals one day, when a stranger lounged up to the register and asked with a drawl: 'Editor of a paper here?' I nodded patronizingly, and he observed that it was a great responsibility. He said that he had tried hard to become a great editor, and once secured a position on a western weekly, but had been ingloriously discharged. He seemed quite heart-broken, and I proceeded to tell him that journalists were born, not made, and to make an egregious ass of myself generally. He lounged away, the clerk told me his name was Mark Twain, and I made a sneak out the back way."

One of the traditions of Salt river relates to Mark Twain's brief service in the Confederacy. Early in 1861 Sam Clemens, as he was known then, joined a company of Monroe county horsemen who called themselves "rangers." The self-recruited group started to join Price. On the way it was necessary to ford Salt river. There had been heavy rains and Salt river was out of the banks. The horses were obliged to swim. Mark Twain's mount was a mule, an "ornery" mule, that refused to go into the water. A rope was hitched to the neck of the mule and three or four of the party took hold of the loose end and went ahead. As they neared the opposite shore they looked back. Mark Twain and the mule were out of sight but the pull on the rope was still strong. As the company climbed the bank, Mark Twain came in view and then the mule.

"That cussed mule," said Clemens, "waded every step across the river."

**Missourians in State Making.**

Ten Missourians had a hand in the making of Washington's constitution. Judge Turner, of Spokane Falls, one of the ablest lawyers of the new state, was a Missourian. He was a telegraph operator to begin with, and when scarcely more than a boy he went from Missouri to Alabama. Gen. Grant made him United States marshal of Alabama, and for several years he was chairman of the republican state central committee. President Arthur appointed him to the bench of Washington territory, and he served until he resigned, during the Cleveland Administration. Trusten Polk Dyer, nephew of Judge David P. Dyer, was a member of that constitutional convention. Mr. Dyer had settled in Washington only fourteen months before the state was formed. Somebody raised the point that it was rather rushing things to elect such a recent arrival as a framer of the constitution. This was met by the explanation that Mr. Dyer had equalized matters by marrying the daughter of one of the most respected and wealthiest pioneers of Seattle. Mr. Dyer's case was a double illustration. It went to show

that this was a young man's state, and that newcomers need not wait until they were baldheaded for recognition, political or matrimonial. Mr. Dyer was 33 years of age.

Another of the Missourians in the convention was George Comegys, of Oaksdale, a lawyer and a stockman. He was older and had been there long enough to have served in the territorial legislature. Mr. Comegys was a republican, as also was F. M. Dallam, the editor of the Lincoln County Times, of Davenport. The other Missourians were democrats. They were S. H. Berry, a real estate man of Chehalis; J. T. Eshelman, of North Yakima, who, when at home, traded real estate week days and preached in the Campbellite church on Sundays; B. B. Glasscock, a real estate dealer of Sprague; N. M. Godman, a lawyer of Dayton; J. M. Reed, who combined the vocations of a farmer and Presbyterian minister at Oaksdale, and G. H. Stevenson, of Cascades, the only fisherman in the body. All of these democratic Missourians were young men, under 40, with the single exception of Mr. Reed, who was 47. Mr. Godman was only 32, but he had distinguished himself as one of the leaders on the democratic side. Altogether, Missouri was doing well in Washington.

**Missourians in Montana.**

Governor Samuel T. Hauser of Montana was a Missourian. He went there early in the war. As he told it, some of his friends were going north and some were going south. It seemed to be the proper thing to go somewhere, so he started west. He was at Alder Gulch when mining operations began. His start in life came from that place and nearly everything he went into afterwards "panned out" well. When the democrats came into power Mr. Hauser felt a throb of political ambition, and went on to Washington. He was appointed governor of Montana, but tired of office-holding after a couple of years, and broke the democratic record by resigning.

So many Missourians went to Montana in the early sixties that it was said to have been "settled by the left wing of Price's army."

**Ashley's Exploration of Utah.**

In 1823 General William H. Ashley led an expedition across the plains from St. Louis. He met with resistance from the Indians and lost fourteen men. In 1824 General Ashley discovered a southern route through the Rocky Mountains. He led his expedition to the Great Salt Lake and explored the Utah valley. He established a fort. Two years later a six-pound cannon was drawn from the Missouri across the plains and through the mountains 1,200 miles to Ashley's fort. A trail was made. Many loaded wagons passed over it. A new trade territory for Missouri was opened. Between 1824 and 1827 Ashley's men sent over $200,000 worth of furs to St. Louis. The general retired from the business of exploration and fur trading. He sold out to a St. Louis organization in which J. S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette were the leading spirits. Their chief clerk was Robert Campbell. The Rocky Mountain Fur company pushed its trade across the mountains and into what are now Nevada, California and Southern Oregon.

Ashley was a slender man, rather tall, thin faced, with a prominent nose

and chin. He came west from Virginia when he was eighteen, sold goods, manufactured saltpetre and surveyed lands before he engaged in the fur trade. He was a man of boundless activity, at the same time a mild-mannered, serious, and silent man. With knowledge of the force of character behind those peaceful appearing features, the organizers of the Rocky Mountain Fur company selected Ashley as the leader. Early in the spring two boats were loaded with goods for the Indians. Major Henry recruited and armed one hundred men, picking those who had seen service in the fur trade. The destination was the mouth of the Yellowstone far up the Missouri, in what is now Montana. Very complete, not to say elaborate, were the preparations. Perhaps no other expedition in the history of the fur trade was better planned. On the way to Ashley's boats a wagon load of powder exploded at Washington avenue and Ninth street. The owner of the wagon, a Mr. Labarge, and two of his men were killed. This was the beginning of misfortunes. When the expedition reached the Arickarees' country, General Ashley met the chiefs of that tribe. He gave them presents. He bought fifty horses from them. When his men went to the place where they were to receive the horses they were attacked. Fifteen of them were killed The horses were stampeded. The boats were driven away from the bank. War was declared. General Ashley had sent part of his force with Major Henry overland to the Yellowstone. This detachment encountered the Blackfeet Indians and lost four men and the goods it was transporting.

Ashley met the desperate situation with iron nerve. He waited until the United States troops had dispersed the Arickarees who were blockading the Missouri. With more men and goods from St. Louis, he went on to the mouth of the Yellowstone. In his mind Ashley had no doubt as to what had prompted the Indian hostility. As soon as he had established his base, he began a series of raids on the traders and Indian allies of the Hudson's Bay Fur company. The property stolen from him Ashley found scattered among these traders and Indians. While pursuing a band of the rival fur company's Indians, Ashley made a geographical discovery of great importance. The pursuit led him into the great South Pass of the Rocky Mountain range. Ashley brought back to Missouri the first knowledge of the vast interior between the Rocky and the Sierra ranges. He lost one-fourth of his men and half of his goods in the contest for trade supremacy in the Northwest. He came back to St. Louis in June, 1825, after fifteen months' hardships, the boats piled high with packs of beaver and other furs. The company's venture had been immensely remunerative. Beyond this, the traders of the Hudson's Bay Fur company had been driven out of the country and the Indians had been cowed. But of still greater importance to the coming generations was the fact that an easy way through the Rocky Mountain range had been found.

On the strength of his prestige Ashley, who had been lieutenant governor, was a candidate for governor of Missouri. He was beaten by Frederick Bates. His opportunity came a little later. Almost without opposition General Ashley was elected to Congress in 1831 to take the place of Spencer Pettis, killed in the duel with Major Biddle. The controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the northwest boundary was becoming acute. General Ashley had personal knowledge of that part of the country and the fur trade condi-

tions there. His information and opinions carried much weight with those at the head of the national government, and had influence in the shaping of the boundary policy of the United States.

**Jim Bridger, the Blacksmith Apprentice.**

Jim Bridger was a St. Louis contribution to the winning of the West by the fur trading route. He was a boy from Virginia who was apprenticed to a St. Louis blacksmith. When Ashley and Henry recruited their expedition in 1822, Bridger joined the party. He developed in the field an extraordinary aptitude for topography, in the pioneer sense. He was never lost. Father DeSmet said Bridger was "one of the truest specimens of a real trapper and Rocky Mountain man." Jim Bridger never came back to St. Louis to live. "The canyons of the city," he called the streets, and he didn't like them. He built Bridger's Fort. Few knew the mountain country as did he. Bridger's Peak was the name given to a landmark. In the dome of the new capitol of Minnesota is a trapper for whom Bridger was the original. Dr. Whitman, the Oregon missionary, took an iron arrowhead out of Bridger's shoulder. Nevertheless the trapper entertained no grudge against the red race; he married a Shoshone wife.

Bridger is said to have been the first white man who looked on Great Salt Lake. He became famous for his knowledge of Rocky Mountain geography. When the engineers were seeking the best route for the Union Pacific they sent for Bridger, then an old man. Major Bridger, as he was then called, traveled to Denver. When the engineers presented the problem, he took a coal from the camp fire and drew a map showing the lowest place on the range with the explanation,

"Thar's where you fellers can cross and nowhere else without more cutting and digging than you think of."

**Duke of Cimarron.**

A Missourian made for himself fame and fortune as the "Duke of Cimarron." Lucien B. Maxwell lived in that part of St. Louis long known as Carondelet. He went west about 1830 or a little earlier. For a long time he was the companion of Kit Carson. Together they hunted and trapped all through the mountains. And the information they had gathered in their years of wandering subsequently made John C. Fremont famous as the Pathfinder. The most notable period of Maxwell's career, however, came when he married the daughter of Don Carlos Beaubien and settled down. Don Carlos was fond of his son-in-law. He gave him a part of the great Beaubien and Miranda land grant and stocked the tract with cattle and horses. From that time, which was about '48, until after the war, Maxwell wielded great power all through that country, and 'Maxwell's ranch' was a famous place. The hospitality of the owner was without bounds. Everybody who came that way was entertained. Maxwell never thought of charging for such a small matter as board or lodging. He had a large rambling house, or, rather, a collection of them, for the kitchen and the dining rooms were separate from the sleeping rooms. Then there was the store, the mill, the stables and other buildings giving to the place the appearance of a town. But Maxwell owned all, and the country as well for miles and miles in

every direction. He had so many sheep, cattle and horses that he did not know within thousands the number of them.

**The Title Conferred by Stephen B. Elkins.**

"Duke" was the title which Stephen B. Elkins conferred upon the head of this lordly establishment. Maxwell was well satisfied with American citizenship. He kept the Fourth of July as his chief holiday. A 6-pound cannon was part of the equipment of Maxwell's ranch. It had been hauled across the plains when Doniphan's expedition eclipsed Xenophon's Anabasis. During the rest of the year this piece of artillery rusted in the weeds, but on the glorious Fourth it was hauled out and, at a safe distance from the window panes of the ducal palace, thundered for liberty. The government recognized the duke's importance by making his place the station of troops. On Independence Day, 1867, the cannon was brought into position and Maxwell, as the greatest honor he could show the official representative of the United States, invited the captain of the cavalry troop on duty there at the time to assist in firing the national salute. The duke took his station at the breach and covered the old-fashioned touch-hole with his thumb. The captain, at the muzzle, rammed home the charge. Several rounds had been fired. Suddenly there came a flash while the two men were in the act of reloading. Maxwell reeled one way and the cavalry officer went another. The old gun had gone off prematurely. It had taken away an arm and an eye from the captain. Maxwell ruefully contemplated a mangled thumb. The nearest surgeon was fifty-five miles away, at Fort Union. A sergeant was mounted on the fastest horse in the duke's stable of thoroughbreds. He made the fifty-five miles in a little more than four hours. As he rode into the fort the horse which had carried him staggered and dropped dead. The surgeon started at once and reached the ranch in time to save the officer's life. He then turned his attention to Maxwell and dressed the thumb, which seemed like an inconsiderable matter compared with the cavalryman's dangerous injuries. But the shattered thumb grew worse. There were symptoms of blood-poisoning. In a few days it became evident that an amputation would be necessary. In Maxwell's stables was kept every kind of a vehicle from a huge stage coach down to a buckboard. The coach was chosen for the trip. The duke was put into it and, with his best friend, Kit Carson, he made the trip to Fort Union. There, with Carson holding a big lamp, the duke sat in a chair, refusing to be put under the influence of any drug, and saw the surgeon cut away. The perspiration stood in great drops on his forehead, but he never allowed a sound to pass his lips. As the surgeon completed the work a glass of whisky was handed to the patient. Before it reached his lips Maxwell slipped off his chair in a faint. There were physical limits to the pain endurance of even such a man.

The standing order at Maxwell's was that the table should be set for thirty. This was the daily provision for "the duke" and guests. The women of the household had another dining room. Transient comers and goers saw very little of the women. Even the waiters in the dining room were boys. The table service was of solid silver.

Across one entire end of the house was a room big enough to be called a hall.

In that the duke held his receptions, sitting in feudal state, and transacted business according to his own peculiar methods. In this hall the furniture was very plain. It was limited to a few chairs and tables. In the diagonal corners were huge fireplaces, where the logs crackled winter nights. But the chief object of interest in this room was a great bureau, which stood against one of the side walls. It did duty as the receptacle of the duke's cash on hand.

**The Duke's Business Methods.**

"Many a time," said Col. Bergman, an intimate of Maxwell, "I have seen Mack—that was what we usually called him—go to that bureau, pull out the lower drawer, and toss in a roll of bills. Gold, silver, paper currency, vouchers and drafts went in there all together, and the drawer was left unlocked. It was said that the bureau drawer often contained as much as $30,000, and I have no doubt of it. But money came easily, and it went freely. At the time we were partners in the Aztec mine I used to bring down to the ranch every Saturday night from 400 to 500 ounces of gold to divide with him, and at that time it was worth $22 an ounce. He furnished supplies to the government, ran a mill and a store, had flocks of sheep, from which he got a great wool-clip, and drew on herds of cattle which were unnumbered. Yet he was always more or less embarrassed financially.

"Just to show you how things went with him, let me tell you a little story. At the time I was operating the mine I speak of in partnership with him he had another mine running, which wasn't paying expenses. He told me how much the other mine was losing, and I asked him one day:

"'Mack, why don't you close down that mine?'

"'I can't,' he said.

"'Why?' I asked.

"'I haven't got money enough to pay off the men.'

"'How much are you behind?'

"'About $3,000.'

"I told him that I could probably raise him the amount, and in a few days I laid out before him six packages of $500 each. He took up one package, put it in his inside coat pocket, carried the others to the mine, paid off the men and stopped work. A few days afterwards I was down to the ranch when Mack's daughter came in and said:

"'Father, I want some money.'

"'Money,' said he in his quick way. 'I haven't got any.'

"'I must have some,' said she.

"'I don't know where you'll get it, unless Bergman will let you have it,' he said.

"I asked the young lady how much she wanted. She said $100 would do, and I gave it to her. Mack sat there in silence for a few moments, and then asked suddenly:

"'Didn't I get $500 from you the other day?'

"'You got $3,000,' said I.

"'I don't mean the $2,500 I paid to shut down the mine. What did I do with the other $500?'

"'You put it in your coat pocket.'

"Mack ran his hands into his coat pockets and looked puzzled.

"'That ain't the coat you had on the other day,' I suggested.

"He jumped up like a shot and went into another room. Pretty soon he came out holding a coat. There was a broad smile on his face. In his hand was the package of $500. The money had worked through a hole in the pocket and down between the lining and the cloth of the coat.

"'Isn't it lucky the woman didn't find that first?' he said with a laugh."

FIRST CITY HALL, ST. JOSEPH

ST. JOSEPH IN 1850
With view of Blacksnake Hills on the right and the Missouri River on the left

**The Vassals of the Duke.**

This hall of the castle was the gathering point of the duke's numerous retainers. He had cowboys to look after his herds. He had trainers and jockeys about his stable of thoroughbreds for racing was his chief sport. In the valleys of his principality Mexicans lived and raised grain, which gave business to his grist mill. But strangest of all his vassals were the Ute Indians. As a companion of Kit Carson, Maxwell had spent years among the Indians, especially this savage tribe. When he set up his establishment at Cimarron his dusky friends "returned the call." There was seldom a time that a band of Utes was not loafing about the ranch, living on the bounty of the duke. The head men of the tribe would come down and stop for days. They would gather in the hall at night, the wood fires lighting up the strange scene. For hours not a word would be spoken, but Kit Carson and Maxwell would sit there carrying on continuous communication in the sign language. An occasional "Ugh!" from some chief was the only sound save the snapping of the pine boughs. And when the soiree was over Indians and white men would lie down in their blankets on the floor, so thick it was almost impossible to turn, and sleep.

The influence of the duke over the Utes was wonderful. It was recognized by the government, and the agency for this tribe was located at the ranch a long time. In recognition of his good services as mediator the duke received indirect but munificent compensation. He was paid hundreds of thousands of dollars by the United States for supplies for the army and for the Indian agency. The time came when this close relationship with the Indians proved of great value to Maxwell. In return for the food and the drink the duke had given them the Utes became protectors of the rights of property he claimed. The white man, prospector or settler, who came upon the Maxwell grant without the consent of the duke was in danger of losing his scalp. Yet Maxwell was not a desperado, a "killer," as they say out there. Very few, indeed, are the reminiscences of bloodshed about the feudal hall on the Cimarron, at least so long as its palmy days lasted. Later on there were conflicts between the purchasers and the would-be settlers on the Maxwell grant. It is said that 500 men lost their lives before the title was quieted. But the duke's reign was singularly free from homicides.

In Maxwell's retinue of servants there were white cowboys, Mexicans, Indians and half-breeds. In some way he maintained harmony among them. Perhaps it was by the other excitement he furnished. Something was always going on. If there was nothing else the duke would plan a trip, and away he would go with his coaches and buckboards and cavalcade, making dashes of hundreds of miles, and for no apparent purpose other than the entertainment of motion.

**The Duke's Code.**

He had a code of morals of his own—this duke. If he liked a man he could forgive much.

"I remember," said Col. Bergman, "one who came out into New Mexico as an Indian agent. His name was Jack and he formed the acquaintance of Mack, who took a liking to him. Jack spent much of his time at the ranch and was engaged in some mining enterprises with Mack. One day he asked for a horse,

saying he wanted to go down to Santa Fe on some business. Mack gave him a horse. As Jack was starting off Mack went to the bureau, drew out some vouchers and said:

"'Here, Jack, take these vouchers along with you and get them cashed for me.'

"Jack took the papers and rode off. In the course of a couple of weeks he returned and handed Mack a roll of bills, saying:

"'Here's the money on those vouchers.'

"'All right,' said Mack. He didn't stop to count the bills, but just crumpled them up in a bunch and threw them into the lower drawer of the bureau.

"Some days after that a visitor came to the ranch. He was sitting under the portal talking to Mack, when Jack passed by.

"'Who is that?' asked the visitor.

"Mack told him.

"'What does he do?'

"Mack explained that Jack was an Indian agent.

"'Ah,' said the stranger, 'that accounts for it.'

"'What do you mean?' asked Mack.

"'I saw him in a game at Vegas the other night,' was the reply. 'He dropped $2,000, and he didn't turn a hair.'

"Mack sat there reflecting a few minutes, got up, went to the bureau, pulled out the drawer, picked up the roll of bills and looked at it. Coming out of the door, he called:

"'Jack, come here.'

"Jack responded.

"'Jack,' asked Mack, 'how much money did you give me the other night when you got back from Santa Fe?'

"'I gave you $3,000. There should have been $5,000, but I used $2,000,' was the ready reply.

"'Huh,' said Mack. He put the roll of bills back in the bureau, returned to the conversation with his guest and never referred to the $2,000 transaction again."

Great sums of money slipped through the duke's fingers. He played at cards, but it was for amusement rather than for gain. His favorite games were poker and old sledge, but he was not a gambler, and he did not play with gamblers. It might be supposed that a man so careless in money matters would be reckless in his stakes. Here was where one of the peculiarities of the duke came in. No matter what the limit or who the players were, Maxwell would insist on the strictest accounting of the game. He exacted to the penny all he won while the game was in progress. The next day, if applied to for a loan, he would hand out perhaps five times what his opponent had lost the night before.

**The Fall of the Duke.**

The time came when Maxwell could no longer maintain the pace of a New Mexican duke. Settlers were crowding in and encroaching on the great estate. Capitalists saw the opportunity for a profitable deal. The far-reaching Beaubien and Miranda grant, when Maxwell set up his dukedom, was magnificent in its measurements, but land was worth very little. Maxwell had gradually acquired the interests of the other heirs. Toward the end he went in for mining. Gold, silver and copper were found on the grant. His interests in the mines are said to have yielded the duke $20,000 a week at one time. But he wanted still greater returns. He joined in a scheme with lesser lords of the land of grants to wash out the placers in the Moreno Valley with water from the melted snows of the

Old Baldy Range. A ditch, big enough to carry a river, was dug, forty miles through mountain and plain. And when it was finished there was no snow left for that season.

Then came the tempter telling the duke how much more comfortable he would be if he turned his dukedom into cash and "lived on the interest of his money." Maxwell hearkened. He parted with all his interest except a homestead for $650,000. The homestead he sold a little later for $125,000, receiving $75,000 in cash. And when he gathered up his belongings and followers to move out it was like a caravan taking the road.

The men who bought out Maxwell went to London and sold the title to the great block of land fifty miles across and sixty miles long for $5,000,000. And the English buyers went across the channel and took in Dutch investors at Amsterdam on a basis of $10,000,000.

Maxwell went to New York to close the deal. He received credit for $750,000. As he started to leave the bank the cashier asked:

"Mr. Maxwell, would you like some of this in currency for immediate use?"

"Yes," said the duke, turning back, "I believe I would."

"How much will you take with you?" asked the official.

"You may give me $50,000," was the reply.

The cashier looked at the duke a moment and then handed out the packages of bills. Maxwell stuffed them into a pair of saddle bags hanging on his arm and walked out on Wall street. He went uptown to his hotel. Placing the saddle bags on the counter he asked the clerk to put them away for him. That functionary, with a careless glance at them, took the bags and buried them under a desk. Ten days went by. One morning Maxwell came downstairs from his room, ran his thumb and forefinger into his vest pocket and found it empty.

"Give me those saddle bags will you?" he said to the clerk.

The bags were fished out from under the desk and put on the counter. Maxwell opened them, drew out package after package of bills before the eyes of the astonished clerk. Then he handed back the bags. Before he left New York City he had spent $30,000 in presents for friends in New Mexico.

"How long do you give him to spend that money?" a brother-in-law of Maxwell asked a personal friend when it was known the sale had been made.

"Five years," was the response.

"He'll get rid of it in less time than that," said the relative with a shake of the head.

And he did. From the day the duke had $700,000 put to his credit and walked out of the bank with $50,000 in pocket money, it was less than five years until he died in Las Vegas, leaving a few thousand head of cattle as all that belonged to him. Had he lived another year he would have died a pauper.

When the Maxwell grant was confirmed to the company by the United States Supreme Court, many Missourians who had settled on the lands were disturbed. Among them were John Young, Judge Butler, who was formerly probate judge of Cooper county, and his sons. The Gentrys, the Gillams and the Brannins were represented on the grant. Shys, of Pettis county, Mo., who made one of the most gallant single-handed fights in the pioneer history of New Mexico against Indians and saved his wife and children, was one of the settlers.

**Kit Carson and John Colter.**

Kit Carson, made historic by General Fremont's reports, was a Howard county boy. When he was seventeen years old he joined a Santa Fe wagon train. From that time he traveled the trail, fought Indians, acted as guide for government expeditions, was a mediator between Indian tribes, and was the central figure in a hundred wonderful adventures on the great trail, before the fiction writers adopted him as a hero for their best sellers.

When John Colter came back to St. Louis about 1809 or '10 he told such stories of his adventures that he was called "the monumental liar of the Rocky Mountains." He described the region visited by him where the whole country was afire and where great springs of boiling water threw streams high in the air while the earth seemed to smoke in every direction. Many years afterwards it turned out that John Colter's stories were, in the main, truthful. A locality in Yellowstone Park is known to this generation as "Colter's Hell." It requires little strain of the imagination to fancy that there is an entrance to the infernal regions.

John Colter had gone from St. Louis with the expedition of Lewis and Clark, leaving in the spring of 1804. In August, 1806, he was discharged at his own request, going back to his old business of hunting and trapping on the head waters of the Missouri. He had a companion named John Potts. The two men were captured by Indians, who killed Potts. They stripped Colter naked and, allowing him a start of a few yards, gave him a race for his life over ground that was covered with prickly pear. Almost miraculously he escaped, and made his way to a trading post, which had been newly established on the Yellowstone by Manual Lisa. Subsequently he pursued his travels toward what is now the northwest corner of Wyoming and entered the park, being the first white man to behold that strange region. It was he who discovered Yellowstone Lake, the central feature of the park, which has fifty miles of shoreline.

**Missourians in Siam.**

A singular fact about public service was the relationship between the State of Missouri and the Kingdom of Siam. General John A. Halderman was appointed minister to that country. He was a man of fine presence and of natural diplomatic gift. Later another Missourian in the person of Jacob T. Child, the editor of the Richmond Conservator, was sent to Bangkok. After Mr. Child a third Missourian, an ex-Congressman, Sempronius H. Boyd, was accredited. The King of Siam thought so much of Missourians that he gave to the state two flags, the royal standard and the national ensign, as tokens of his esteem. These flags were placed on exhibition in the state armory at Jefferson City. The appreciation of the king went even further. It found expression in the gift of a palace at the capital of Siam to house the United States legation.

**The Court of Alder Gulch.**

A Missourian presided over "the people's court" which was established by the vigilantes of Alder Gulch. He was Alexander Davis. Henry Plummer, after a career of crime which included everything in the decalogue, had found California, Oregon, Washington territory and Idaho too hot for him. He was on his way

across the country to the head of navigation on the Missouri, intending to take a boat for the states. Miners were pouring into Montana from Colorado and Utah. Plummer grasped at the opportunity and went no further. He got himself elected sheriff by a mass meeting vote at Bannock, the first of the Montana mining camps, and organized his band of road agents. Passwords, grips, a peculiar way of tying the cravat and a uniform fashion of wearing the mustache and whiskers were part of the plan. Through the last half of 1862 and almost to the end of 1863 Plummer ran his course unchecked. The murders perpetrated by his band along the lonely roads ran up to 102, which were positively known. Of mysterious disappearances, which might as well have been classed as murders, there were more. Treasure to the value of nearly $1,000,000 was taken by the robbers. These things were done with such impunity that often when a party left the gulch it would be known to many a robbery would take place. Once when Samuel T. Hauser started to the Missouri with a lot of gold dust Plummer gave him a red woolen comforter by which, as became known afterward, Hauser was to have been identified and robbed. Representatives of the road agents inquired at the stage office who was going out, and then sent word to the other members of the gang, who did the work. On one of the trips of the Peabody & Caldwell coach Bill Bunton, a saloon-keeper who was in the band, took passage for Bannock and acted as stoolpigeon. He kept one of the stations on the road where the horses were changed. When the stage arrived on this particular trip it was discovered that all of the stock had been turned out of the corral. The start was made, after considerable delay, with a worn-out team. Bunton got on the box and plied the whip furiously. The horses soon gave up, and could not be pushed out of a walk. Then Bunton climbed down and got inside of the coach. A few minutes later the road agents appeared beside the road. Bunton hopped out, crying, "Oh, for God's sake don't kill me!" Then he offered to hold the horses, gave up a pocket-book, which he said was all he had in the world, and made himself generally useful. The road agents gathered in $2,800, and the stage went on to Bannock. On another occasion three of the road agents stepped into the stage office at Virginia and asked who was booking. On being told they laughed, remarked that they guessed that they would go, too, and went out. Late in November of 1863 the Salt Lake coach was held up by three of the band, after they had ridden past it two or tree times on the road. When the stage got into Bannock Plummer was waiting, and wanted to know if it had been robbed. That night the leader of the band turned up in a dance house at Virginia City and said: "I am the Bamboo chief that robbed the coach." There were hundreds who knew about the doings of the band, but they were afraid to tell. The camps strung along the gulch were without organization. There were no courts.

But the reaction to this reign of lawlessness came, and the remedy was awful. Before the end of 1863, when Alder Gulch was not yet six months settled, the vigilantes of Montana organized. On the 21st of December they hung George Ives with as much show of ceremony and good order as a mass-meeting trial and an amateur hangman could furnish. In twos and threes and fives the members of Plummer's band were gathered in as fast as the executive committee could collect the evidence. The twenty-second and last member of the band was

hung just after breakfast on the 3d of February, 1864. The executions averaged two every three days as long as the band membership lasted.

**Death Penalty for Contempt of Court.**

The vigilance committee decided to establish a people's court. They did this that the machinery might always be ready for trial by judge and jury. Alexander Davis, the Missourian, was made judge of the court. How terribly in earnest the people were to have law and order was illustrated by the hanging of Sheriff Plummer and his chief deputies. But a still stronger warning to the lawless was conveyed a few weeks later by the execution of Capt. J. A. Slade. That is perhaps the only instance on record where contempt of court was punished by the death penalty. The court's existence was the result of an order of the executive committee of the vigilantes. Slade was not in any way connected with the Plummer band. He had been identified with the punishers of crime rather than with the perpetrators. His home was in Clinton County, Ill., where his people were as well thought of as any in their community. It was true that he came to Montana with the reputation of having "killed his man" several times over, but the vigilantes molested nobody for what had been done "on the other side," as the common expression was. During the organization of the vigilantes and the extermination of the road agents, Slade was emphatically on the law and order side. When sober he was a model citizen. When drunk he was a dare-devil. Those who knew him only as Slade sober were never reconciled to his fate. They insisted that it was the one great blunder of the vigilantes. "Taking the town" was Slade's favorite amusement when drunk. He would get two of his friends upon his horse with him and gallop up and down the streets shouting and shooting. Frequently he would ride his horse into a store, drive out the proprietors and smash things. An uncontrollable fury seemed to take possession of him. But he was not altogether out of his mind. He never went into the store of the Lott Bros., who had served notice that they would kill him if he attempted any of his freaks with them. When he sobered up he was the model citizen again, and would go around apologizing and paying damages. One day he rode his horse into a saloon, bought a bottle of wine and tried to make the animal drink it. Then he went to Dorris' store, and, upon being requested to leave, drew his revolver and threatened to shoot the man who had spoken to him. That night Slade continued his spree until he and his followers had made the town "a perfect hell." In the morning the sheriff met Slade and commenced reading a warrant for his arrest and appearance before the people's court. On two or three previous sprees Slade had, when sobering up, submitted to arrest and had paid fines for his fun. This particular morning he was in an uglier mood than usual. He waited to hear a few words, snatched the paper from the sheriff's hands, tore it into bits, threw them on the ground and stamped upon them. At the same moment his followers drew their pistols. The people's court was defied. The sheriff did the most proper thing under the circumstances. He walked quietly away. But that was not the end of it.

A little later a leading member of the executive committee met the drunken man and in an earnest tone said to him:

"Slade, get your horse at once and go home or there will be —— to pay."

The warning was understood. For a few moments the drunken man stared at the member of the committee.

"What do you mean?" he asked.

"You have no right to ask me what I mean. Get your horse at once and remember what I tell you."

Partially sobered, Slade got his horse, mounted and was seemingly on the point of starting for home. But he fell in with one of his followers and took another drink. Then he began to curse the vigilantes. Getting off his horse, he went to Alexander Davis, who had been made judge of the people's court. Presenting a derringer to the head of the judge, he told him he would hold him responsible for his safety. For that act Slade died.

**Execution of Slade.**

The judge stood perfectly quiet and said nothing in reply to Slade's threat. But in less than half an hour the executive committee was in session at Virginia, and a messenger was riding down the gulch to Nevada. The miners dropped their shovels, armed themselves and formed a column 600 strong. So prompt was the action that the procession was on the way to Virginia almost before the committee was ready. There was a hurried consultation. In all their history the vigilantes never faced a duty so disagreeable. Slade had committed no robbery. He was not accused of murder. But he had outraged and set at defiance the simple machinery of law which the community had set up. He must be punished. Fining had been tried and had done no good. The decision was reached by the committee. In a few moments afterward the 600 miners marched up Wallace street. Somebody carried the news to Slade. It brought him to his senses instantly. He went at once to Pfouts' store and tendered an humble apology to Judge Davis, saying he wanted to take it all back. But while he was talking the head of the column reached the store and halted. Friends stepped forward and asked the doomed man if he wished to leave any The executive officer of the committee came in and told Slade he was wanted. business instructions. He seemed not to hear them. He was dazed. He kept saying to himself: "My God! My God! Must I die? Oh, my dear wife!" More than one man turned his face away and wiped his eyes, but nobody protested or tried to argue against the sentence. As a final plea Slade asked for delay until he could say farewell to his wife. Mrs. Slade was well known to the miners. She was a woman of pleasing appearance and of determination. The committee knew that to wait until she could be brought was to risk a reaction and an attempt at rescue. She was twelve miles away upon the ranch where Slade made his home. One of Slade's friends had, at the moment of the arrest, started on a fleet horse to notify Mrs. Slade. The committee refused all entreaties for delay and proceeded at once to make ready the gallows. Back of Pfouts & Russell's store was a corral with high gate posts. A beam was laid across the tops of the post and a rope was fastened to it. A dry goods box was placed beneath. The main body was informed that everything was ready. The procession moved at once to the corral. Some remarks were made by Judge Davis. Several gentlemen were sent for and received messages from Slade. Just before the noose was put in place a friend of the prisoner dashed off his coat and

declared that he would die before he would see Slade hung. Half a dozen shotguns covered the rash man. He turned to run, but was seized, brought back, made to put on his coat and required to pledge good behavior.

The final scene was delayed no longer. Slade was put upon the box and the rope was arranged. At the usual form of command, "Men, do your duty," the box was removed. The body had hardly been cut down and carried to a darkened room in the Virginia Hotel when Mrs. Slade dashed into town, having ridden twelve miles at full speed. The miners dispersed with the frantic woman's screams ringing in their ears. No man after that defied or insulted the people's court of Alder Gulch, presided over by a Missourian.

**The Possible Missouri Home Coming in 1908.**

In 1908, when St. Louis was preparing to celebrate the centennial of incorporation as a town, Emily Grant Hutchings wrote of the possibilities which a Missouri home-coming week presented. In her graceful, human-interest style, Mrs. Hutchings told of some Missourians who in that day were sustaining the good repute of their state in many parts of the world. Her suggestion was: "Let Missouri, in honor of the centenary of St. Louis, invite her exiled sons and daughters to come home and partake of the fatted calf, the while she points out to them what marvels she has accomplished, not only in the hundred years since her principal city was born, but since they forsook the city and state of their nativity."

The suggestion is even more timely as applied to the centennial of statehood. Comprehension of what this gathering would mean is offered in the invitation list of the "departed but still vivant" Missourians in 1908, which Mrs. Hutchings presented with her suggestion.

"A blanket invitation would have to be sent to all the states west of the Missouri river, for that whole country was explored, subdued and populated by Missourians. One of the most convincing points, for the Missouri pride, is the statement that at one time there were in the House of Representatives, at Washington, Biggs of California, Duray of Arizona, Hainer of New Mexico, Pickler of South Dakota, Burnham of California, Shafroth of Colorado, Peters of Kansas, Ogden of Louisiana and Callahan of Oklahoma, all born in Missouri. One of the New York representatives in that same Congress, Hendrix, was also a Missourian by birth. The native Missourians in the present Congress, 1908, are Senator Ankeny of Washington and Representatives Marshall of North Dakota, Ferriss of Oklahoma and Mondell of Wyoming. This, of course, does not include the representatives from Missouri, most of whom are native born.

"In the bunch of invitations that have California for their immediate destination there will be one for Thomas Jefferson Jackson See, the great astronomer in charge of the United States Naval Observatory on Mare Island, in San Pablo Bay, north of San Francisco. Another will go to Dr. H. L. Young, the celebrated alienist of the state asylum at Sacramento, himself a Missourian and the husband of a once celebrated Missouri beauty, Miss Eleanor Roberts. And then there will be a great exodus from Los Angeles, including Nathan Cole, son of former Mayor Cole of St. Louis, himself a political leader and prominent business man of the Southern California city. Along with him will come Robert M. Yost and Sam Carlisle and a score of others who have 'made good' in the fair city of the southwest.

"The men who have gone out from the state university at Columbia to fill distinguished positions in other great institutions are almost too numerous to mention. Among them are Milton Updegraffe of the Naval Observatory at Washington; Dr. William Ben-

jamin Smith, Walter Miller and Dr. E. B. Craighead of Tulane University, New Orleans; W. R. Dobson of Louisiana and C. L. Willoughby of Mississippi; J. F. Paxton, professor of Greek in the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. C. F. Hicks of Cincinnati. Dr. Frank Thilly, who held the chair of psychology at the state institution for many years, and is now a member of the faculty of Cornell, is surely enough of a Missourian to come to our birthday party, inasmuch as he married one of the charming Matthews girls of Columbia.

"Among the great educators of the country there should be reckoned John J. Jacobs, who transferred his allegiance to West Virginia and was there elected governor; James Allen Smith, professor of political economics at the University of Wisconsin, and E. E. Bass, George L. Brown, Raymond Weeks and others too numerous to mention by name. One Missourian, however, must not be omitted. That one is B. T. Galloway of the department of agriculture at Washington.

"When it comes to inviting the Missourians in New York City, the committee on invitations will find itself with a rather large job on its hands. The Missouri Society of the metropolis, second in size only to that of Ohio, numbers 182 members.

"Bounding our invitations by the western ocean, we should see to it that one of them reaches Judge Louis L. Williams of Juneau, John Yantis Ostrander of Valdez and John H. Duckworth of Treadwell, all in Alaska. Along with them should come Miss Stella Dunnaway, the M. S. U. girl whose little schoolhouse is on the most northwesterly border of Alaska, the very most remote point on the continent. Two other former Missourians of that remote territory ought to be remembered for what they have achieved in the terrific pioneer work of that new country. These are Henry W. Miller and W. H. McNair of Copper mountain. And there is no doubt that these six could handle hundreds of invitations, to be forwarded to other Missourians in various parts of Alaska—and Judge Williams insists that all of them are Missourians still, toiling to amass a fortune that they may return to Missouri and live in comfort on the fruits of their long, hard exile from home.

"From such a home coming we should learn how important Missouri is in the upbuilding of America."

## The Missouri Spirit Epitomized.

Illustrating the "pioneer spirit of the Missourian," and the ground for Missouri's title of "Founder of States," Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, in 1917, massed these interesting facts:

"Under the Austins of Potosi, Missourians fought for Texas independence, and later made homes in the Lone Star state by tens of thousands. Settlers of the coast from Puget Sound to San Diego harbor, Missourians first opened the inland gates of the Pacific to the flow of American immigration. Under Doniphan and his 'One Thousand Missourians' they added the Southwest to the nation's domain, and later sent the 'left wing' of their beloved General 'Pap' Price's army to found Montana and Idaho. They gave Wisconsin, New Mexico, Colorado and California their first governors; Arizona her last; and Idaho, Utah and the Philippine Islands their present. Builders of the nation and founders of states have Missourians ever been. Later Missouri's territorial governors were the two famed leaders of the greatest exploring expedition in our annals,—Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The discoverer of Yellowstone park was a native Missourian,—John Colter. And the father of the Santa Fe Trail was another,—William Becknell. The famous expeditions of Pike, in 1805 and 1806, of Long in 1819 and 1822, each started from St. Louis where they engaged their guards, hunters and interpreters. In 1842, Fremont commenced the exploration of the West from Kansas City, which rendered him famous and the country an open book. The Missouri Fur Trade company of St. Louis explored the country from the Arkansas to the Yellowstone and brought before the nation such men of enterprise as Robert Campbell, Pierre Chouteau, Sarpy, Fitzpatrick, Lisa and others. Jim Bridger, Jo Walker, Kit Carson, William Gilpin, Jesse Applegate and a host of scouts and pathfinders were all Missourians. The Bonneville

expedition which, from 1832 to 1835 explored Wyoming, Idaho, Utah and Oregon, was composed of Missourians.

"In war, as in peace, Missouri has more than played her part. In Indian decades she defended her borders without help from others. She sent her sons under Gentry to subdue the Seminoles in Florida; under Dodge to conquer Black Hawk in Illinois and Wisconsin; and under Nathan Boone and others to struggle with the western tribes for half a century. She furnished the 'Xenophon of the Mexican war,' Alexander W. Doniphan, who triumphed in New Mexico, Durango and Chihuahua in '46 and '47; and seven decades later gave a Pershing to the nation to repeat and enlarge these exploits. The man who was first to plant the American flag on Cuban soil in our war with Spain was a Missourian,—Arthur Lee Willard, of Kirksville. Alone among the states, she sent 109,000 strong to wear the blue and 50,000 to don the gray."

**Missourians in Science, Art and Education.**

Graduates of Missouri's technical schools have given good account of themselves in many fields. A Missouri School of Mines man, W. S. Thomas, developed the commercial possibility of coking Montana coal. Before that demonstration, coke for Montana smelters had been shipped across the continent from Connellsville, in Pennsylvania. In the Utah reduction industry, another Rolla man, D. C. Jackling, proved, in spite of adverse opinions of experts of high repute, that ores carrying only from one to one and one-half per cent of metallic copper could be handled in large volume with profit. A third student of this same Missouri institution, R. H. Hanley, found the way to extract zinc by electrolytic process from ores carrying copper and silver. The spelter thus removed paid for the process, leaving the ores worth their full value in the other two metals. Before this discovery, a mine owner having zinc in the same ore with the other metals had to suffer a reduction in value because of the presence of the zinc. A Rolla man went to Peru and made the historic Cerro de Pasco mines profitable after they had been running for a long period at a loss.

Some years ago, President Robert S. Brookings, summarizing the impression which Washington university has made through its graduates who have gone beyond the borders of Missouri, recalled these:

"Who is the most prominent civil engineer in the country? Some would probably say George Pegram, chief engineer of the New York subway and Brooklyn tunnel. Others, appreciating the skill of the bridge builder, would say Charles W. Bryan, chief engineer and manager of the American Bridge Company, which is the bridge department of the great steel corporation that is building bridges all over the world. Both of them are Washington University graduates, as is also F. C. McMath, president and chief engineer of the Canadian Bridge company, and William L. Breckenridge, chief engineer of the Burlington Railway system.

"Those who read The New York Evening Post and The Nation are utterly ignorant of the fact that Paul Elmer More, literary editor of both these papers, is a Washington University graduate, as is Surgeon General Walter Wyman, of the United States Hospital Marine Service, and Samuel T. Armstrong, president New York Academy of Medicine, author, and superintendent of Bellevue and allied hospitals.

"Go to the great mining camps of Colorado, and ask who is the most eminent mining engineer in that state. Some will probably say Regis Chauvenet, former president of the Colorado School of Mines. Others may say Seely Mudd, but it makes no difference to us, as they are both Washington University men. When John Hayes Hammond, acknowledged the most eminent living mining engineer, was leaving South Africa as a result of his connection with the famous Jamison raid, he was asked by the owners of the vast properties

he had been managing to name the most capable man he knew as his successor. He named, and was succeeded by Pope Yeatman, a Washington University graduate.

"What has she done for that noblest of all causes—education, Rochester Ford, late president of the University of Arizona; Regis Chauvenet, former president of the Colorado School of Mines; William G. Raymond, dean of the engineering department of the Iowa State University; Doctor G. V. Black, dean of the Northwestern Dental School, at Chicago, probably the highest dental authority in the world; Professor McMillan, dean of the Western Dental College of Kansas City; Professor Miller, dean of the North Pacific Dental School of Portland, Oregon, and a long list of eminent professors, is the record of the university's contribution to education."

The Missouri Society in New York City made one of its annual dinners memorable with an exhibit of pictures by Missouri artists then resident in the East. The exhibit included pictures by seventeen men and women born in Missouri. Carroll Beckwith's "Sappho" had a place overlooking Frederick L. Stoddard's "Missouri Cornfield." Paul Cornoyer, who began his artistic career on a St. Louis newspaper, revealed to New Yorkers "Madison Square" from several points of view and in various kinds of weather. William Chase had five pictures in the collection. "Under an Arch of Brooklyn Bridge" was by Louis F. Berneker. Landscapes by Georgia Timken Frus and portraits by H. Stanley Todd were shown. Other artists, originally from Missouri, who were represented by canvases, were Alice Beach Winter, Frank E. Gates, Ryan Walker, Agnes Richmond, Frederick Mulhaupt, Alice E. Job, John H. Fry and William H. Howe.

**From Country Store Clerk to United States Senator.**

Rollin J. Britton's "Missourians in Review" recalls these among other instances of the rise of "The Missourian Abroad":

"In 1849, a clerk in Stolling's store in Gallatin resigned to go to the gold fields in California, and declared, as he bade his friends good bye, that he would never return unless he came back as a congressman. Everyone laughed at Jim Farley's joke. Little did they suspect that he was to become one of the great lawyers of the coast, and that he would dominate the politics of California, and direct its democratic legislation for years. But the old timers, resident in Gallatin in 1884, gladly welcomed a visitor in the person of United States Senator James T. Farley, of California.

"It was in 1879 that a young countryman left Daviess county to make his way in the world. He became a lawyer at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1885; a member of the Kansas senate in 1889; a Member of Congress in 1895 and again in 1899; and then he went to the United States Senate and became one of the greatest senators Kansas ever had. His name is Chester I. Long.

"I think it was in 1892 that a young man, who had spent some years in contract with The Gallatin Democrat and The North Missourian, wandered away to Kansas City and we soon heard of him as city editor of The World. Then we heard of him being in California and now we know that his brain is the force that directs the policy of two great daily papers, The Express and The Tribune, in Los Angeles, and that Harley W. Brundidge is one of the potent factors in western journalism.

"In 1809, the parents of Kit Carson, when that worthy was one year old, came from Kentucky and settled in the wilderness of Upper Louisiana, in what is now Howard county, Missouri. And there Kit lived till in his teens he wandered away down that mysterious trail that led to Santa Fe and the mountain fastnesses beyond, where he is to live forever in the history of the beaver streams, of Indian story, of mountain exploration, of the conquest of California, a brigadier general to the end, and ever the ideal heroic character of the border land of civilization.

"In 1907, Cliff M. Harrison, Homer Feurt and Oscar Fitterer went into the Phoenix

national bank in New York City to buy exchange for use in Europe. While they were talking to a teller, a door in a private office opened and a gentleman listened to their conversation for a moment and then called the three into his room. He wanted to know about Unionville and Putnam county and the blue grass hills of North Missouri, where his life, up into young manhood, had been spent. He was Finis E. Marshall, president of the Phoenix National bank.

"The other day the Mercantile Stores Corporation was formed in the City of New York, a reorganization of all of the Claflin interests, making it, perhaps, the greatest mercantile corporation in the world, commanding a business of $60,000,000 per year; and those great bankers and business men who brought about its incorporation sent all the way to Missouri, and invited Alexander New, a Kansas City corporation lawyer, to become its president.

**Dr. Wainwright's Work in Japan.**

A Missouri country doctor became an oriental scholar of world-wide fame. After graduation from the Missouri Medical college and practicing in Pierce City, Dr. S. H. Wainwright was sent by the board of foreign missions of the Methodist church South to Japan. He became executive secretary of the Christian Literary Society of that country and devoted years to the study of Japanese classical literature. He found that the country was being flooded with translations of "unwholesome European writings. The modern revolt headed by Tolstoi and Ibsen, Nietsche and Zola, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw is reechoed in Japanese literature and fostered by these men whose works have been translated." To meet "the new form of paganism," this Missourian, a doctor of divinity by the action of Central College at Fayette, undertook the wide dissemination of Christian literature translated into Japanese. In one year the society, of which he was the inspiring official, distributed two million pages of Christian literature in Japan and the next year doubled this. The literature thus translated is philosophical, historical and critical in character, of the kind intended to reach the intellectual class of Japanese.

**The Vroomans.**

From Macon county, Missouri, a father and seven sons went out to reform the world. They were the Vroomans, highly educated, fine speakers, and full of advanced theories. They went to Kansas and were in the thick of the movement which swept Populism into control of that state. They went to Maryland and toured that state by wagon in a fight to overthrow Gorman, although they had been Missouri democrats. They were in the fight to secure small parks in tenement districts of eastern cities. As the ardor of youth passed, the Vroomans became less radical, with the exception of Walter Vrooman, who entered the ministry and went to Oxford, England, to establish Ruskin Hall school of economics for labor leaders.

**"The Lexington Group."**

In 1859 a Missourian traveled to Boston in order that he might be present at the celebration on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns This Missourian was a member of what is known in Missouri history as "the Lexington Group." The collective name was given to several young men, all

"Kentucky cousins," who came out to find fortune or fame in Missouri. One of them was Montgomery Blair, who practiced law in St. Louis for some years, and became postmaster general in Lincoln's Cabinet. Another was Francis P. Blair, who kept Missouri in the Union. A third was B. Gratz Brown, editor, United States senator, head of the liberal republican movement, governor of Missouri, nominee for Vice-President with Horace Greeley in 1872. A fourth was General Joseph O. Shelby, who refused a commission with the Union army, and became one of the most famous cavalry leaders with the Confederacy. And a fifth member of the group was Henry Howard Gratz, progenitor of a widely known Missouri family who founded the first railroad town west of the Mississippi,—Kirkwood. All of these five men were "cousins" of varying degrees, through pioneer families of Kentucky. Shelby and Gratz went into the hemp raising and rope making business in Lafayette county. Both of them were intense sympathizers with states rights in the matter of slavery, and quite naturally, for slavery was vital to the then important hemp industry of Missouri.

Henry Howard Gratz was the Missourian who traveled to Boston, where he had never been before, to attend the Burns dinner in 1859. He came well by his literary tastes. His mother was a near relative of Miss Rebecca Gratz of Philadelphia, a woman of fine culture, distinguished for her interest in and judgment on the literature of that day, the friend and adviser of Washington Irving. The latter was a frequent visitor at the home of Rebecca Gratz and admired her greatly. When he went abroad, Irving spent some time with Walter Scott. In his conversations he told Scott much about Rebecca Gratz, her character and her unusual talents. Scott took Rebecca Gratz as the prototype of "Rebecca," the heroine in "Ivanhoe."

With her relatives in Kentucky, Rebecca Gratz carried on correspondence, sending the best books that came out in that period. Henry Howard Gratz, in the narrative of his trip to Boston written many years afterward, said that he had "acquired a great admiration for Thomas Carlyle, when a young man, being infatuated with Sartor Resartus, which was sent, on its first publication in this country about 1836, by Miss Rebecca Gratz, of Philadelphia, to my mother, who was a reading woman. This book was laid away in my father's house for several years, a mystery to all and without a reader so far as I know, until I got hold of it down in Woodford, where it had drifted with other books. During some cold gloomy weather I got hold of it and, on the first perusal, I thought I saw something in it, and read it a second time with real pleasure and wonder.

"I became greatly interested in the author as well as in this and other of his works and read everything I could get hold of in regard to him. I came across Gilfillan's 'Literary Characters,' in which was a sketch of his young friend and admirer, Ralph Waldo Emerson, of Massachusetts, of whom I had never heard before. I got some of his books and read them with interest."

**A Missourian in Boston.**

A few years ago William Vincent Byars edited "The Gratz Papers," one of the most interesting books privately printed in Missouri. Among the personal correspondence and documents showing the activities of the Gratz family through several generations and the important relations sustained by the family to the

history of Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Missouri, Mr. Byars discovered the narrative of the visit of Henry Howard Gratz to Boston. Mr. Gratz read this narrative before a local club of women in Kentucky.

"In 1859, I saw that the centennial anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns was to be celebrated by a grand dinner in Boston. I determined to go, and I did.

"I did not know anyone in that city, never having been there before. I took a Long Island Sound boat in New York and arrived there to breakfast, the day the dinner was to be given, and went to the hotel where the festival was to be held, and, after registering, asked the clerk for a ticket to the Burns dinner. He told me that they were all sold. I then asked him the name and address of the secretary of the Burns Society, which he wrote out very legibly on a card.

"After breakfast I got a carriage and called on Mr. Tweedy, the secretary, at his place of business, and inquired of a neat and very pretty Yankee girl for that gentleman. She said Mr. Tweedy was at his country seat but would be in by nine o'clock.

"As it was not long, I asked permission to wait in the store till he came, which was politely granted. Mr. Tweedy was a manufacturer of hair ornaments and I took great interest in the work as it was shown me by the pretty girl. After a short time Mr. Tweedy drove up in his handsome coupe, walked into the store and saluted me most courteously. He was about five feet high and four feet broad, with gold spectacles and high forehead.

"When I told him of my mission he told me that all the tickets were sold. Not to be balked, I towered up above Mr. Tweedy with 'Border Ruffian' beard and towering form, struck an attitude and said threateningly: 'Mr. Tweedy, I live upon the sunset side of the father of waters, and have come 1,500 miles to attend this festival, and you must forge me a ticket.' 'Certainly,' said Mr. Tweedy, 'Come back to my desk.' He filled out the ticket in due form and modestly said the price was six dollars.

"I nearly fainted, for six dollars in those days was a considerable sum of money, and as the cost of a dinner, was unheard of in my experience. But those sweet Yankee girls were looking on; so I promptly paid the money and betook myself to my carriage and stuck to it all day, as every square in Boston is a street and every street crooked. Late in the afternoon I went back to the hotel to prepare for the dinner. I went into a barber shop and told the barber to cut out the best Boston face he could and to make me look like a Milk street snob. This he did, and I was a sight to behold. I went down in the parlor where the guests were assembling. Not knowing anybody, I sidled up to a benevolent old gentleman who told me his name was Thayer and that he lived in Boston.

**The Missourian at the Burns Centennial.**

"I told him of my purpose in coming to the dinner and I would thank him to point out the celebrities, which he did. When dinner was announced, I took Mr. Thayer's arm and we walked into the dining-room, where some twelve hundred gentlemen were assembling.

"We got seats low down at one of the tables and, after waiting an unconscionable time, a Scotch waiter (everything was Scotch) brought us some soup,—very little in the plates.

"Remember, I was hungry and having paid six dollars for the dinner, I did not want to destroy my appetite by taking a lunch; so I said to the waiter: 'Bring me a good dinner,'—I gave him a quarter,—'and I will give you another when we are abundantly served.' He danced up and down the tables and, I will venture to say, we had the best dinner of anyone at the table.

"After eating as much as several men ought to have eaten, I told our amiable waiter that if he would get me a seat up the table near the invited guests, I would give him half a dollar. He said 'certainly,' and told me to follow him.

"He went up to the table and tapped a gentleman on the shoulder saying to him, 'this is an invited guest.' Up jumped the gentleman and offered me his seat. Down I sat,

not forgetting to give the waiter the promised half dollar. I was placed opposite Mr. Emerson, the man I especially wanted to see, N. P. Willis and Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is needless to say I enjoyed the speeches, poems, etc., amazingly. During a lull in the programme I spoke across the table to Mr. Emerson and asked the pleasure of pledging him in a glass of wine to the health of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, to which he responded promptly, 'with pleasure. I will drink to the health of the greatest Scotchman of the century,' and we emptied our glasses of champagne to his hero and mine.

**The Missourian and Oliver Wendell Holmes.**

"During the dinner, I asked a reporter sitting next to me, if I could get the manuscripts of Mr. Emerson's essay and Doctor Holmes' poem. He said if I would come down to the Globe office after they had set them in type, I might have the manuscripts.

"About two o'clock in the morning, I got a waiter to guide me to the Globe office and climbed up five or six flights of stairs to the composing room. The foreman came forward. I told him the purpose of my visit. He turned around and, speaking in a loud voice, said: 'Dr. Holmes, here is a gentleman who wants the manuscript of your poem.' He replied: 'He can get it when I have corrected this proof.' I went up to the table where he was busy with the proof and found a small man reading by a candle,—it was before the day of gas and electricity. He asked me how to spell some words and I told him the best I knew. He said: 'That is the way it is spelled in the proof but I think it is wrong and I prefer to have it spelled the other way.' After he had done with his proof correction, I got the manuscripts and have them yet. I asked Dr. Holmes to sign his autograph to the poem. He took up his pen and wrote the first word and, when he came to Wendell, he stopped and said he was a cousin of that 'pestilent abolitionist, Wendell Phillips,' and spelled his name the same, and finished the autograph. We went downstairs together, and he asked me where I was stopping, and when we had walked together a square or two, he said that he lived in another direction.

"I then asked him how I should proceed. He named some streets which were all Greek to me. He saw my perplexity and said he would not deserve to be called a Christian if he abandoned a stranger in the streets of Boston at that time of night and that he would go to my hotel with me and take a carriage home. He refused to let me pay for the carriage and I considered it then and have ever since a real act of charity. It showed that the little man had a big heart in his breast.

"As we went along he told me that he had not been living in Boston a great while and, shortly after he had gotten settled there, his son, a lad of ten or twelve years of age, went to the theater one night and forgot the street and the number of their residence; he went up to a policeman and, telling him his difficulty, asked to be locked in the police station all night,—in the morning he thought he could find out where he lived. This, he said, was done and the boy got home as they were eating breakfast. I saw in a morning paper that Mr. Emerson was to lecture in Providence the next evening, and I took the afternoon train for that city.

**The Missourian and Ralph Waldo Emerson.**

"As good luck would have it Mr. Emerson took the same train, and occupied the same seat with me. Seeing the book in my hand, he asked me what it was. I told him the life of 'Arago.' He said he had read it. I told him they said at Field's—the bookseller's— that it was only put on sale that day.

"He replied, 'That may be true, but I live in Concord and we have a public library; by an arrangement with the publishers, we get the first bound copies of the books we order, and it is sometimes a year before they are furnished to the bookstores.'

"Then we had a long talk which led to Carlyle and he told me a number of interesting anecdotes about the great man, his wife and his residence in the country. He then said that I could find in his 'English Traits' a pleasing account of Carlyle. When I told him I had not read it, he said if I would give him my address he would send it to me. I told him that I could get it at the bookstores and declined his kind offer.

"The reason I did this was because I lived in Western Missouri and was a 'Border

Ruffian,' and the name of Gratz was not known to the public except through Gratz Brown, who was a flaming republican, and I did not want to be identified with his party.

"After we reached Providence, Mr. Emerson asked me what hotel I put up at, and I told him I had never been in Providence before and merely came to hear him lecture. He proposed that I should go with him to the City Hotel, to which I agreed. I got my supper and then went to the smoking room, for they would not let you smoke except in a certain room.

"While I was sitting with my feet on the table, thinking over my long talk with Emerson, he came in and said that he had been looking for me. He saw I was smoking and said he smoked himself and would I go to his room with him.

"We went and had some further pleasant talk. I asked him if there are any gentle, soft spoken women in New England, as my acquaintance with New England women was limited to one, and she talked loud and was not to my liking at all. He said he was invited to a supper after the lecture and if I would go with him, he would guarantee me a cordial reception and that I would see some of the lovliest women, the most scholarly cultivated men I ever saw. For his experience was that the brightest and most cultivated minds were not known to the public. This I declined, saying that I could not take advantage of our scraped acquaintance to impose on his friends.

"The truth was, I was afraid of getting beyond my depth and might show my ignorance and lack of higher culture they enjoyed. When the lecture committee called I bowed myself out, but not before Mr. Emerson said he wanted to see me when he got back from the supper.

"I went to the church where the lecture was to be given and could not get a seat. As I had been up nearly all night before, I went out just as Mr. Emerson and his friends drove up.

## The Missourian in the Pulpit.

"I told Mr. Emerson my difficulty and he said to one of the gentlemen of the committee that he wanted his 'friend' to have a seat. 'Certainly' said the gentlemen, 'follow me.' We went into the basement, began to climb a stair and, before I knew it, we were ushered into the pulpit, which was as large as an ordinary room, filled with chairs occupied by gentlemen. Mr. Emerson and his 'friend' were invited to take seats on a sofa just behind the pulpit desk, and there was I, who had never faced an audience in my life and have never since to this very hour.

"Mr. Emerson leaned over and pointed out a seat below us, and said I could not tell what he meant by sitting behind him. I declined to become more conspicuous and sat bolt upright.

"People all over the house were whispering, and I felt sure they were asking who Mr. Emerson's distinguished 'friend' was, and, as neither he nor any one in the audience knew me from a side of sole leather, I felt safe. I was a much younger man than I am today, and so began looking up and down the pews for pretty girls, about 4,000 women being present in full view. Some of them were fresh and very pretty, but most of them had spectacles on and were rather passe. What struck me as most novel was the fact that eight out of ten of these women had knitting in their hands and plied the needles unceasingly while Mr. Emerson spoke. I was so bothered that I could not enjoy the lecture, thinking about how to get out of the scrape I was in, for Mr. Emerson's friends would naturally expect to be introduced to his distinguished 'friend,' who occupied so conspicuous a seat at the lecture; but how could he introduce me when he was totally ignorant of my name or whence I came? It would be as embarrassing to him as to me. I hit upon a plan that worked to a charm. I made up my mind that as soon as Mr. Emerson was through speaking, I would slip down the steps from the pulpit and lose myself in the body of the audience. This I did, and did not see Mr. Emerson again until he returned from the supper, and then explained how I had relieved him and myself from the embarrassing position in which I was placed; at which he laughed heartily.

"In speaking of the lecture, I told him that it was so loaded with thought and references that no one could remember a tithe of what he said. He replied that he did not

expect his hearers to remember all that he said, but that a thought or allusion would cling to memory, here and there, and thus influence character, and make an impression.

"He told me that his life was a simple one; he worked on his farm and made a regular hand in the hayfield and that his health was better from the exercise acquired in this way; also that he could study to better advantage by this sort of interruption.

"I saw him next morning and we parted like bosom friends of very long acquaintance, and he had no more idea who I was, or where I came from than the man in the moon.

"The last shot Mr. Emerson had at me was through my Washington friend, Frank Blair, at whose house I had been staying, and to which I returned.

"Before I left for Boston, my friend urged me to put off my trip for a few days and go with him to Boston and he would introduce me to all the prominent men of New England, as he was going there to deliver a Free Soil Lecture. I did not want to be mixed up with such a crowd, as I was an intense 'Border Ruffian' and declined. After Frank Blair got back from Boston he said to me: 'You must be the blanked fool that Emerson was telling about meeting there the week before.' I neither confessed nor denied, but suspected that I was the man."

## CHAPTER XLVIII

## FAMILY LIFE AND CUSTOMS

*"Patient Servitors of Civilization"—Historic Families of a Century Ago—Madame Chouteau's Thousand Descendants—"The Loveliest Woman" in 1812—"Mimi" Little Pigeon—Benton's Debt to Home Influence—Social Customs of the Newcomers—House Raisings and Corn Huskings—"Chicken Pie" on the Fiddle—Van Bibber's "Contrary Stick"—Squaw or Wife, Question of Precedence—Patsy Millsap's Romance—Fashions and Food at the Dawn of Statehood—The Popular Linsey Woolsey—Happy Days for Cabin Brides—When Love Laughed at Language Differences—Rapid Courtships—The Good Natured Charivari—A Wedding Across the Creek—Report of a Society Event—The Missouri Lochinvar—Fleur-de-Lis at Sweet Springs—A Women Laid the Foundation of Fortunes—Mary Phelps' Rescue of Lyon's Body—Heroic Women of Civil War Times—Mary Ann Boyce Edgar and Margaret A. E. McLure—The Swamp Fox Outwitted—Lizzie Chambers Hull's "Missouri"—Daughters of the American Revolution—Missouri's Remembered Patriots—First Bride of Jackson County—A Woman and "The Thermopylae of The West"—How Sedalia was Saved—Coming of the Morrisons—Days of Theological Discussions—Caples and Lard at Brunswick—Elder Creath's "Jack"—A Baptism at Rocheport—Church Goers Encouraged to "Talk Back"—Elder Haley and the Colonel—The Family Burial Place.*

Neither song, nor story has ever done justice to the women of the frontier. Their industry, patience, fortitude and endurance have been so wonderful as only to be accounted for by the fact that they knew no better. Their manifestations of these qualities has often put to shame—or ought to have done so—the men associated with their lives. The great world knows little or nothing of the faithful sisterhood of pioneer women; but their obscure lives were often full of what in men would be called heroism; and we owe to them in a great degree the spread of empire westward, ever since the matrons and maids were first led into wilderness by Daniel Boone and his courageous comrades. There ought to be an obelisk erected—taller than any on earth—and dedicated to the pioneer women of America, who ever since the landing of the Mayflower, have been the patient and slightly rewarded servitors of civilization.—*From Richard Smith Elliott's "Notes."*

A romance of the decade, 1820-30, coming down to the present through family traditions, links the names of two of the famous Coalter sisters with two St. Louisans who became eminent. There were five of the Coalter sisters. The family was among the best of South Carolina. Three of the sisters married South Carolinians, William C. Preston, Chancellor Harper and Dr. M. Means. Edward Bates, the young St. Louis lawyer, courted Caroline J. Coalter. He was rejected, but so gently that the friendship between them continued. One of Edward Bates' strong characteristics was the ability to inspire confidence in himself. Miss Coalter was induced to admit to her suitor that her preference was for Hamilton Rowan Gamble, the young Virginia lawyer who had come out to join his elder brother Archibald. Miss Coalter explained that she could never marry Hamilton because of his habits. Edward Bates, so the tradition runs, went to Gamble, told him what he was losing and induced him to sign the pledge. Gamble kept the pledge. He became exemplary in his habits. In 1827 Ham-

ilton Gamble and Caroline Coalter were married. But before that, Edward Bates had married Julia D. Coalter, the sister of Caroline. A third of a century later these two men, of Virginia descent, with South Carolina wives, became leading characters in the opposition to secession of Missouri. Bates went into Lincoln's cabinet and Gamble became the war governor who organized Missouri for loyalty to the Union.

**The Eastons.**

The seven daughters of Rufus Easton, the first postmaster of St. Louis, formed one of the most notable groups of young women during the years when St. Louis was passing through the transitions of village, town and city. The mother of the Easton girls was a New York lady of culture. As they grew up, the girls received the very best educational advantages which could be given them. Their hands were sought in marriage by some of the foremost young men of that generation. One of the sisters married Henry S. Geyer, the lawyer; another, Archibald Gamble, brother of the governor; a third, Major Sibley, with whom she founded Lindenwood at St. Charles. Another of the Easton sisters became the wife of Thomas L. Anderson of Palmyra.

"Mimi" was a pet name for girls in the old French families a century ago. It was Indian and meant little pigeon. "Virginia" was a favorite name for daughters among the French families. The suggestion did not come from the Old Dominion state. Baby girls were christened Virginia because the mothers had read, tearfully, the story of Paul and Virginia. Bernardine de Saint Pierre's novel came out in 1797. It circulated all over the world and reached St. Louis. The romance made the first literary impression on the village. It prompted the use of the name of the heroine many times.

Commingling of the elements of the population of St. Louis came promptly. There was no line of exclusion in business or matrimony. The evolution of the typical St. Louisan was rapid. Of the more than one thousand descendants of Madame Chouteau, the mother of St. Louis, not two hundred have borne French names. In the present generation these descendants are represented in families of six former nationalities.

**The Loveliest Woman of St. Louis.**

The loveliest woman of St. Louis in 1812 was Isabelle Gratiot, granddaughter of Madame Chouteau. She had beauty of feature and charm of manner. The social event of that year was the marriage of Isabelle Gratiot and Jules DeMun, one of the best educated young men of the town, for St. Louis had not then become a city. Jules DeMun had lived in France and England. He had enjoyed the best of educational advantages. He spoke and wrote Spanish. His manners were gentle and retiring. The union was ideal. There were five daughters. Isabelle, the namesake of her mother, became the wife of Edward Walsh and their first-born was Julius S. Walsh. Julie DeMun married Antoine Leon Chenie. Louise was Mrs. Robert A. Barnes. Emilie became the wife of Charles Bland Smith. Walsh was from Ireland. Barnes was a native of the District of Columbia, descended from a Maryland family. Smith was a native of St. Louis, of Virginia and Kentucky descent. Only one of these four great-granddaughters married

Mrs. Mary F. Scanlan
(Miss Mary F. Christy)

Mrs. Caroline O'Fallon
(Miss Caroline Schutz)

Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure
(Miss Margaret A. E. Parkinson)

Mrs. Virginie S. Peugnet
(Miss Virginie Sarpy)

Mrs. Mary Ann Edgar
(Miss Mary Ann Boyce)

TYPES OF MISSOURI WOMANHOOD

into a French family. In his will Robert A. Barnes, who left a great estate to found a hospital, referred to Mrs. Barnes as "my beloved wife, the most devoted daughter, wife and mother I ever knew."

**A Mother of Senators.**

To a Missouri woman was given the honor of having two sons and a grandson in the United States Senate. Anne Hunter, when only fifteen years of age, carried provisions to forts in Kentucky when the surrounding country was infested with hostile Indians. There was much suffering among the settlers who had taken refuge in the forts. This young girl carried food to them. She was married twice, first to Israel Dodge of Louisville and second to Asahel Linn. By the first marriage she was the mother of Henry Dodge, who became governor of Wisconsin territory, a delegate to Congress and afterward a United States senator. Lewis Fields Linn was born at Louisville on the second of March. He was a senator from Missouri. A son of Henry Dodge was Augustus C. Dodge, who also became a United States senator.

Organized charity in St. Louis began in 1824. It was the result of a movement by the foremost women of the city. The first meeting was held at the residence of the governor, Alexander McNair. Mrs. George F. Strother was chosen president of the Female Charitable Society, as it was named, and Mrs. McNair was made the first vice-president.

**The Mother and Wife of Benton.**

In his autobiography Benton wrote of his indebtedness to his mother, referring, as was his custom, to himself in the third person:

"He lost his father before he was eight years of age and fell under the care of a mother still young and charged with a numerous family, all of tender age, and devoted herself to them.

"She was a woman of reading and observation—solid reading and observation of the men of the Revolution brought together by course of hospitality of that time, in which the houses of friends and not taverns were the universal stopping places.

"Thomas was the eldest son, and at the age of ten and twelve was reading solid books with his mother and studying the great examples of history and receiving encouragement to emulate these examples.

"His father's library, among others, contained the famous state trials in the large folios of that time, and here he got a foundation of British history in reading the treason and other trials with which these volumes abound. She was also a pious and religious woman, cultivating the moral and religious education of her children and connected all her life with the Christian church, first as a member of the English Episcopalian, and upon removal to the Great West—then in the wilderness—then in the Methodist Episcopalian, in which she died. All the minor virtues, as well as the greater, were cherished by her, and her house, the resort of the eminent men of the time, was the abode of temperance, modesty, and decorum. A pack of cards was never seen in her house.

"From such a mother all the children received the impress of character, and she lived to see the fruits of her pious and liberal cares—living a widow above fifty years—and to see her eldest son half through his senatorial career and taking his place among the historic men of the country, for which she had begun so early to train him. These details deserve to be noted, though small in themselves, as showing how much the after life of the man may depend upon the early cares and guidance of a mother."

The wife of Thomas H. Benton was Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel James McDowell, Rockbridge County, Va. Of her Benton wrote in his autobiography:

"She was a woman of singular merit, judgment, elevation of character, and regard for every social duty, crowned by a lifelong connection with the church in which she was bred—the Presbyterian Old School. Mrs. Benton died in 1854, having been struck with paralysis in 1844, and from that time her husband was never known to go to any place of festivity or amusement."

Blair, at the dedication of the Benton statue in Lafayette park, spoke of Benton's home life: "I trust that I may not be thought to tread upon ground too holy in alluding to the gentle care, the touching solicitude, with which he guarded the last feeble pulses of life in her who was the pride and glory of his young ambition, the sweet ornament of his mature fame, and best love of his ripened age."

**House Raisings and Corn Huskings.**

Of the social customs of interior Missouri, the most graphic and detailed description was given in a newspaper article by Dr. Walter Williams of Columbia some years ago:

"Missourians were separated from their neighbors often by miles. There were no churches in many sections to call them together, no regular services outside of the few towns. Hence it was that with much cheerfulness these pioneer Missourians accepted invitations to house-raisings, log-rollings and corn-huskings. To be present at these occasional gatherings it was considered no hardship to go long distances. It was the custom when men were invited to one of the gatherings just mentioned to include notice to the women folks that at the same time a quilting bee would take place. The bread provided for these frolics was baked generally on 'johnnycake' or 'journeycake' boards and in the words of one oldtimer, 'was the best corn bread ever made.' A smooth board two feet long, eight inches wide and rounded at the ends was the standard 'johnnycake' baking utensil. The mixed meal was spread out on this board which was placed in a leaning position in front of the fireplace. One side was baked and then the cake was turned on the board. The baking was a slow process, the board being kept before the fire until the meal was thoroughly cooked. At log-rollings and house-raisings it was the custom to furnish liquor.

"The Missouri farmer did not husk the corn on the stalk. The ears were snapped in the husk and hauled home and thrown in a heap by the side of the crib, so that the ears when husked could be thrown into the crib. The neighbors for a considerable distance, men and women, were invited to the 'husking,' as it was called. Married and unmarried women and men engaged in the shucking bees. Two expert huskers were selected as captains, and the heap of corn divided as nearly equal as possible. Rails were laid across the pile to designate the division. Each captain chose alternately his huskers, men and women. The contest between the two parties to see which could finish first shucking often became exciting. Whenever a man husked a red ear of corn he was entitled to a kiss from any one of the girls. This frequently excited much fuss and scuffle, which was intended by both parties to end in a kiss. It is said to have been a general practice that whiskey was used at these husking frolics, men and women drinking together out of a bottle, without glass or cup. The dance followed the completion of the husking. Jigs and four-handed reels and three-handed reels were usually engaged in. Seldom was there drunkenness. No sitting down was indulged in. Every one stood up or danced."

The champion fiddler of Audrain county was Douglass Murray. He could play "Chicken Pie" in a manner to bring all to their feet:

"Chicken pie, pepper, oh!
Are good for the ladies, oh!"

A second favorite with the champion was "Buffalo Gals."

**Van Bibber's "Contrary Stick."**

When Major George W. Burt, a veteran of the War of 1812, went to Major Isaac Van Bibber and asked for the hand of his daughter, Eretta, great granddaughter of Daniel Boone, the major said he could have her if he wanted her but she was a "contrary stick" and, if he took her, he, the major, didn't want her sent back on his hands. Major Burt took the "contrary stick" and between them they became among the most prosperous people of Callaway.

Descendants of Dennis Driskall preserved the tradition that their ancestor once bought a yoke of oxen and a lot of bacon in St. Charles county. He drove the oxen home sixty miles with the bacon fastened around their necks by strips of hickory bark. One morning, while abed, Dennis heard the oxen jump out of the lot and start in the direction of their former home. He followed, not stopping to dress. In shirt and drawers and without hat or boots, Dennis went all of the way and came back with the oxen, a journey of 120 miles in twenty-four hours, barefoot and clad only in underclothing.

When Boone Hays raised his first cabin in Callaway he found he had not quite enough logs and went into the forest to get others. A tree fell on him and broke his leg. As he fell fainting, John P. Martin caught him and fell with him. A man nearby, who didn't know that Hays had been hurt, called out, "Are you two drunk again?" When Hays was picked up and his leg put in splinters he took his seat on a stump and directed the completion of the cabin.

**Mary Ring's Strenuous Courtship.**

The hermit of what is now Audrain county was Robert Littleby, an Englishman, who, tradition says, was the first settler. He lived on a branch of Salt river, to which was given the name of Littleby creek. The hermit had nothing to do with newcomers. He hunted and trapped and took his pelts to St. Charles. When the region around about him began to be occupied, the hermit took his dogs and moved away to the Platte river. After the English recluse came Benjamin Young, who had an Indian wife. A courtship began between Young and a white woman, Mary Ring. The white woman was willing to take the place of the squaw, but Young didn't know how to get rid of the Indian. He, at length, proposed to the white woman that if she would whip the squaw, he would send the latter away and marry Mary. The white woman agreed, and was successful. She became Young's wife. The Youngs became prominent in Audrain. Benton stopped with them on his early campaigns and when he went back to Washington he sent Young public documents which the pioneer exhibited with much pride. Mrs. Young, tradition says, was as good a hunter as her husband and often went on trips with him, camping in the woods. She was especially successful in locating bee trees. A son was born to the Youngs and was named Thomas H. Benton Young. When a small lad, he went with his mother on one of her trips, saw a straight grapevine which he thought would make a good clothesline. He climbed the vine about twenty feet and proceeded to hack it off above his head. The fall he received injured him for life. The Youngs had a daughter whose marriage was made a great event in the neighborhood. Wheat was ground in a handmill and bolted through Mrs. Young's muslin cap. Mr. Young, after outliving the dangers of the pioneer days of Audrain, was killed by a bull. Mrs. Young superin-

tended the preparation of the coffin. She told Rev. Asaph Hubbard, who was working on the coffin, to make it plenty large, as the old man never did like to be crowded.

**The Romance of Patsey Millsap.**

This story of a romance and wedding one hundred years ago in Howard county was told by Calvin Smith, who was a boy at the time,—1818,—living on the road from Franklin to what is now the Athens of Missouri,—Columbia.

"One day in July there came along a party of five or six men, each leading a horse with a packsaddle on, containing camp equipage and clothing. On top of these were a number of children. There were five or six women walking behind, some of them barefooted. The company stopped at our house for a drink from the spring. After refreshing themselves, they lay on the grass for a rest, it being the heat of the day. We found out their destination was about fifteen miles further on to the mouth of the Chariton river.

"One of the ladies of the party was sick and my mother agreed that she could remain at our house for a rest. So she went to one of the saddles and pulled out her clothing. Her name was Patsey Millsap. She was not related to any of the party but had joined them in Tennessee. She was about twenty-two. Next day she was better, and asked mother for work and to remain at our house. Mother said we were only newcomers and that we had only one room for the five or six children and father and mother. A few days after this a Mrs. Groom, a neighbor, called to take tea with mother, and asked if she knew of any one that wanted work. She said her daughter had just been married and they were opening a large farm.

"Mother at once introduced her to Patsey Millsap. She was asked if she would take the position and she said 'yes.' Then the question of wages came up. Mrs. Groom said she could pay twenty-five cents a week, and although this was very cheap, Patsey agreed to take it as she had no home. The two started off for the Groom farm. The first day's work was washing. As the wash was behind three weeks, it took a week to catch up. The Groom family was a large one.

"Patsey worked for a month or more when a young man of twenty-four came along the big road. He was from Kentucky. His name was Richard Chaney. He stopped at the spring for a drink, and, looking up, saw many tall, straight white oak trees and, as they struck his fancy, he made up his mind to camp at this place which was called Smith's White Oak Ridge. He went to a mill, got some meal, wet it up in some green hickory leaves and in an hour or two his 'pone' was done. This we called ash pone. After his simple meal he went to work with his ax, cut down a four-foot white oak. Then with his ax and edge, he made four-foot clap boards which he carried to the big road where all immigrants passed.

"He found plenty of customers for his boards, there being no trouble to get logs, but planks and shingles were scarce. Dick soon filled his pockets with silver and thought he would get some meat, getting tired of 'pone.' So he went to Daddie Groom's place for some bacon. He saw Patsey on his first visit and it was a case of love at first sight. A few days later a match was made and Patsey told Mother Groom she was going to marry Dick. Daddie called Patsey to one side and said, 'I understand you and Dick are going to get married.' Patsey said, 'We so contemplate to do.'

"'Well,' said Daddie Groom, 'Dick is no account and you will starve.'

"'We can live on love,' said Patsey.

"'Well, go ahead,' said Daddie Groom.

"They were married and moved into a vacant schoolhouse. They bored a hole in one of the logs, had one leg of the bed in the middle of the room, laid boards on the rails and covered them with leaves. This with a quilt given by Mrs. Groom made their bed. Mrs. Groom also gave them a skillet to make pone in and fry meat. A few weeks later Patsey went to Groom's house to buy some bacon. Daddie Groom said, 'I thought you told me you could live on love?' 'So I did,' said Patsey, 'but a little bacon will help out

so very much.' Mr. Groom laughed and gave her a huge side of bacon and when she offered to pay for it, told her it would be a wedding present. Patsey wrapped her apron around the middle of the bacon, propped it on her head and started for home. The last I heard of them they had eight or ten children and all were prosperous and happy."

**Clothes and Cooking.**

There were fashions in dress and customs of cooking in the early years of statehood. Dr. Walter Williams, the best authority on all lines of Missouri history, says:

"The dress of the fashionable pioneer woman was usually made plain, with four widths in the skirt and the two front ones cut gored. The waist was made short and across the shoulders behind was a draw string. Enormous sleeves were worn, tapering from shoulder to wrist, sometimes so padded as to resemble a bolster at the upper part, and known as 'mutton-leg' or 'sheep-shank' sleeves. Heavily starched linings often kept the sleeves in shape, or feathers were used which gave the sleeves the appearance of inflated balloons from the elbow up. Many bows and ribbons were worn, but scarcely any jewelry. Often in summer weather, when going to church and other public assemblage, the women walked barefooted until near their destination, when they put on their shoes or moccasins. Many pioneer women never saw the interior of a dry-goods store.

"The food of the Missouri pioneer was largely wild meat and vegetables from the home gardens. Small crops of corn were raised and beaten in a mortar into a meal. A course but wholesome bread was made from this meal, full of grit. Mush and milk was an ordinary dish for supper, while corn pone was served at dinner. Greens, dock and poke, were eaten. The vegetables from the truck patch or garden were ordinary roasting ears, pumpkins, beans, potatoes and squashes. Tea and coffee were rare and were regarded as chiefly designed for women and children. Eggs sold in those days at three cents a dozen, honey and butter at five cents a pound.

"The pioneer Missouri women manufactured most of the clothing worn by the family. Their own gowns were usually of 'linsey woolsey.' The chain was of cotton and the filling of wool. The fabric was usually plaid or striped and in colors according to the maker's taste. The colors most often found were blue, copperas, turkey red, and light blue. In every cabin was a card loom and spinning wheel, regarded as necessary for the women as the rifle was for the men. Cotton was grown abundantly in Central Missouri and woven into cloth. Rolls were spun on little and big wheels into two kinds of thread, one the chain and the other the filling. Only the more experienced spinners spun the chain and the younger ones spun the filling. Two varieties of looms were used by the pioneer Missouri women. The frame of the side loom consisted of two pieces of scantling running obliquely from the cabin floor to the cabin wall. Some years afterward the frame loom, a decided improvement, came into use.

"Men and boys wore linsey woolsey' hunting shirts. The jeans were ordinarily colored either light blue or butternut. Sometimes the dressed skin of the deer was made into pantaloons. When a young man desired to look especially captivating in the eyes of the maiden whom he loved, he wore fringed deerskin trousers. Caps were made of the skins of the fox and wolf, wildcat and muskrat, tanned with the fur on. Both women and men wore moccasins, which in dry weather were excellent substitutes for shoes. In those days there were no shoemakers, each family making its own shoes."

**Happiness in the Cabin.**

The first couple married in Grundy county were Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis Woods. Mrs. Woods told the story of that wedding forty-three years afterwards. She said that they did not have even a cabin at that time. They rode away through the woods after the ceremony six miles and began life under some slabs leaned against a white oak tree and held in place by heavy logs. The floor was the bare

ground. The kitchen outfit consisted of an iron bake-pan used for making the pone corn bread and occasionally for biscuit. Then there was a skillet, a gourd and a couple of tin cups. Mrs. Woods jumped from her horse and took possession of this new home, "just as happy as she could be," she said. In six weeks the couple moved into a whole cabin.

Joseph H. Rage described the celebration of the first marriage in Long Grove Settlement, Lafayette county. The contracting parties were William Johnson and Peggy Ennis of Long Grove Settlement. After the ceremony by Duke Young, the Missouri custom of "running for the bottle" took place. The prize was a bottle of whiskey with a red ribbon tied to it. This was called "Black Betty." "The contestants would start on horseback from the house where the 'infair' was to be held and run to meet the bride and groom. The one who first met them was declared the winner, and had the pleasure of presenting 'Black Betty' to the parson, who took the first drink, then to the bride, then to the groom, etc. All drank from the same bottle. Whole settlements came without invitation and all were made welcome, and had a merry time, usually terminating the proceedings with a dance."

When Uncle Dick Marshall's daughter was married, the parents did the right thing by her and gave her an outfit which was the envy of all the prospective brides at the wedding. But Uncle Dick's blessing was, at the same time, a warning against extravagance on the part of the young people.

"Now Linda," he said, "you hear! Don't let your face be seen in a store for six years! You understand?"

George Collier and Fritze Morrison were married at St. Charles by Judge Benjamin Emmons. After the legal ceremony, Mrs. Morrison suggested a church service. The bridegroom demurred. He said he was married well enough to suit him. If Mrs. Morrison wasn't satisfied and wanted her daughter back, she could take her. Nothing more was said.

A justice of the peace, new in office, at Miami, was called upon to perform his first marriage ceremony. He was stumped and consulted his wife. The good woman was a Methodist and had her church book containing the form of marriage service. The justice took the book and read the service. The couple went away, apparently satisfied, but came back the next day and said they had concluded to separate. The justice took the Methodist service and read it backwards, concluding with, "Now what I have put asunder, let no man put together again, and may the Lord have mercy on your souls!" This may sound apocryphal, but it is given on the authority of an early historian of Saline county.

**The Morrisons' Mating.**

Courtship under difficulties was accomplished by James and Jesse Morrison, who settled in St. Charles and married two of the Saucier girls, of Portage des Sioux. When James began to pay attention to Mademoiselle Saucier his knowledge of French was limited to a few words, while the girl knew little more English. The first visit was carried on mainly by signs and looks. At a later call, the girl had mastered enough of the English to say to James, according to the tradition: "What for you come here so much? If you do, you must marry me tomorrow, or there is another man who will marry me in two days." James

Morrison settled the question then and there. From this happy mating came the Francis Yosti, the W. G. Pettus, the George Collier and other families distinguished in the history of Missouri.

When Henry Logan courted Sally Quick, both belonging to pioneer families in Montgomery county, the girl did not give her consent until late one Sunday evening. Logan couldn't wait until Monday morning to get the father's consent. He pounded on the door, and when the old man called out to know what was wanted Logan said, "I want your daughter Sally." "Take her and go to the blazes with her," the old settler shouted back. Logan carried his individuality to such extent as to make him long remembered in that part of Missouri. When a traveler aroused him late one evening and asked to stay all night, Logan replied: "No, sir; you can't stay all night at my house, but if you feel like it you can stay the balance of the night with me." This eccentric Missourian wore a hat of raccoon and muskrat pelts twenty years. He claimed that the hat would hold just half a bushel of corn and often measured grain in it. In warm weather he always went barefooted and barelegged to his knees. He was thus dressed when he won Sally Quick in such quick order.

**The Charivari.**

Second marriages in the early days of St. Louis were made the occasion of strenuous congratulation. John F. Darby told this in his Recollections:

"The custom had prevailed in St. Louis, from time immemorial, when a widower or widow got married, to charivari them on the night of the wedding. It was determined, therefore, to charivari Colonel O'Fallon on the night of his second marriage. For this purpose about a thousand or twelve hundred of the 'boys' collected together and proceeded down the street, and stopped in front of the house where the wedding took place. They had horns, trumpets, tin pans, tambourines, drums, triangles, and every conceivable instrument that could make a noise. They yelled, they sreeched and shouted. They bleated like sheep; they lowed like cattle; they crowded like chickens. They had a sprinkling of the Rocky Mountain fur traders and trappers with them who occasionally seasoned the entertainment with Indian yells and warwhoops. They made such a hideous noise and confusion of sounds that the guests in the house could hardly hear themselves talk.

"At last Judge Peck, of the United States court for the Missouri district, who had stood up with Colonel O'Fallon on that occasion, came out on the little platform in front of the house, and called out in a loud voice. 'Silence! Silence!' The noise was ceased. Judge Peck went on to say: 'I want to know who is the commander of this very respectable company of gentlemen?' Colonel Charles Keemle stepped forward and said that he 'had the honor to command this very respectable company of gentlemen.' Judge Peck proceeded: 'I am instructed by Colonel O'Fallon to say to this very respectable company of gentlemen, that he recognizes them all as his friends, and that they are authorized to go forth and enjoy themselves, and make merry at his expense at any place they choose.'

"The crowd gave three cheers for O'Fallon, and went off down town, where they caroused, drank and frolicked all night. It was reported that they cleaned out two groceries for which Colonel O'Fallon had to pay $1,000 the next day."

**A Wedding on Medicine Creek.**

An early marriage ceremony in Livingston county took place with the couple on one side of Medicine creek and Squire Jordan on the other side. The creek was booming. The young man swam the stream and brought the squire down from his house. Then the young man swam back and took his place beside the

young woman. Squire Jordan couldn't swim. He wanted to postpone the ceremony a few days until the creek went down. The young folks wouldn't have it. They joined hands and told the squire to go ahead. The questions and answers were shouted across the creek and the knot was tied. Medicine creek got its name according to tradition because a country doctor in trying to swim it lost his "pill bags" as they were called.

One of the great events of Howard county, before that region was made a county, was the marriage, the first in that territory, of Robert Cooper and Elizabeth Carson, the sister of Kit Carson. Lindsay Carson, the father, invited everybody. After the ceremony, all of the men present assisted the Carsons in raising a log house. The boy Kit was about two years old. When he was fourteen his father bound him to David Workman in Franklin to learn the saddler's trade. Kit worked as an apprentice two years and at seventeen joined a party starting on the Santa Fe Trail, to live his life in the Rocky Mountains. The old scout, hero of innumerable frontier experiences, was sixty years old when he died.

When Dave Ball was courting, the father of the young lady he married did not look with favor upon him. By way of discouragement he put up a card in the parlor which read: "Gentlemen must leave at exactly ten o'clock." Old man Mjnor went to bed but was awakened by a rap on the door a few minutes before ten. He got up and opened the door a crack. There stood Ball with his hat in his hand.

"Mr. Minor," he said politely, "I see your notice requests gentlemen to leave your house at exactly ten o'clock. As it is my invariable custom to be at home and in bed at that hour, I beg your permission to retire a little earlier."

The ancestors of the Balls of Pike county came from that part of Virginia where Mary Ball the mother of George Washington lived.

**A Society Event.**

In "Pioneer Families of Missouri," is printed a letter written by a woman to her sister in Kentucky:

"The men and dogs have a fine time, but we poor women have to suffer. We pack water from one-half mile to one mile for cooking and washing. My advice is, stay where you are. But if you see anyone coming to this country, send a plank cradle for poor little Patrick. His poor little back is full of hard bumps, lying in a cradle George made out of a hollow log with a piece of wood for a pillow. George and I attended a wedding last week. The preacher, a hard-shell Baptist, had a long buckskin overcoat. The groom was in his shirt sleeves, with white cotton pants that came just below his knees, and white cotton socks and buckskin slippers on his feet. The girl was dressed in a low-necked, short-waisted, short-sleeved white cotton dress that was monstrous short for a girl like her. She had on buckskin slippers and her hair was tied with a buckskin string, which is all the go here. And when the preacher was spelling and reading the ceremony from the book, the girl commenced sneezing and the buckskin string slipped off her hair, which fell all over her face, and everybody laughed."

The young Lochinvar of Missouri's pioneer days was John Campbell of Chariton, true to the form of his Scotch ancestors. He courted Miss Amanda Pepper, and was discouraged by the young lady's father. Mr. Pepper, according to the custom of those days kept his gun handy in a rack over the front door. Campbell rode up to the Pepper home. He carried his gun and when he stopped in front of

the door he saw Pepper start as if to take down his gun. Campbell leveled his rifle and threatened to shoot if the old man moved. At the same time he called to Amanda, telling her that now was the time if she intended to go and bidding her climb up behind. The young lady climbed. Campbell galloped down the road. Pepper couldn't shoot because Campbell was protected by the girl clinging behind him. Campbell had given the town a previous sensation. He had defied Duff Green, the big man of Chariton, and had received a bullet from Green's gun. On that occasion he showed his nerve by sticking to the saddle until he rode to the office of Doctor Holman, where he dismounted for treatment.

**The Fleurs-de-lis Still Live in Missouri.**

"Lilies of France" are growing and blooming in Missouri. They can be seen on the grounds of the Campbell cottage at Sweet Springs. French pioneers brought the roots of the blue flag lilies, the national flower, from France when they came into the wilderness of Illinois and started the settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia more than two centuries ago. When the Illinois country passed into the hands of the British and many French families moved over to Laclede's colony, St. Louis, after 1766, they brought with them the roots of these lilies to transplant in the gardens of the Chouteaus. The Sweet Springs Herald, in its issue of May 20, 1917, told of the further migration of these lilies, descended from the original roots brought from France:

"The best informantiquarian in the history cannot at this day find a vestige of the Chouteau mansion that stood, in 1803, near what is now the intersection of Main and Walnut streets, in that city, nor can he find a remnant of the other home that was where the Washington Avenue Eads bridge approaches cross Main and Second streets.

"In the novel, 'The Rose of Old St. Louis,' frequent mention is made of the hospitality that prevailed in these homes. Feasts and dances are described, and from these the rude pioneer inhabitant was rigidly excluded. Men and women, attired in Parisian style, participated. Many of the guests were military officers. The only living thing now extant connecting the present era and the past, of the chivalrous times, are the lilies on the Sweet Springs grounds.

"In 1821, Francois Chouteau established a trading post on the Missouri river, near what is now the southern extremity of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway bridge, at Kansas City. He was accompanied by his wife, Madame Berenice Chouteau. He had a retinue of slaves and underlings, and none of the hardships of pioneer life fell to his lot. The inundation of the Missouri river, in 1826, carried away his settlement. He established another trading post and village a little farther west, on the river bank, in what would now be the corporate limits of Kansas City, near the foot of Park avenue, and this was carried away by the flood of 1844. Immediately after this event, Madame Chouteau, now a widow, built another home. It was a large frame house, handsomely designed, and surrounded by spacious grounds, on the west side of Grand avenue, just north of Second street, in Kansas City. It fronted east, and stood on the slooping eminence far above the high water mark. Madame Chouteau made frequent trips to St. Louis, on the palatial steamer, Amazon, owned and commanded by her son, Captain P. M. Chouteau. From St. Louis she transplanted the lilies to her Kansas City home, and set out the plants in long rows, on each side of a walk that ran through the grounds. She also supplemented this supply by additions from St. Louis, when she made trips on the Spread Eagle, another one of Captain Chouteau's boats.

"In 1860, Madame Chouteau gave many of these lilies to Mrs. John Campbell, and they were planted on the Campbell home grounds at the northeast corner of Third and Campbell streets, in Kansas City. The Campbell grounds and flowers were one of the

beauty spots in the city. The Chouteaus of St. Louis and the Campbells of that city, were friends as early as 1824. From the Campbell home in Kansas City, the lilies were transplanted to the Sweet Springs during the years 1881 to 1884. Here they still grow, set out in rows, according to the old French fashion.

"The old Chouteau home in Kansas City was torn down thirty-five years ago. The grounds are now unoccupied, save by a jungle of tangled shrubbery, that sprang from plants set out by Madame Chouteau in the earlier half of the past century. The Campbell home has been torn down, and the material was used in erecting modern apartments in Kansas City. The wreck of the Amazon lies in the Missouri river bottoms, near where the stream enters the Mississippi river. The Spread Eagle was snagged and sunk at Pinkney landing, more than fifty years ago. Not a vestige of either craft can be seen. Madame Chouteau and Mrs. Campbell are dead, but the historic flowers they both loved so well perpetuate their memory, and should serve to bring to mind of all passersby, who view the lilies, the olden days in Missouri."

**The Business Sagacity of Madame Lucas.**

The greatest real estate transaction in the history of Missouri,—that is to say, the greatest second to the Louisiana Purchase by the United States from the French,—was the bargain Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas made. This transfer was in 1808, the year that the first newspaper was established west of the Mississippi, and the year that the residents of St. Louis petitioned for incorporation as a town. Mr. Lucas bought from Joseph Hortiz a strip of ground extending from what is now Third street to what became years afterward Jefferson avenue. When Lucas bought, the strip was part of the Common Fields and was described as one arpent wide and forty arpents long. That early rule of measurement of ground meant a width of 385 feet by a length of 7,700 feet, more than a mile. Olive street occupies the middle of this strip which extends through the half block on either side. Lucas paid Hortiz $705 for the strip. Along Olive street, from Broadway to Twelfth street these half blocks became the highest priced property in St. Louis. A century after this transaction, almost to the year and month a single lot of this ground, having a frontage of eighty-five feet on Olive street and a depth of only eighty-six feet sold for $10,000 a front foot, or $850,000, and it wasn't a corner lot either.

Three years later, in 1911, a lot on Olive street, twenty-one feet front, 105 feet deep, sold for more than $11,000 a front foot, or $106 a square foot. That is to say, a single square foot of this ground came to be worth almost one-sixth of what Mr. J. B. C. Lucas paid for the entire strip. That investment of $705 made fifty families, descendants of the investor, wealthy. It established and endowed half a score of public and philanthropic institutions of St. Louis. It gave to the city the Twelfth street plaza and the park which became the site of the public library. A woman's keen foresight induced Mr. Lucas to make his purchase. When J. B. C. Lucas accepted from President Jefferson the appointment of commissioner of land claims and judge of the territorial court at St. Louis, he was living on a farm near Pittsburg. Some time previously he had taken a lot in Pittsburg as a fee in a lawsuit. He traded the lot for a horse. Subsequently that lot sold for $25,000 by a rapid increase in values. Mrs. Lucas was deeply impressed with this object lesson in the possibilities of real estate. The judge sold his farm near Pittsburg for $5,000 and moved to St. Louis in 1805. His wife

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

VOLUNTEER FIREMEN OF ST. LOUIS ASSEMBLING ON AMERICAN STREET, ST. LOUIS, FOR PARADE

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

LUCAS PLACE, ST. LOUIS, 1854

Looking eastward from Seventeenth Street. First Presbyterian Church in center. The best residence section before the Civil war

induced him to invest in St. Louis real estate, notably the long narrow strip mentioned. Many years ago Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, the daughter of J. B. C. Lucas, in a family sketch, told how the foundation of the great Lucas fortune came about:

"On the advice of my mother, who had learned experience from the sale of the Pittsburg lot he invested his salary in the purchase of land. He bought mostly out lots, facing on what is now Fourth street, each lot being one arpent wide by forty arpents deep. All this land was in use as a common field, each man cultivating what he pleased. There were no fences of any kind on it. By purchasing a lot at a time, he at length came to own all the land from Market street to St. Charles and from Fourth street to Jefferson avenue. He did not buy it as a speculation but for what it would produce. It turned out, however, to be an immense speculation; that property is now worth, I suppose, $70,000,000. A hundred dollars was what he usually paid for an arpent in width by forty deep, though sometimes he got it for less. The heirs to this vast estate need not thank my father for it, for he was too much of a politician to think of investing his money in land; it was my mother's foresight that suggested the investment which turned out so well."

**A Missouri Woman Saved the Body of Lyon.**

The heroic in Missouri womanhood found pathetic expression when the body of General Lyon was brought to Springfield from the battlefield of Wilson's creek. Years after the war Mrs. Mary Phelps, wife of Governor Phelps, told the story:

"The body of General Lyon was placed in an ambulance by his aides, to be conveyed to Springfield, but those who were gathering up the wounded saw a dead man in the ambulance, not knowing it was General Lyon, laid it out and put in a wounded man. Some hours after the Union troops had retreated, Colonel Emmett McDonald met Dr. Melcher, assistant surgeon of Sigel's regiment, who had been taken prisoner and said to him: 'General Lyon was killed. Go with me and I will show you his body.' They went to the hill where the body was. While there General Price came up. He said to Dr. Melcher: 'You are a prisoner. General Sturgis has one of my surgeons a prisoner. If you will pledge me your honor to return the ambulance and the escort I give you, I will send you with this body (Lyon's) and exchange you for my surgeon.'

"The pledge was given. They reached Springfield just as the Federal troops were leaving. The body of Lyon was left at the house he had occupied for headquarters. Sunday morning I went to town and was met by Mrs. Beal, a widow, and her little daughter. She said: 'General Lyon is left at your house; there is no one there.' I went immediately to the house with her, and there I found the body stretched on a table covered with a white spread, given Dr. Melcher at the battlefield by Mrs. Ray to cover up the body in the ambulance. Very soon Mr. William Campbell came in. He said he was going to have the body buried; that he had spoken to Mr. Beal to make a coffin. I said to him, I do not think you can do that. General Lyon has friends here who will take care of his body. I immediately sent for Dr. Franklin, who was left in charge of the Federal wounded. He came. I asked him what disposition he intended to make of General Lyon's body. He replied, 'I can do nothing. There are so many wounded and dying, and we have not men enough to do the work.' I then said, 'I will take charge of the body and remove it to our farm and there bury him.' He said, 'I wish you would,' and left the house. I left the body in charge of Mrs. Beal and others until I went home and set men to dig the grave. I returned—not being absent over an hour. I saw that Mr. B. was making a coffin, and set Mr. Bowren to make a tin one to put the wooden one in to seal up. General Lyon was so black and disfigured no one would have recognized him. I procured some bay rum and bathed his hands and face until the corpse was as natural as life. About two o'clock of the same day General Price and his troops came to town. The troops filled the house and yard where I was. I stood by the corpse and allowed no one to lift the cover but myself for hours. In the meantime General Price

hearing of my situation sent Colonels Elgin and McClean to see me. They asked me if I wanted a guard. I said I would be obliged for one. They (Elgin and McClean) cleared the house and yard and remained with me. When the coffins came they assisted me to put the body in. I opened it several times for persons to see before I left the town. It was near sundown when the tin box came. The coffin was put in the box and soldered up. Mr. Wm. Campbell had promised to send a wagon to take him to our farm. He did not come. I paid Mr. Beal and Mr. Bowren for the coffins and Colonel Elgin furnished a wagon and gave me an escort. When I reached home I found the grave had not been dug, and two regiments were camped in our grove and our house filled with Confederate officers. The coffin was put on the portico. I watched over it until four o'clock in the morning. I then got the guard which General Parsons had placed around the house to put him in a fruit house in the orchard and fill it with straw. On Monday morning Emmett McDonald and Dr. Franklin came to my house to get the body of General Lyon. I asked what they wanted it for. McDonald replied, 'I am going to take him to Rolla.' I replied, 'Neither you or any other man or men can have the body of General Lyon without an order from General Fremont.'

"Tuesday my servants returned and I had Lyon buried. Two weeks after, his brother-in-law and his cousin came with an order from General Fremont for General Lyon's body. They brought with them a metallic coffin. He was taken from those I had put him in and placed in the metallic one, and the walnut coffin, from which Lyon was taken, was afterwards used for Captain Gratz, whose body was found on the battlefield."

**Heroic Womanhood in War Time.**

Two heroic characters of the war time in Missouri were Mrs. Mary Ann Boyce Edgar and Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure. Mrs. Edgar was of southern nativity; she was born in Alabama. Her parents were of North Carolina families; traced back their descent from the colonial settlers on Albemarle Sound. With the beginning of the war this southern born woman promptly showed her devotion to the Union. She was one of a group of St. Louis women who met in July, 1861, a few days after the battle of Bull Run to plan how they could help the national government by relief work. Mrs. Edgar became the leader and the organizer. Fremont called for lint, for bandages, for other hospital supplies that women could prepare. The organization was called the Fremont Relief Society. The room at headquarters that had been assigned was needed. Mrs. Edgar moved the society to her own residence. There for a year and a half great quantities of material for which the surgeons were calling were prepared and sent out. The early battles found the government without hospitals, with next to no preparation for the wounded. Mrs. Edgar assisted to find nurses, to assemble supplies, to prepare hospital accommodations. As the work increased the Western Sanitary Commission and the Ladies' Aid Society were developed. Not until the emergency had passed did Mrs. Edgar rest from her merciful efforts. She ably assisted James E. Yeatman, the head of the sanitary commission. Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure was of Pennsylvania birth. Her grandfather laid out the town of Williamsport, which became Monongahela City. The Parkinsons for generations were prominent in Western Pennsylvania affairs. Finely educated, of strong character, accustomed to think for herself, Mrs. McLure believed firmly in the justice of the southern cause. She did not hesitate to let her sentiments be known and was made a prisoner in her own house. In the spring of 1863, with other women who felt as she did, Mrs. McLure was put on board a boat and sent down the river to the Confederate lines. She had given her eldest son to the

cause. Exiled from home for her convictions, she devoted herself to the parole camps and hospitals, doing all that she could to relieve and comfort the Confederate soldiers. Returning to St. Louis, Mrs. McLure became the leading spirit in the Daughters of the Confederacy, and in the relief work of that organization for the widows and orphans of Confederates. Twenty years after the war a daughter of one of these noble women married a son of the other.

**When a Woman Outwitted the Swamp Fox.**

There was a long-forgotten story of the war in the bill which Congressman Wade introduced to pay Mrs. Sarah L. Everson $15,000. One day in December, 1861, Jeff Thompson's band of Confederates swooped down upon the river town of Commerce, in Southeast Missouri, and set a trap. Their anticipated game was the steamer City of Alton, carrying a great quantity of stores, large mails and more than all else, the commander of the Mississippi gunboat fleet and other Federal officers of high rank. All the men of Commerce were made prisoners and taken back into the forest. Behind the long wood-piles on the landing the Confederates concealed themselves. They knew the City of Alton would touch there for fuel, and their plan was to remain in hiding until the boat was fast and then capture her and all on board with one grand charge. That no warning might be conveyed by the deserted appearance of the place, the women and children were collected in little groups, but were forbidden with threats of instant death to give any warning. The City of Alton came as the Confederates had anticipated and swung in to make the landing. The Confederates smiled, clutched their weapons, and held their breaths for the signal. Suddenly Mrs. Everson sprang out of the midst of the other women and ran to the edge of the river, screaming at the top of her voice and waving her arms. There was a clanging of bells. The steamboat's wheels reversed with all the power of the engines. The Confederates rose to their feet, sent a volley after the receding prize, and with many curses took their departure. Mrs. Everson became a resident of Springfield. The story of heroism was in all the papers at the time, but that was the only recognition the brave woman received. Congressman Wade thought she should have something substantial from the Republic. Hence the bill.

**Lizzie Chambers Hull's "Missouri."**

In the state-wide contest for a Missouri song, suggested by Governor Herbert S. Hadley during his administration, the award was given to Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull. The father of Mrs. Hull was Adam Black Chambers, one of the publishers of the Missouri Republican before the war. Mrs. Hull was sixty-nine years old when she penned these pleasant lines:

MISSOURI.

Missouri, fair, we bring to thee
Hearts full of love and loyalty;
Thou central star, thou brightest gem,
Of all the brilliant diadem—
Missouri.

CHORUS

Then lift your voice and join the throng
That swells her praise in joyful song,
Till earth and sky reverberate;
Our own, our dear, our grand old state—
Missouri.

She came, a compromise, for peace;
Her prayer is still that strife may cease;
She mourned her blue, wept o'er her gray,
When, side by side, in death they lay—
Missouri.

CHORUS

Nor North, nor South, nor East, nor West,
But part of each—of each the best.
Come, homeless one, come to her call;
Her arms are stretched to shelter all—
Missouri.

After the award to Mrs. Hull for the production of the words to the Missouri State Song, a prize was offered for suitable music to accompany them. The committee, of which Professor Pommer was chairman, passed on the music submitted but decided that none of it was acceptable. Later still Mrs. Julie Stevens Bacon composed music for the song. This music was adopted by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the song is sung at meetings of that patriotic organization.

**Missouri's Ballad Days.**

Judge D. C. Allen told the Missouri Historical Society of the ballad days in this state:

"When I was a little boy, I heard neighbor girls—they were not of my age, but beyond it, because you know a girl must be fourteen or fifteen years old before she is in the period of life when her heart is strong like a thrush and bright, and she can dance and play all day long. I heard neighboring girls sing this song, and it has clung to my memory ever since:

"'John, John, the piper's son,
He married me when I was young;
We journey towards the setting sun,
Over the hills and far away.'

"There you have one of the most exquisite lines in English poetry—'Over the hills and far away.' When I was a child, the whole country was full of the recent pioneers from every part of the Union. I have heard them recite their adventures from the Atlantic states out to Missouri, over and over again. Without any suggestion from any source at all, I always associated the idea of 'Over the hills and far away' with the coming westward of the old American population, no matter where they came from; no matter what part of the Atlantic states they came from. It was a fancy of mine as a child that that was the thought that would fill the bosom of the young couple when the young man, after he had tested his fate and left his home, and cut down the trees, and was ready to take care of a family, would go east and take his bride, and then 'Over the hills and far away.' That peculiar conception has stayed in my mind ever since.

"The songs that came into the country up the Missouri river were essentially of racing

steamboats and they were without limit. There was the Hudson and the Brandywine, and I have heard them sing this:

"'The Hudson is a bully boat,
She runs very fine,
But she can't raise steam enough
To beat the Brandywine,
The captain's on the pilot deck,
Snorting very loud,
And the ladies think
It's thunder in the cloud.'

"A great event always brought new songs. When the Mexican war was declared I remember well hearing the boys singing 'My Pretty Little Ben':

"'I once did think that you and I would marry,
But now I must go to the Mexican War and with you cannot tarry.'

"You see the antique form of expression, 'tarry.' That is the true characteristic of the native folk songs that deals with those words and only those words that are common to the whole people. That was the characteristic song of the Mexican war.

"I come to the common song that absolutely filled this country from one end to the other. In 1848 gold was discovered in California. Those of you who are not quite old enough to remember back that far can hardly understand the prodigious excitement that the discovery of gold in California created. The tide of immigration was by sea at first in 1849, but it began to go in great numbers by land in 1850 and '51, more particularly in 1851. I was living at Liberty at the time and in 1851 they came from everywhere. I remember seeing a company from St. Charles, a company of French, and a company from Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, and so on. You could locate them almost everywhere on the western prairie country, striking for the St. Joe highway to cross the Rocky Mountains to the land of gold. There was one song then that was in everybody's mouth. Everybody was singing it. I remember well as they came over the eastern hill to Liberty and as they passed over the western hill they raised the tune:

"'Oh, California, that is the land for me,
I am bound for Sacramento with my washbowl onto me.'

"That washbowl referred to the particular type of mining. You know the early mining in California was placer mining. Placer mining occurs where you wash the metal out of the sands, or out of the mud and deposits along the river. Hence every man that went to California in those days had to have his washbowl. They drawled it out—

"'Oh, California, that is the land for me,
I am bound for Sacramento with my washbowl onto me.'

"It was the characteristic song of the period."

Other ballads that were popular with boys in Missouri when everybody sang were:

"Come join in the chorus and sing its fame,
You poor lonely settler that's stuck on a claim.
Farewell to this country, farewell to the West!
I'll travel back east to the girl I love best.
I'll stop in old Missouri and get me a wife,
And live on corn dodger the rest of my life."

"Ev'ry time I come to town
The boys keep kickin' my dog around;
Makes no diff'rence if he is a hound;
They gotta quit kickin' my dog around."

"O-oh, there was an old hen and she had a wooden leg,
The finest old hen that ever laid an egg.
She laid more eggs than any hen upon the farm—
Another little drink wouldn't do us any harm."

"O-oh, an old bumble bee he backed up to me,
Jabbed his stingaree right into my knee.
And now I'm huntin' and tryin' for to see
If I can't git even with that old bumble bee."

**Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution.**

In the organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution Missourians were active and prominent. Mrs. George H. Shields was one of the charter members. Judge George H. Shields framed the national charter of the order, which was started on his suggestion. Very soon after the formation of the national body at Washington a chapter was organized by Missouri descendants of Revolutionary patriots. It was called the St. Louis chapter. The first meeting was held at the home of Mrs. James Harris O'Fallon in St. Louis, January 31, 1895. The Laclede chapter was organized in December, 1898. A third chapter, the Jefferson, was organized in 1899. One of the earliest activities of the Missouri Daughters was the location and marking of the graves of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Missouri. The search disclosed the interesting fact that there were more than two hundred of these graves.

**Missouri's Remembered Patriots.**

The number, the activities, the unfailing anniversary observances of the patriotic societies of Missouri tell the part that the early American families had to do with the settlement of the state. Mary Louise Dalton, the director of the Missouri Historical Society, had located in Missouri the graves of forty-six soldiers of the American Revolution when her untimely death occurred in 1907. Jefferson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution obtained from the United States government authority to erect a white marble tablet at Jefferson Barracks to commemorate Miss Dalton's historical work. This same chapter marked with a marble tablet the starting point of the expedition of Captain Beausoleil and his sixty-five patriots. The tablet, handiwork of Miss Antoinette Taylor, of Jefferson chapter, bears this inscription:

> "From this point the Spaniards set out, January 2, 1781, on their victorious revolutionary expedition against St. Joseph, Michigan, the nearest point then flying the British flag. Erected by Jefferson Chapter, D. A. R."

The finding and marking of graves of soldiers of the early wars of this country has been a labor of love with the Missouri societies of the Colonial wars,

of the war of the Revolution, and of the war of 1812. In 1903, Mrs. John N. Booth, Mrs. Western Bascome and other Missouri women brought to the attention of the government the fact that there were neglected graves of Revolutionary soldiers at old Fort Bellefontaine on the Missouri bluffs north of St. Louis. The skeletons were removed to the national cemetery at Jefferson Barracks where, with military ceremony, a great boulder of red Missouri granite was dedicated by St. Louis chapter of the D. A. R. to the memory of these long forgotten patriots. This was the second chapter in the United States to offer its services to the government at the beginning of the war with Spain. It sent twenty nurses, headed by Mrs. Bascome, to the front, sent aid to the sick soldiers in the hospitals, and saw that thousands of lunches were furnished to soldiers passing through St. Louis. These patriotic societies of St. Louis performed locally through well organized effort during the Spanish-American war much that was undertaken by the Red Cross in the war with the Central Powers of Europe twenty years later.

Demobilization of the American army of the war of 1812 brought scores of new settlers to Missouri. When Rebecca Wells Heald chapter of the Daughters of 1812 set out to place bronze markers on the graves of the soldiers of that war, buried in the vicinity of O'Fallon, they quickly located three. The first was that of Major Nathan Heald who commanded at Fort Dearborn at the time of the Indian massacre. Fort Dearborn was on the present site of Chicago. Dr. Robert McClure, buried in old Dardenne cemetery was a surgeon stationed at Norfolk. Captain James Campbell was buried in the old Campbell graveyard near Cottleville. The descendants, scores in number, came from various parts of Missouri to attend the ceremonies of honoring the graves of these patriots.

General David Thomson, a hero of the Battle of the Thames in the War of 1812, found his last resting place in Missouri soil. David Thomson was second in command to Richard M. Johnson, and when Johnson fell severely wounded, Thomson succeeded him and performed so well his part in the signal victory over the British that he was made a brigadier general and subsequently major general. With his family, General Thomson made his home in Pettis county. Under the auspices of the Spencer-McClure chapter of the Daughters of 1812 impressive dedication services were held and a marker erected at the grave of General Thomson near Sedalia in 1914.

**The First Bride in Jackson County.**

The first bride in Jackson county, so the annals run, was Mrs. George C. Sibley. She came up the Missouri river by keelboat, bringing her piano, her library and her furniture. That was ten years before the first steamboat navigation of the Missouri. George C. Sibley was one of the men who made the Indian peace policy of Governor William Clark the wonderful success it was. The Osages prayed "Red Head," their name for the governor, to give them a post and a factor on the Missouri river. Governor Clark sent Sibley to build a fort and to become Indian agent. The site selected for the fort was on a bluff overlooking the Missouri, a short distance below the present Kansas City and now known as Sibley. Brackenridge knew the place as Fort Osage when he came up the river with Manuel Lisa, the fur trader. In Jackson county annals, it is called Fort Clark. Sibley built the fort in 1808. His bride, one of the daughters of Rufus Easton,

joined him. And there, far out on what was the extreme frontier, Mr. and Mrs. Sibley lived nearly a score of years, until Fort Leavenworth was built in 1827 and made the Indian post for all that region. The home of the Sibleys became famous for the hospitality extended to travelers. The culture and cordiality are mentioned gratefully in accounts of early journeys. It was the custom of the Sibleys to join travelers and go up the river a distance in the boat they called "Six Miles" and then float back to the fort. Major Sibley was so successful in his handling of border problems that he was sent with Mather and Reeves to Council Grove in Kansas in 1825 to negotiate the treaty which secured travel privileges without Indian interference between Independence and Sante Fe. With $800 worth of merchandise carried in seven wagons the commissioners effected the trade which established the Santa Fe Trail. Major Sibley was Massachusetts born. His father was a surgeon in the Revolution and settled afterwards in Natchitoches, Louisiana. In 1827 the Sibleys returned to St. Charles, the old Easton home. There they reared an enduring monument in Lindenwood college, which will celebrate its centennial in 1927.

In 1919, only a few weeks before his own death, Samuel W. Fordyce gave Paul W. Brown, of America at Work, this reminiscience of Senator Vest:

"When Vest left the Senate for the last time, I held a car in the station at St. Louis for at least a week, waiting to take him and Mrs. Vest to Hot Springs. He was quite feeble and at times became very meditative. And one day he asked me if I had any well defined opinion of what was in store for us in the future, after leaving this earth. I replied that I had not; that the best thing for men like him and myself to do was simply to close our eyes and follow our Presbyterian wives blindly. Both of our wives were Presbyterians."

**When a Woman Thwarted Price.**

To a woman's wit and practical hospitality was due, in notable measure, the failure of Price's well-planned raid, according to traditions. The Confederate government at Richmond looked confidently to success. The expedition, it was even hoped, would capture St. Louis and Jefferson City and set up Confederate state government in Missouri with Thomas C. Reynolds as the head of it. Price's advance entered the Arcadia Valley through the pass known as "Shut-in." The Confederate forces were estimated variously at from 20,000 to 30,000, well-seasoned by the years of marching and fighting east of the Mississippi. Union commands in small numbers fell back after much skirmishing. They rallied for battle at Fort Davidson,—fortified by earthworks and surrounded by a ditch. General Thomas Ewing was in command, the artillery in charge of Colonel David Murphy. The Confederates planted cannon on Shepard mountain, overlooking the fort, and an artillery duel opened the fighting. Then came infantry charges, three of them. It is one of the traditions that Murphy stood up on the embankment and shouted a defiant "Come on!" to the advancing Confederates. On their third charge the Confederates reached the ditch but did not pass. Price's losses were said to have been 1,500. The raid was checked. That night the Confederates placed more guns on the mountain to renew the battle next day. Ewing, realizing that he could not hold out, prepared to fall back. A boy brought him a note from a source which Ewing deemed reliable that the Potosi road would be unguarded at ten o'clock. Cannon were spiked, the troops withdrew as quietly as

possible on the Potosi road, a small force remaining in the fort to maintain the appearance of defense and to blow up the powder magazine. The Union forces were well on the way when the movement was discovered. Price had planned to cut off retreat and to force surrender. The Potosi road was supposed to be held by Confederate scouts sent around to the north of the fort. Colonel F. J. Mackey, Price's chief engineer, years afterwards explained the failure of the plan. A Union woman named Marion prepared a barbecue at night on her farm some distance from the Potosi road and induced the Confederates on guard at the road to come over and have a good, old-fashioned Missouri feast. Then she sent the note to Ewing telling that the road would be unguarded. The check in the Arcadia Valley, the escape of the Union army, the losses, altogether, caused Price to divert his course to the west of St. Louis.

"The Thermopylae of the West" was the name bestowed on this Union defense in the Arcadia Valley. A writer recorded it as "one of the most remarkable battles in the history of the world, followed by a retreat which is said to be unparalleled for its audacity and success."

Another timely part was performed by a Missouri woman during that 1864 invasion. General Price began an attack on Sedalia. The Union force was away to the north repelling an advance from that direction. Defense was useless. Cannon began to bombard the town. Mrs. Susan A. Jackson nailed a sheet to a pole and made her way to the outskirts. As she approached the Confederates, the firing ceased. Sedalia was formally surrendered and saved from destruction and possible loss of lives of women and children.

**The Six Morrisons.**

One after another the Morrisons came out to Missouri. They were Pennsylvanians, natives of Bucks county, north of Philadelphia. Back of the Pennsylvania parentage was Irish ancestry. John Morrison, the father of the Morrisons, was an Irish gentleman. An uncle of the Morrisons was Guy Bryan, a wholesale dry goods merchant. He gave his nephews training, and as his trade connections in St. Louis and vicinity offered opportunities he gave the boys the benefit of them. William Morrison, the oldest of the brothers, came out to Kaskaskia in 1795 and established stores there and in St. Louis and Cahokia. St. Louis was still under the Spanish flag, and had not begun to give promise of its future. William Morrison married a daughter of General Daniel Bissell of the United States army, who lived in St. Louis for a long time. A grandson of this William Morrison was William R. Morrison, member of Congress for many years from the East St. Louis district, and the leader of his party on the tariff question. Robert Morrison came west from the Philadelphia training school of his uncle in 1798. He married the talented Eliza Lowry, sister of James Lowry Donaldson. The Lowrys were of a famous Soctch family. They migrated from the north of Ireland to Baltimore. James Lowry was given the name of Donaldson, by the Maryland Legislature, to enable him to comply with the bequest under which he inherited an estate. When President Jefferson was making up, with no little care, a commission to straighten out land titles at St. Louis he chose James Lowry Donaldson for the recorder of that commission. Donaldson came out bringing his sister. In 1807 he went back to Baltimore, his sister remaining. The lady had met

Robert Morrison at a reception given by William Clark. Mrs. Morrison was the first literary woman of St. Louis. She wrote about St. Louis and the new acquisition of the United States in a manner which attracted wide attention. There was fighting blood as well as literary culture in the Lowrys. James Lowry Donaldson fell at the head of his regiment at the Battle of North Point, resisting the attack of the British on Baltimore in 1814. Of the four sons of Robert Morrison, the oldest went to West Point and died an army officer. The second and third sons became judges in California, one of them chief justice. The youngest served in the United States navy, entering as midshipman. He left the navy and when the Mexican war came on he raised the first company of recruits in Illinois and went out as lieutenant colonel of the Second Illinois, the regiment which participated in an historic charge at Buena Vista. For his gallantry on that occasion this Morrison was voted a sword by the legislature of Illinois. He was James Lowry Donaldson Morrison, known to two generations of Missourians as "Colonel Don Morrison." James Morrison, the third of the Bucks county brothers, settled in St. Charles. His son was William M. Morrison, and his daughters were Mrs. George Collier, Mrs. William G. Pettus, Mrs. Francis Yosti and Mrs. Richard J. Lockwood, wives of men prominent in St. Louis in their generation. The fourth of the Morrisons was Jesse. He came to St. Louis in 1805. Afterwards he joined the St. Louis colony, engaged in developing the lead industry at Galena. Samuel Morrison, the fifth of the brothers, joined the fur traders. He was with Manuel Lisa, and spent some time in the Rocky Mountains. Afterwards he came back to St. Louis and settled in Illinois. The youngest of this famous brotherhood was Guy. He worked in his brother's store and married the widow of Henry, the publisher of the St. Louis Enquirer.

**The Great Religious Debate at Brunswick.**

Mental recreation, as well as spiritual good, with the Missouri pioneers was found in theological discussion. "The largest concourse of people and preachers that ever gathered in Brunswick" was assembled when Rev. W. G. Caples and Elder Moses E. Lard met in debate. Mr. Caples was put forward by the Methodists. Mr. Lard was the champion of the Disciples. The meetings continued ten or twelve days. No church in Brunswick was large enough to hold the throngs. But Brunswick at that time was the center of large tobacco production and a monster tobacco warehouse was utilized for the principal gatherings, while overflow assemblages were held in the churches with preaching by "Raccoon" John Smith, Elder John Lindsay, Dr. W. H. Hopson and others from various parts of Missouri. The debate was pronounced "the ablest and most exhaustive ever held in the state." It was reported by a stenographer from Chillicothe but the manuscript was never published. According to Elder Haley, "the baptismal question in all its phases and the work of the Holy Spirit were the questions in debate." Both of the denominations put forward their strongest men. Elder Haley's comment was "that (as usual) each party claimed the victory and each party was perfectly satisfied with the result."

The Disciples advocated what they called "New Testament Christianity." They brought to Missouri, about the time statehood began, their devotion to the "old paths," "the primitive Gospel" and the "ancient order of things." In Kentucky

they had been called "New Lights," "Reformed Baptists," "O'Kelleyites" and by other local names. But Alexander Campbell, with his principles of "Reformation" and with his denunication of the "Kingdom of the Clergy," became the logical leader and these elements, antagonistic to the theology of the older denominations, took the name of "Disciples of Christ." The organizations they formed in Missouri were known as "Churches of Christ" or "Christian Churches." Those who preached in the pioneer days would not allow themselves to be called clergymen; nor would they accept the title of "Reverend." These primitive preachers were aggressive, always welcoming debate, frequently men of ready wit. It was a common saying of one of these preachers, Uncle Nathan Buchanan, that he was "born with the rough side of his tongue up."

Of Allen Wright it was said that he "toiled in the field during the week, and preached on Saturday night and Sunday, at such points as were accessible, and returned to his labor on Monday morning." Elder Wright became one of the most popular preachers and was called to such distances that he was compelled to neglect the farm. This was told of him by one who remembered him:

"He had preached for several days and was about to leave us. We had followed him out to the stile-blocks to bid him good-by. My father drew out his pocket book and divided the scanty purse with the dear preacher whom we loved devotedly. The great tears came into the preacher's eyes; his voice was husky with emotion, as he said: 'I thank you, Brother Ben; this will be a great comfort to my dear wife.' Then, when somewhat recovered, he said almost gleefully: 'I think if anybody deserves to go to heaven, it is my wife, who remains at home and cares for the children, while I am away preaching, and Bally' (pointing to his horse) 'who carries me to my appointments.'"

**Militant Elder Wright.**

Elder Allen Wright was six feet in height, powerfully built. Of his physical qualities this recollection is preserved:

"At a meeting, held, perhaps, in a grove, two young ladies made themselves quite conspicuous and greatly disturbed the congregation, much to the annoyance of the preacher. He therefore reproved them sharply in very plain language. The next morning he started on his way to a neighboring town. While passing through a dense wood, a young man dashed up behind him and announced that he was the brother of the young ladies whom he had so grievously reproved, and that he had come to punish him for the offense; that he must get down from his horse and fight him. The preacher remonstrated, argued, entreated and almost begged. He told him that he was a man of peace and did not want the disgrace of a fight. The young man was incorrigible, so the preacher alighted, tied his horse by the wayside, removed his coat and announced himself ready. The young man rushed upon him, was in an instant knocked sprawling on the ground. In another instant the preacher was upon him and administered to him a severe chastisement. At length the young man cried 'enough' and was released. The preacher then said: 'Young man, I bear you no malice; you forced this battle on me; you have been badly worsted; now if you will never tell it, I will not.' And he did not until just before his death and then he would give no name. He always felt, he said, that he returned good for evil, for he made a decent man out of that young fellow."

"Uncle Tommy Thompson," his admirers called him, began as an evangelist in the Grand river country about 1844, when, according to John S. Allen, who accompanied him, the subsistence in part was "crab apples and hazlenuts." They drank rye coffee with "long sweetening," which was honey. Elder Thompson be-

came famous for his long sermons. At one meeting he talked at great length and closed by saying he had "barely hinted at the subject." Thereupon Elder Allen arose and said: "Whereas the subject which our brother has had under consideration is one of great interest, and as he has had time to 'barely hint at the subject,' I move we meet tomorrow morning at nine o'clock, bring our dinners and spend the day and give the brother time to complete the discourse." Such passages as these entertained the audiences and caused no hard feelings between the preachers.

At Rocheport Elder Thomas M. Allen baptized at one meeting thirty candidates. The ceremony began on the bank of the Missouri. Mrs. G. W. Morehead recalled this:

"It was March. The snow was coming down in large flakes. Brother Allen led Henry Williams into the water; just as his hand was raised they both began to sink in the quicksand. The candidate was so much excited that he did not let his head go under the water, whereupon Brother Allen, with cool deliberation, released his left hand and with it buried the head and body of the subject. They made their way to the shore, when Brother Allen said: 'Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.' He adjourned then to the Moniteau, east of town, where all were baptized decently and in order."

Elder Jacob Creath was known throughout Northeast Missouri for a wonderful gift of prayer. It was told of him that when a command of soldiers was about to make a descent upon Palmyra during the Civil war Elder Creath was engaged in prayer in a grove near town, as was his custom. The soldiers heard the venerable man pleading with a loud voice to God for his neighbors, for Palmyra and above all for peace. The commanding officer withdrew his soldiers and left the county without making the intended raid.

**Elder Creath and "Jack."**

Elder Creath rode about the country on a fine gray horse, Jack. He was very particular about the care of Jack. One who knew the elder said:

"I met him at the gate and called a boy to take his horse. He held the bridle until the boy came, looked him over, and said: 'Boy, do you know how to feed a horse?' 'Yes sir,' said the boy. Turning to me he said: 'Brother Haley, I wish you would see my horse fed. I have had him fed on 'Yes sir' all over the state of Missouri.'

"On one occasion he stopped with a brother in a village, who sent his horse to the tavern stable. The tavern was kept by a sister well known to Brother Creath. He took the liberty of sending over soon to ask if Jack had been watered; then to see if he had had hay in the proper quantity; then to see how he had been supplied with grain. The lady somewhat annoyed said: 'Go tell Brother Creath that I have done everything for his horse that I can think of, except to give him a cup of coffee, and I am getting that ready.'"

In his earlier years Elder Creath assailed the older sects with such bitterness tensely earnest that he was easily disturbed in his meetings. Elder Haley said that he was "burned in effigy at one of their campmeetings." He was so in- of Creath:

"On one occasion he observed a man smiling frequently as he listened to the discourse. At last he paused and said: 'Sir, is my discourse so ridiculous that you can do nothing but sit there and grin at me?' The poor man was completely crushed, and after

ELDER T. P. HALEY

Author of "The Dawn of the Reformation"; Historian of the Christian Church in Missouri.

ELDER T. M. ALLEN

meeting sought an interview and explained that he was in perfect accord with the speaker, and was so delighted to have his neighbors hear the truth so plainly told that he was smiling unconsciously. Brother Creath was, of course, greatly touched and made an humble apology.

"On another occasion, he had been annoyed by persons getting up and going out of the house while he was speaking. The pulpit was between the doors in the front of the church, and the retiring persons must needs pass by him. On this occasion an awkward, but impudent young countryman rose up and started out. Brother Creath paused and said: 'Young man, I'll wait till you get out of the house.' The impudent fellow paused, leaned himself against one of the posts and said: 'Well, you'll wait a good while then.' Of course the speaker was badly beaten."

Of one of the Christian churches in Missouri a preacher, to illustrate the backwardness of the male members in good works, said:

"When I was there a nobler band of sisters was not to be found in the state, but if you would give me a barrel of flour and a bucket of water I could make a better man than they had in the congregation."

**Hearers Encouraged to "Talk Back."**

A common custom with these early preachers was the encouragement of interruptions with questions from the audience. In the midst of an argument on baptism which Elder Moses E. Lard was making, a man arose and asked, "Mr. Lard, do you mean to teach that all men that are not baptized will go to hell?" The preacher replied: "No sir; but I do mean to teach that if you are not baptized you will go to hell, because you know it to be your duty, and if you do not do that which you know to be your duty, you will be lost." At another time a man arose and asked: "Mr. Lard, if you were on the plains, a thousand miles from water, and a man dying should send for you, and you should convince him of his sins, and he should believe on the Lord Jesus and be willing to confess Him, and you knew that in all probability he would die before you could find water to baptize him, what would you do"? In an instant Elder Lard replied: "Sir, I would start for the water, and if the man should die, he would die on his way to obedience."

At the Brunswick meeting, Elder Lard saw a young Presbyterian minister in a front seat. He was commenting vigorously upon some points in the Presbyterian theology. The young minister was paring his nails and sneering. Elder Lard stopped and looking straight at the Presbyterian said: "Sir, I have long since learned the precise value of the jeering finger of scorn and the pouting lip of a fool." After the service a member of the congregation mildly suggested to the elder that perhaps less severity would be better, saying: "My brother, don't you know that you can catch more flies with honey than you can with vinegar?" Elder Lard's reply was prompt. "Certainly, my brother, and when I undertake to catch flies I will try your prescription; but I am now trying to catch men."

**Elder Haley and the Colonel.**

Elder Haley told of a visit he made to Linneus in 1853. He "stopped with that eccentric landlord, Col. Holland," by whom he was mistaken for a representative of some mercantile house:

"I was quite young, only twenty-one years of age, was dressed in a suit of gray clothing with a gray cap which had been presented to me, and altogether did not present

a very clerical appearance. After supper, a party of gentlemen came in, who, I soon discovered, were a surveying party of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. After the usual salutations, they inquired: 'What are the prospects for a merry Christmas?' The colonel exclaimed: 'Christmas? I suppose we shall have none. The Methodists have been holding a "distracted meeting" here for some time and everybody has been getting religion, and I hear there is to be a "Campbellite" preacher here tomorrow.' Of course there was a laugh, and after some comment, not very flattering to the preachers, the topic was changed. I said nothing and soon retired.

"At the appointed hour the courthouse bell rang and the people began to assemble. The hotel was on the square and in plain view of the courthouse door. The colonel frequently went to the window and watched the gathering congregation. At length he turned to me and said: 'Let's go over and hear that "Campbellite" and find out what he has got to say.' I said, 'Agreed.' So we went and took seats together. There was great curiosity to see the preacher and none was more curious than 'mine host.' As the congregation gathered he would turn his head to the door every time it opened. At length the people ceased to arrive, and when all were quietly seated, I arose and walked up to the judge's stand, drew out my hymn book and Bible and commenced the services. The look of blank astonishment upon the colonel's face was really amusing. He looked at me in utter confusion, but heard me patiently to the conclusion, and then hurried away. I went home with Brother Pennington and made his house my home until Monday, when the meeting closed. My horse remained at the hotel stable. When I went for him the colonel was very polite, would charge me nothing, but said: 'Young man, I have a crow to pick with you. When you came here Friday evening why did you not tell me you were a preacher, so that you might have been treated as a preacher?' I replied: 'For very good reasons. 1st. If I had told you I was a preacher, you probably would have doubted it. 2nd. If you had believed me, you, probably, would have thought I wanted to save a bill. 3rd. I knew you would find out who I was in time.' He seemed satisfied and said: 'Well, when you come this way again just remember that Holland keeps "Campbellite corn and coffee." The acquaintance thus formed continued up to the colonel's death. His wife became a member of the Christian church in Linneus."

**The Family Graveyard.**

Virginians brought to Missouri the old custom of the family graveyard. An eligible site on the home estate was set apart for "God's half acre," and there in the first, and perhaps second generation, departing members of the family were put away. But the time came when descendants parted with the ancestral homes and moved to the cities or to other parts of the country; or when the original stock died out. The lands passed into the hands of strangers. Gradually these private burial places fell into neglect. Fences rotted down. The tombstones weathered and were uplifted and tilted by the frosts. And in later generations Missouri came to have many "neglected graves."

Frederick Bates held various offices in the territorial period and was elected Missouri's second governor with scarcely any effort on his part. He owned a princely estate of one thousand acres in St. Louis county, overlooking a splendid stretch of the Missouri river. He called it Thornhill. The mansion had tall columns in front, after the Virginia fashion. When Governor Bates died in August, 1825, the year after he became the executive of the state, he was buried on a high hillside where the orchard had been planted. His wife was placed beside him, and two sons, Frederick Bates and Lucius Lee Bates, were buried in the plot. Lucius Lee Bates served in the legislature. Marble headstones marked the graves. When the place was visited by a reporter in 1910, the owner of the farm said the burial plot had been uncared for since the death of Lucius Lee

Bates and that he could not afford to give it attention. The tombstones were almost hidden by the grass and weeds.

Before the Missouri Bar Association Judge James B. Gantt called attention to the neglected grave of a man who was eminent in the profession:

"Among those judges who have been an honor to the supreme court of Missouri, and to the state, I take it we will all agree that Judge William Scott is pre-eminent above all of us, who have served upon that bench, for his distinguished labors, and his great fidelity to the principles of right and justice. I have felt for years that it was a burning shame that Judge Scott's body today lies in an old horse lot on a farm in Cole county, without a slab to mark its resting place, and that in a very few years no one will be able to discover where the grave itself is. I say it is a burning shame that a man who has written his name so high in judicial work, should thus be left—that his body be left in this position and this condition by this great commonwealth of Missouri.

"I have felt that I had only to mention this subject before the Bar Association of this state, to insure that proper steps would be taken to bring about a removal of Judge Scott's body to the state cemetery at Jefferson City, and that a proper monument should be erected over it. Just about a month ago the old Scott farm passed out of the hands of the Krekel family, into the hands of Judge Robinson. He mentioned the fact to me that he had bought that farm. I inquired of him if it was a fact that there was nothing there to mark the grave of Judge Scott, whether there was a railing or a pen, or any protection to the grave, and he says, 'Absolutely, there is nothing.' He said that the tenant of the place took him down and showed him the place where the grave was, and that he could only discover it by taking a shovel or pick, and finding the line of the old rock wall that laid there; that it was entirely covered up now, and to ordinary observation, it looked just like any other part of the old horse lot."

General William H. Ashley, explorer, fur trader, member of Congress, lieutenant-governor of Missouri, and at one time considered as the wealthiest Missourian, selected his burial place on an Indian mound near the mouth of the Lamine river. He had purchased a large tract of land from Pierre Chouteau in the valley of the Lamine, in Cooper county. Going there from St. Louis to recruit his shattered health, he became fascinated with the beautiful surroundings and especially with the view from an Indian mound on a high hill from which could be seen the Missouri river valley almost from Boonville to Arrow Rock. He expressed a wish to be buried in the mound. He died in St. Louis and his body was brought by boat to the burial place he had chosen. Ashley had no children. His great estate was divided between his wife and sisters. When the mound was visited some years ago Ashley's grave was unmarked save by a tree. Hogs had made a wallowing place of the top of the mound. A depression indicated the probable location of the grave. It is a rather curious coincidence that Frederick Bates and William H. Ashley, whose bones rested in neglected graves, were the rival candidates for governor in 1824. But both of these men have high places in Missouri's history. Ashley made the earliest explorations in the Rocky Mountains and became recognized as a national authority on that region. Great Salt Lake was first known as Ashley lake. General Ashley was so successful in the fur trade that "Ashley beaver" became a trade standard. When he was a member of Congress General Ashley put St. Louisans under obligations to him by securing an appropriation of $150,000 to save the harbor of St. Louis. Sandbars had formed in such manner that the channel was apparently about to be deflected to the eastward of the island which now forms a considerable part of the site of East St. Louis.

## CHAPTER XLIX

## THE MISSOURIAN

*Early Blending of the Population—The Bearnese—Virile Home Owners—Laclede's Land Policy—A Strong Scotch-Irish Strain—Cavaliers Well Represented—"The Bostons"—Evolution of the Typical American—Jefferson Builded More Wisely than He Knew—Missourians as Travelers Found Them a Century Ago—Observations of Brackenridge and Flint—Official Integrity in 1819—American Immigration—The Salt Industry—Daniel Boone's Selection of School Books—Kentucky's Tardy Recognition—Boone, the Law Giver—Lorimier's Public Service—The Missourian, Politically and Physically—At the Columbian Exposition—Major John N. Edwards on Missouri Courage—Jefferson's Grandson Heard the Declaration of Independence—The Pocahontas Strain in Missouri—Jefferson's Descendants—The "Scotch Tom" Nelson Clan—Most Finished Scholar When Lafayette Came—Personal Honor and Justice—The Richest Man in Franklin—Experiment, the Show Place in Saline—Hospitality to Visiting Chiefs—Lincoln's Missouri Friend—"The Missourian, a Fighting Man"—John F. Philips' Tribute—Pioneer Free Masons—Jefferson's Secret Emissary—When Loyal St. Louisans Rebuffed Aaron Burr—Pioneer Science—Dr. Saugrain's Laboratory—The Missourian a Home Lover—Father of the Naval Academy.*

The history of a country is best told in the lives of its people.—*Macaulay.*

Religion and morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be encouraged and provided from the public lands of the United States in the said territory in such manner as Congress may deem expedient.—*Declaration of the First Legislature of Missouri Territory.*

Blending of the population of Missouri began early. Creation of the typical American has been progressive through every generation since "the first thirty" landed at St. Louis in February, 1764. In the first thirty were those who had come from New Orleans with the expedition, a few from Ste. Genevieve, more from Fort Charles and vicinity. As he passed through Cahokia on his way by the wagon road to join Auguste Chouteau on the site, Laclede was joined by several families.

Gallic strains most virile entered into the earliest blending to populate Missouri. Laclede was of noble family, but of hardy, vigorous stock, developed in the valleys of the Pyrenees. The first thirty led by Auguste Chouteau, were "mechanics of all trades." They dragged their boat up the Mississippi and began the building of St. Louis in the middle of February. What better proof of their physical qualities could be given?

St. Louis was a converging point of migration seeking permanent homes. Generations of these pioneer people in America had softened the speech, had added to the vocabulary, had supplemented the customs. While branches of these families, at home in France, were thinking the way to republican theories, the American

offshoots were breathing free air and practicing liberty by instinct. There was nothing of degeneracy, physical or mental in the first families that settled Missouri.

French fur traders came up the Mississippi in their bateaux; they made homes for themselves; their descendants settled all of the way from Ste. Genevieve to Femme Osage. Tennesseans crossed over from the seesaw state. There is not a well-known family of early days in Virginia or Kentucky that has not its flourishing Missouri branch. Every other southern state sent its full quota. A current of Pennsylvania's blood has been circulating in Missouri's population ever since the state was admitted. New Englanders and New Yorkers early saw the coming commercial advantages on the west bank of the Mississippi. They came to court them in numbers and were called "The Bostons."

If the typical American is to be a composite, Missouri should furnish his earliest evolution. All sections of the country have contributed to the settlement of the state. Main traveled roads from other countries have led this way for a century.

**The Bearnese.**

Pierre Laclede, the founder of St. Louis, was of the Bearnese people. Bearn was a small principality not much larger than the city and county of St. Louis combined. Occupying the extreme southwest corner of France, it embraced some fertile valleys and enough of the foothills and steeps of the Pyrenees to give grazing for the flocks of sheep. Here the Bearnese nation lived long a law unto itself. The Bearnese had their own kings before Bearn became a province of France. The Bearnese spoke and still speak a language of their own, more like the Spanish than the French. But in the speech are found elements of the Greek, so pronounced that the historians have given credence to the tradition that the original Bearnese came westward through the Mediterranean from the land of Jason and colonized this out-of-the-way corner. There is a history of Bearn, Taine says, composed by a Bernais, who was counselor to the king in 1640. This "fine red folio" is ornamented with "a magnificent engraving representing the conquest of the Golden Fleece."

Pau is the chief city of the Bearnese. Oloron is the place of departure from the railway. Bedous is the village of the Valley of the Aspe shut in by lofty mountains. In Bedous the founder of St. Louis was born, a younger brother in the ruling family. Bedous was the home of Pierre Laclede until he was 31.

Taine, the author of "A History of English Literature," traveled in the Pyrenees and studied the Bearnese at close range. He wrote of them: "Liberty has thriven here from the earliest times, crabbed and savage, homeborn and tough like a stem of their own boxwood."

Taine told how Count Gaston, a Bearnais, was one of the leaders of the first crusade: "He was, like all of the great men of this country, an enterprising and a ready-minded man, a man of experience and one of the vanguard. At Jerusalem he went ahead to reconnoiter, and constructed the machines for the siege. He was held to be the wisest in counsel, and was first to plant upon the walls the cows of Bearn."

A long record of courage the Bearnese made in the Middle Ages. Taine said:

"The counts of Bearn fought and treated with all the world; they hover between the patronage of France, Spain and England, and are subject to no one; they pass from one to the other, and always to their own advantage, 'drawn,' says Matthew Paris, 'by pounds sterling, or crowns, of which they had both great need and great abundance.' They are always first where fighting is to be done or money to be gained; they go to be killed in Spain or to demand gold at Poitiers. They are calculators and adventurers; from imagination and courage lovers of warfare—lovers of gain from necessity and reflection."

One of the earliest incidents of the French Revolution had its setting in Bearn. The spirit of these freedom-loving mountaineers flamed up, according to Carlyle, in this affair:

"At Pau in Bearn, where the old commandant had failed, the new one—a Grammont, native to them—is met by a procession of townsmen with the cradle of Henri Quatre, the palladium of their town; is conjured, as he venerates this old tortoise shell in which the great Henri was rocked, not to trample on Bearnese liberty; is informed withal that his majesty's cannons are all safe—in the keeping of his majesty's faithful burghers of Pau, and do now lie pointed in the walls there, ready for action!"

In the time of Pierre Laclede, the Bearnese, the peasants, or plain people, were owners of the little farms they tilled. Thus the founder of St. Louis came well by the homestead principle he applied in the formation of his settlement. To those who joined him in the early years Laclede, without any authority, "assigned" ground. To some he gave a half block, to others an entire block. The condition was that the ground must be improved. Laclede secured the confirmation of these assignments with deeds from the government. He brought with him from Bearn this idea of ownership as opposed to tenantry, and he put it in practice.

**The Scotch-Irish Blood.**

Of the strains which entered into the early population of Missouri, Senator Vest said:

"Immediately after the Revolutionary war, and even before it had closed, emigrants commenced passing over the Appalachian Range into the gloomy forests of Kentucky and Tennessee to contest the supremacy over the soil with the Indians and wild beasts. This emigration was composed largely of Scotch-Irish blood, that most remarkable of all the races which have existed upon this continent, independent, self-willed, impatient of restraint, yet not given to disorder; every man a soldier and his own leader; every woman fit to be the mother of heroes. This Scotch-Irish blood has given to the western states, into which they went, blazing the paths of civilization with the ax in one hand and the rifle in the other, men who have impressed themselves in war and peace upon these great communities.

"Nearly all the leading families of Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri came from this Scotch-Irish lineage, which possessed so much of individual and racial antipathies; always determined in their own opinions, and with strong passions and high prejudices, but at the same time deeply religious, their religion being militant, like that of the old Jews, who for forty years went through the wilderness praying by night and fighting by day, but always carrying with them the Ark of the Covenant. This Scotch-Irish blood has given to these western states men who molded their institutions and impressed themselves indelibly upon their destiny —the Jacksons, Hardins, McCullochs, McClernands, McKees, Estills, and Gentrys. Both their ancestors and their descendants have been leaders in every community where they became citizens.

"With this remarkable pioneer migration across the Appalachian Range of Scotch-Irish

lineage there went also a small contingent of Virginians, another most remarkable race. They were the cavaliers of England, who, after they lost the cause of the Stuarts, and before the restoration of Charles II, came from England to Virginia. They were the men who charged with Prince Rupert against the Ironsides of Cromwell and knew no fear. Among these families, descendants of whom can be found today in the Old Dominion and in the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, were the Lees, known in England as the Loyal Lees, who gave to Virginia Light-Horse Harry in the Revolution, William Henry Lee in the councils of Congress, and Robert E. Lee, the peerless leader of his countrymen in our Civil war. Side by side with the Lees who charged under Prince Rupert were the Bentons. Thomas H. Benton was descended from this family."

**Maker of the Louisiana Purchase.**

"Even a great philosophical statesman sometimes builds more wisely than he knows," said Champ Clark. "Even the Sage of Monticello, who divides with King Solomon and Lord Bacon the honor of being the wisest man that ever lived, did not fully comprehend the supreme importance of his own work. When he came to die he wrote his own epitaph, and passing over the fact that he had been a member of the house of burgesses, representative in Congress, governor of Virginia when Virginia extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from Tennessee to the Great Lakes, minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the Court of Versailles, secretary of state, vice-president and finally President of the United States, he selected three things on which to rest his fame, and expressed them in these words:

"'Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statutes of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia.'

"Those were indeed tremendous achievements. The grateful recollection of them can never fade from the minds of men as long as this earth shall revolve upon its axis and slide down the elliptic. For these acts all Americans, indeed all mankind, are his debtors; but he should have added a fourth which makes all Missourians, past, present and future, especially his debtors—

"'Maker of the Louisiana Purchase.'

"It is generally assumed by the wiseacres who write the histories that in the border states the old, wealthy, prominent, slaveholding families all adhered to the Confederacy, and that only the poor, the obscure natives and the immigrants from the North stood by the old flag. This is a serious mistake. The great historic dominant family connections divided, thereby making confusion worse confounded. Prominent people wore the Confederate gray. Others just as prominent wore the Union blue.

"In Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton, 'the great senator,' a North Carolinian by birth and a Tennessean by training, lost his curule chair in 1851 on the slavery question, and so long as he lived his vast influence was for the Union, and it was his political pupil—Frank P. Blair, a Kentuckian and a slaveholder—who more than any other held Missouri to the Union, while his cousin, General Jo. Shelby, was the beau sabreur of the trans-Mississippi Confederates.

"To the same class belonged James O. Broadhead, John B. Henderson, Edward Bates, Hamilton R. Gamble, Willard P. Hall, John D. Stevenson, Thomas C. Fletcher, Thomas T. Crittenden, John F. Philips, B. Gratz Brown, John D. S. Dryden, James S. Rollins—the most brilliant orator and one of the largest slave owners in the state—and a large minority, if not a positive majority, of the leading Unionists of Missouri."

**Impressions of Travelers.**

An early traveler in the Missouri territory told of the surprises to be met. He said it was impossible to form an idea from the exterior of some of the houses

Bates and that he could not afford to give it attention. The tombstones were almost hidden by the grass and weeds.

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families. Hence in this territory there are many sterling characters. Amongst others I mention with pleasure that brave and adventurous North Carolinian, who makes so distinguished a figure in the history of Kentucky, the venerable Colonel Boone. This respectable old man in the eighty-fifth year of his age resides on Salt river, up the Missouri. He is surrounded by about forty families, who respect him as a father, and who live under a kind of patriarchal government, ruled by his advice and example. They are not necessitous persons, who have fled for their crimes or misfortunes, like those gathered about David in the cave of Adullam; they all live well and possess the necessities and comforts of life, as they could wish. They retired through choice. Perhaps they acted wisely in placing themselves at a distance from the deceit and turbulence of the world. They enjoy an uninterrupted quiet and a real comfort in their little society, beyond the sphere of that larger society where government is necessary; where, without walls of adamant and bands of iron, the anarch fiend of the monster despotism would trample their security, their happiness and their dearest possessions under foot. Here they are truly free; exempt from the vexing duties and impositions, even of the best governments; they are neither assailed by the madness of ambition, nor tortured by the poison of party spirit. Is not this one of the most powerful incentives which impels the wandering Anglo-American to bury himself in the midst of the wilderness?"

**A Story of Official Integrity.**

Perhaps the earliest realization of what financial panic meant came to Missouri in 1819. It brought out a good illustration of the official integrity which was standard in those days. Pierre Didier was treasurer of the territory of Missouri. He had a large sum of public money. The funds would not be needed for six months. Pierre Chouteau and Bernard Pratte were Didier's bondsmen. They went to the treasurer, told him they were hard up for cash and wanted to borrow $1,000 apiece for ninety days. Didier seemed very sympathetic, but said he didn't have the money. Pratte and Chouteau suggested that the amounts might be taken from the territorial money.

"My friends," said Didier, "it is not my money. You cannot get him. Here is my house and lot, my horse, my cow, and my bed. Take them and sell them at auction and relieve yourselves."

It seems that Pratte and Choteau had gone to Didier to try him rather than to get the loans. According to the story which was preserved by William Grymes Pettus and deposited with the Missouri Historical Society, the bondsmen wanted to assure themselves that the territory funds, for which they had given security were all right. They went away, Mr. Pettus said, "perfectly satisfied that Didier was an honest man."

**The Earliest American Immigration.**

Captain Stoddard asked Governor Delassus for a list of the officials under him. He discovered that the syndics of Missouri districts were, in several places, neither French nor Spanish, but Americans. As he proceeded with his inquiries, the captain was somewhat surprised at the number of Americans he found residing in the interior. He estimated and reported that at least three-fifths of the country population was American, and that in the settlement of St. Louis four-fifths was French and Canadians.

**Daniel Boone's Salt Industry.**

As early as 1798 Daniel Boone visited the salt springs which have borne his name ever since. He was on a hunting trip and had come from St. Charles. Run-

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

RUFUS EASTON

WILLIAM CLARK

DANIEL BOONE

From a portrait painted by Chester Harding at Boone's home near St. Charles in 1819.

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

MERIWETHER LEWIS

ways of deer and other animals centered at these springs. Boone saw that the place had been the resort of salt-loving animals and that they had licked the ground wherever the water ran. Salt springs in that day were generally known to the hunters and settlers as "licks," because of the manner in which the animals obtained the salt from the saturated earth.

There was great demand for salt in the pioneer period when game was plentiful and when pork was one of the chief products. Boone realized the importance of these springs. He built a cabin near them and spent the most of the winter shooting deer that came to lick the ground. He also tried the waters to discover which spring contained the strongest solution of salt.

These springs were eight miles northwest of New Franklin on the Missouri river in what became later Howard county. Not only was the name of Boone's Lick given to the principal spring, but when the county was organized and subdivided that portion including the spring was called Boone's Lick township. When increasing settlement led to the location of thoroughfares, the principal one from St. Charles west was called first Boone's Lick Trail and later Boone's Lick Road.

Upon his return to the settlements Boone told his relatives about the salt springs he had found. In 1807 Daniel M. and Nathan Boone, two of the old trapper's sons, with three other men went to Boone's Lick, taking with them kettles and an outfit for the manufacture of salt. They succeeded in making some hundreds of pounds. To deliver the product at St. Charles they resorted to one of the oddest forms of transportation ever known on the Missouri. Hollow sycamore trees were cut down, the salt was packed within them, the ends were plugged. Then the logs were rolled into the river and fastened together with strips of hickory bark. The men in canoes towed these logs to St. Charles, where it is tradition, "the salt arrived in good condition."

Some one asked Boone if he was ever lost in his wanderings. The reply was carefully considered. "No, I can't say as ever I was lost, but I was bewildered once for three days." He described his first years in Missouri the happiest since his long hunt in Kentucky with John Finley.

**Boone's Chosen Burial Place.**

Boone came all the way from Kentucky on horseback. His first home was close by Marthasville, one of the oldest towns in Missouri. Marthasville is on the Warren county bluff, overlooking the Missouri river. It consists of two or three stores and a dozen houses. Before the railroad it was a point of considerable importance, for the farmers of Warren hauled their products there to reach the river. Indians were troublesome in those days, and a fort was built soon after Boone's arrival. It was called Callaway Post, after Flanders Callaway, who had married the daughter of Boone. A brother of the great Daniel, Squire Boone, and Nathan, the old pioneer's youngest son, came from Kentucky and joined him.

After Daniel Boone had lived near Marthasville for some time, Nathan built for his father and mother a cabin in Femme Osage, about five miles from what is now the hamlet of Augusta, in St. Charles county. Later the cabin gave place to a commodious stone house, which was Boone's home until he died. The house is still standing, on what is now the Johnson place.

To Daniel Boone was credited the expression, "I think it time to remove when I can no longer fell a tree for fuel so that its top will be within a few feet of the door of my cabin."

Boone, according to the recollection of "Aunt Polly" Jones, who was living in Howard county in the eighties, was fond of eating raw venison. His early life had accustomed him to raw meat and he preferred it to the cooked. When Aunt Polly was a small child, the neighbors decided that they must have a school. When Boone was going down to St. Louis with a catch of pelts he was asked to bring back some school books. He returned with copies of the "Kentucky Preceptor" and "Lessons in Elocution," two books published about the beginning of the century.

Mrs. Boone died in 1813. The burial place selected was the Teuque creek, a beautiful spot, a mile or so from the Missouri, glimpses of which can be had through the trees. His wife's death was a great loss to the old pioneer. He frequently visited her grave, and required many promises of his children that he should be buried beside her. In the summer of 1820 Boone had an attack of fever while visiting his daughter, Mrs. Callaway. He partially recovered, and went back to his son, Nathan, on Femme Osage. There he had a relapse, and died on the 26th of September, 1820. The first legislature after Missouri became a state was in session at St. Louis. Benjamin Emmons, the St. Charles member of the legislature, announced Boone's death, and as a mark of respect adjournment for the day was taken and mourning for a month was worn by the legislators.

Boone was buried beside his wife on Teuque creek, in accordance with his oft-expressed wish. All honor that was possible in those primitive times was shown the memory of the departed pioneer. Neighbors opened a quarry in a rocky ledge on the Femme Osage and with much care got down two large slabs of limestone. On the slabs John S. Wyatt, the blacksmith, chiseled the names of Boone and his wife, the dates of birth and death, and the usual bit of mortuary sentiment.

It was not till 1833 that Warren was declared by the legislature "to be a separate and distinct county known and called in honor of General Joseph Warren, who fell at the battle of Bunker Hill." One of the early representatives in the legislature was Harvey Griswold, a noted character, who had been one of the earliest settlers and had established the second store in Marthasville. Griswold was a great admirer of Boone and a friend of the family. He offered a bill in the legislature appropriating $500 to erect a suitable monument over the grave of the pioneer. The economists of that day and generation voted it down. But for that act the subsequent desecration might not have occurred.

**Kentucky's Opportunity.**

Kentucky took immediate advantage of Missouri's formal refusal to honor Boone's memory. The Kentucky legislature, with flourishes which looked well on paper, passed a bill appropriating $10,000 to remove the bodies of Daniel Boone and his wife to Kentucky and to erect a suitable monument. John J. Crittenden was at the head of the committee which came here from Kentucky to secure the bodies. Strong protests were made by the Warren county folks.

Griswold opposed the proposition with all his might. The Kentuckians argued and coaxed.

They reminded the objectors that the place of interment on Teuque creek was really private property, and there was no certainty that it would be kept sacred. They dwelt upon the niggardly act of the Missouri legislature and then they enlarged on Kentucky's great intentions. Nobody knows just how it was brought about, but a reluctant consent was obtained and on the 17th of July, 1845, the graves were opened. Mrs. Boone had been buried thirty-two years. Daniel Boone's body had been crumbling twenty-five years. The coffins had almost entirely disappeared. A few bones was all that nature had not assimilated. These the Kentuckians gathered up and took away. When the graves were opened, General Crittenden made some remarks, expressing the satisfaction Kentucky felt in showing honor, tardy though it was, to the great pioneer. And Mr. Griswold expressed the regret the people, among whom Daniel Boone had passed his last years, felt that his resting place should be thus disturbed.

The bones were taken to Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky, and interred. An excavation for the monument was left open beside the place of interment. Notwithstanding all of Kentucky's fine promises, nothing more was done for nearly forty years. The boasted monument was not erected till 1880.

The graves from which the bones were taken were partially filled. The spot is readily found, although only a depression locates it, for the tombstones have been carried off. It is a mile southeast of Marthasville, on a farm now owned by Henry Dickhaus. One of the tombstones, quarried so carefully by Boone's neighbors, and engraved with so much labor by the blacksmith, is in the museum of the college at Fayette. The other, when last heard from, was held by Dr. Sam Jones, a descendant of Boone.

Relics of Daniel Boone are few. The Johnson family, of St. Charles county, have the cane upon which he leaned in his old age, it having been given to Charles M. Johnson by Mrs. Callaway many years ago. But there are chapters in the history of Warren county which are closely associated with the name of Boone. The most mysterious crime ever perpetrated in the county was the killing of Dr. John Jones, in 1842. Dr. Jones had married the granddaughter of Boone. He was shot in his dooryard at Marthasville, and the assassin was never known.

Removal of the bones of Daniel Boone from their resting place on the banks of Teuque creek was a desecration. There was the fit place for the old pioneer's body to crumble to dust. There the last and happiest days of his life were spent, but Kentucky would have it. The smooth words of the great John J. Crittenden over-persuaded the Warren county folks, and they gave a reluctant consent to an act which has been often regretted.

**Boone's Appeal to Congress.**

Kentucky had no claim upon Boone. She had suffered him to be despoiled of the fruits of his labors. Speculators and sharpers were sustained in their grabs upon his hard-earned acres, and when he had almost nothing left he departed from Kentucky and became a resident of Missouri. That was in 1798. He came on horseback to make a new home in Missouri, for he had been cheated out of his old one in Kentucky. This was not Missouri then, but a Spanish

province. The governor of it knew Boone by reputation, and gave him a concession of 1,000 arpents in the Femme Osage valley, now in St. Charles county. This concession was given Boone for himself. He was offered 10,000 arpents more if he brought to this vicinity 100 families from Virginia and Kentucky. He took the contract and kept his part of it, but, neglectful as ever of the technicalities, he failed to get on his contract the signature of the direct representative of the Spanish crown, and so when Upper Louisiana passed into the possession of the United States, Boone was without title to his Missouri estate. He appealed to the American Congress to do him justice. His petition was unique. The concluding paragraph was as follows:

"He approaches the august assemblage of his fellow-citizens with a confidence inspired by that spirit which has led him often to the deep recesses of the wilds of America, and he flatters himself that he, with his family, will be induced to acknowledge that the United States knows how to appreciate and encourage the efforts of her citizens in enterprises of magnitude from which proportionate public good may be derived."

Three years after this petition was sent to Washington Boone received the patent to his 1,000 arpents.

**Boone, the Law Giver.**

His visit to Missouri in 1798 was inspired by the Spanish governor. When he had found this region so much to his liking that he decided to settle here he was elected syndic of the district. Old as he was he still hunted and trapped in what is now Warren county, making trips eastward into St. Charles and westward into Montgomery. Every year he had a fine collection of peltries to send to St. Louis, for this region then abounded in "varmints." After he had been there half a dozen years, settlers, attracted by Boone's fame and the superior advantage of the country, began to flock in. The old pioneer felt crowded and he talked of going further west, but the people coaxed him out of this notion and he gradually became accustomed to near neighbors, and grew more and more appreciative of the claims of society upon him.

His position as syndic made him the foremost man of the locality. Among his duties was that of holding court from time to time, and he passed upon both civil and criminal cases. When offenders were brought before him he heard the evidence, and if satisfied of guilt he ordered a number of lashes upon the bare back. When the United States obtained possession, the jurisdiction of the territorial court was extended over all that region. But the people ignored the court, and for years they came to Boone with their troubles, and his decisions were accepted without question or appeal. He was a grand old man, and the people revered and loved him. He knew no rules of evidence, but he applied his knowledge of human nature and the principles of common sense to his judicial hearings, and never went amiss. His statutes, and his religious faith for that matter, were comprised in the golden rule, which he quoted on all occasions:

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

The manner in which Boone was respected by his Missouri neighbors was in striking contrast with the outrageous treatment by which he was defrauded of his possessions in Kentucky. This contrast renders still less excusable the

removal of his bones from Warren county to Kentucky. He chose his burial spot, and his remains ought to have been allowed to remain there undisturbed.

**The Commandant at Cape Girardeau.**

To a man who could neither read nor write, the pioneer Missourians owed much. Don Luis Lorimier was the commandant at Cape Girardeau in the Spanish regime. He married an Indian princess of Cahokia and acquired influence with the tribes, so much in fact that he was able to persuade a great body of them to participate in the judicial execution of one of their number for killing a white man. When Governor Delassus was asked by "The American Captain" in 1804 to give him a confidential estimate of the several commandants and syndics he wrote:

"M. Louis Lorimier, commandant at Cape Girardeau. This officer can neither read nor write, but he has natural genius. Since he has had command of the Cape he has always had some one near him, able to assist him. In regard to his correspondence, he signs nothing without having it read to him two or three times until he comprehends it, or it must be read again. He has maintained order in his post with incredible firmness against some inhabitants who designed to mutiny against him without cause. He is extremely zealous when employed. Although supposed to be interested, I have known him to neglect all business to execute a commission which would cause him expense instead of profit. He is much experienced in regard to Indians, especially Shawnees and Loups. It was through his influence that the Delaware Indian who had killed a citizen of the United States on the road to Vincennes, was taken by his nation to Kaskaskia. I had an incontestible proof of his talent with the Indians last year at New Madrid, where without his mediation I would have been compelled to employ force to execute the Mascoux Indian. It was he who persuaded them finally to attend the council. The letter of the governor general is a testimonial of his services. He is brave and extremely well posted in the Indian method of war, feared and respected by the savages. I think I should recommend him especially for those matters which he knows thoroughly."

**The Missourian at the Fork of the Creek.**

"I want to say that the man at the fork of the creek knows more about what is going on than the fellow who lives in town," Champ Clark once declared. "He takes a bi-weekly paper, and a daily if he can get it, and an agricultural paper. He reads these papers, line for line—even the advertisements. He never holds office; he never expects to hold office. His voting is a matter of faith. When he comes to believe in a man, he believes in him because he thinks the man is right. He doesn't know anything about political manipulation; doesn't want to. That fellow is a stubbornly faithful constituent, a most comfortable kind of a constituent to have."

**The Missourian Physically.**

"You Missourians are such tall, big men," said a lady from a seaboard state to ex-Gov. Thomas C. Fletcher at a White House reception. "I have met a dozen Missourians this evening, and every one of them was a fine looking man. Are all the men in Missouri of such good stature?"

"Madam," replied the governor, looking down blandly from his six feet, "I am rather below the Missouri average."

"Kentucky and Missouri produce men," sententiously interposed Mr. Justice Harlan, who went Gov. Fletcher about two inches better.

The seaboard lady said she was prepared to believe it from her observation. It may be that there is developing a Missouri type. Gov. Fletcher said so. He and Mr. Justice Harlan looked over the gathering of 2,000 which filled the east room, the red room, the blue room, the state dining room, the conservatory and the grand corridor, and compared impressions. They agreed that the representation from the southwestern states would average at least a couple of inches above the seaboard Americans. As for the foreigners, Mr. Justice Harlan, after surveying the tops of the heads of a hundred or two of them, asked:

"How can the nations of which these are the physical representatives expect to compete with Americans?"

**The Marching Missourians.**

During dedication week of the Chicago World's Fair, October, 1892, the year before the opening, the Missouri National Guard carried off the honors for physical appearance and splendid marching. "I lunched," said Gov. Francis, "with Whitelaw Reid and Gov. Fifer, of Illinois. Mr. Reid said: 'Come, let me tell you something, governor. I was on the reviewing stand, and when you rode by with the Missouri troops, I was standing near some military attaches of the diplomatic corps. These military men were observing the movement of the troops with critical eyes. When the Missourians passed I overheard them agree with each other that that was the finest body in the parade.' As Mr. Reid concluded, Gov. Fifer turned to me and said: 'Look here, governor, what kind of a job did you put up on us? You had picked men, didn't you?' 'We had eight companies selected from four regiments,' I replied. 'Yes,' said Fifer, 'I thought it was something like that. You rung in a cold deck on me.'"

"I have something that matches that pretty well," said Maj. Cavender, of the 1st Regiment. "As we came sweeping by the Mines building Gen. Miles rode up and asked: 'What command is this?' 'The 1st Missouri,' I replied. 'March by in column of companies,' he said, 'and don't stop for anybody.' 'I am marching by column of platoons, general,' I said. 'I can't march in column of companies; the streets of this city are not wide enough. I've got eight companies of eighty men each.' 'How many have you got in platoons,' the general asked. 'Thirty-two men,' I said. 'Very well, march by platoons,' he said, and on we went with lines as straight as if there were so many poles running along the rows of knapsacks. You see they weren't used to such large companies. Wisconsin had twenty companies, but they averaged only thirty men each. The Missourians were the only troops which marched by platoons; the others by the formation of column of companies. We took up more room with our platoons than they did with their companies. Capt. Morse, adjutant of Gen. Miles' staff, when we got by the Mines building, said to me: 'Continue your march right down to the lake and then turn north. I'm going to halt and see your troops go by. I haven't seen any troops except the regulars march today as the Missourians do.'"

"It has been a great day for Missouri, surely," commented Adjt. Gen. Wickham. "Our plan of a picked provisional regiment, selected from the whole force

J. G. Lindell

Peter Lindell

Henry Kayser

Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock

David Nicholson

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of the state, turns out to have been just the right thing for such an occasion. It enabled Missouri to carry off the honors of the parade, in competition with the whole West. I was at the grand review in Washington, and I tell you I haven't seen since 1865 such marching as the Missourians did today."

"Bringing that car load of horses from Missouri was a great thing," added Col. M. C. Wetmore. "Where would we have been if we had to rely on what we could pick up in Chicago? The black horse the governor had went all of the way down Michigan avenue *au turkey.*"

"I stood beside the Swiss Minister, Alfred de Claperde," said Capt. Charles T. Sweagle, of Kansas City. "We talked about the appearance of the different troops. 'You say those are from your state?' the minister asked, as the Missourians went by. I said 'Yes.' 'Well,' said he, after a long and critical look, 'they are the best of the state soldiers.' "

**Missouri Courage.**

Several years before his duel with Emory S. Foster, John N. Edwards wrote this analysis of the Missouri character in respect to physical daring:

"Personal prowess always attracts, no matter how utterly abused or misapplied. In the West is this especially the case. Individual daring, more perfect the nearer the man approaches the pastoral life, is a peculiar feature of western civilization. It existed in a latent but easily aroused condition before the war, now and then breaking forth into deeds of sudden yet antique heroism; and since the war—quickened by all the tremendous energies of the strife, and given a new phase because of a society that in losing its homogeneity lost its power to entirely regulate an element so dangerous—it has become a part of the people itself, often made prominent, rarely cruel or vindictive, never brutal, and always more or less serious and tragical. And there are degrees of prowess just as there are elements in the atmosphere. Each western state has its type of the desperado and each western state impresses its local characteristics upon its local representative.

"To illustrate: The Texan prefers to fight on horseback. His pistol practice culminates when, at a slashing gallop, he can hit the size of a man at twenty paces upon the right or left. In Colorado the necessity is to draw first, fire first, and advance as you fire. The first shot it is believed demoralizes and makes the answering one uncertain. In the climate of Colorado it is not imagined that one bullet can kill a man, and hence he who gets the first shot and follows it up generally gets the second and the third, and the laurels of the combat. In Utah the fighting is closer. Derringers are relied upon oftener than revolvers. The combatants are not so cool, nor could they be, having only single shots, as those who use revolvers. Death is not so certain as in Colorado, nor wounds so universal as in Texas. The personal prowess of the Missourian, however, is known and recognized throughout the entire West. In rencontres where death finds the one or the other, it comes to other than the Missourian in the proportion of eight to two. Twice in ten times the Missourian gets the worst of it. His points of superiority are soon summed up. He is cooler, quicker, more accurate, and more in practice with the revolver than with any other weapon. The pistol which carries a dragoon ball is his choice. This makes fearful work and ends a combat speedily. Besides, the Missourian—either from superior physical development, or from a larger share of that old Highlander blood which died hardest when the sword-cuts were deepest and the lance-thrusts the most numerous—can carry off more lead than the best of the other states or territories. The first shot is very rarely fatal, no matter how it may end afterwards. Taken at a disadvantage and mortally wounded, a Missourian has yet struggled up against the blow and killed even while in the hands of death himself."

**Jefferson's Grandson Heard the Declaration.**

"Can't you give Thomas Jefferson's grandson a seat to hear the Declaration of Independence read?"

The National Democratic Convention of 1900 was in session. Kansas City's great convention hall was thronged. The day was the Fourth of July. The business of making a Presidential ticket and platform had been laid aside temporarily. Delegates and guests and the public were ready to pay honor to the day and the patron saint of the party when in earnest, almost reproachful, tone the question reached the ear of the sergeant-at-arms, John I. Martin:

"Can't you give Thomas Jefferson's grandson a seat to hear the Declaration of Independence read?"

"Where is he? Where is he?" The sergeant-at-arms came to his feet as if thrilled.

"Here he is."

"I feel honored to have him accept my chair."

Dr. Carey Randolph Bankhead of Pike county was brought forward and given the seat of the sergeant-at-arms.

A Missouri descendant of Thomas Jefferson unveiled the great marble statue in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis on the 30th of April, 1913. This was fitting. But when the trustees sought the person they were embarrassed. There were Missourians in numbers unsuspected who traced their descent back to the sage of Monticello. In Jefferson City, Pike county, St. Louis and several other localities these descendants were found. The heads of some of these Jefferson families had come to Missouri in pioneer days. One of these was John Warner Bankhead, a great grandson. He was born at Monticello. The birth, in 1810, six years after the acquisition of the Louisiana territory, is recorded by Jefferson in his diary and also mentioned in his correspondence.

Jefferson had two daughters, from whom are descended this numerous posterity. Martha Jefferson married Thomas Mann Randolph, who was governor of Virginia. A daughter of these Randolphs married Charles Bankhead. The Missourian, John Warner Bankhead, was her son. In 1839 he, with his wife, who was Elizabeth Christian of Virginia, moved to Missouri and settled on a farm near what is now Cyrene in Pike county.

John Warner Bankhead lived to be eighty-seven years old. He was the ideal Missourian, a university graduate, a lover of books, a mighty hunter who heaped in the fork of a tree at his home the antlers of hundreds of deer he had killed, a whig in politics but not a partisan, a kindly man who owned slaves because it was the custom but who, like his great-grandfather, said, slavery was "the curse of the South."

**Missouri Descendants of Pocahontas.**

From the Bankhead branch of the Jeffersons came the dark-eyed Missouri girl who drew down the flags covering the marble statue in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis. She was Miss Natalie Norton. A granddaughter of John Warner Bankhead married Porter Norton of Lincoln county. Her daughter was Miss Natalie. This Missouri girl was not only a descendant of Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of American democracy, but also of the Indian princess, Pocahontas, who

saved the life of John Smith. Mr. Jefferson had no Indian strain. As family records trace the genealogy, Governor Thomas Mann Randolph, the grandfather of John Warner Bankhead the Missourian, was a grandson of Colonel Archibald Carey, who married Mary Randolph, the daughter of Richard Randolph. Jane Bowling, the wife of Richard Randolph and the mother of Mary Randolph, was the great-granddaughter of Pocahontas the princess, and John Rolfe, the English gentleman. In the unwritten annals of Pike county the family traditions which mingle the descent from American royalty and American democracy are without flaw.

Bowling Green and Calumet township and other names of localities have historic significance. John Warner Bankhead named one of his sons Carey and another Archibald after the good old Virginia custom which honors ancestry. He loved the woods. In his declining years he passed many happy days sitting under the trees and watching the birds and squirrels. Two years before his death in 1897 he wanted to go hunting in the Mississippi bottoms. His son, Dr. Carey Bankhead, reminded him of his eighty-five years and tried to dissuade him, saying: "Father, I am afraid you will die if you go down there. It is too hard a trip for you at your age."

"That is just what I would like, Carey," the fine old Missouri gentleman said. "I cannot imagine anything more beautiful than to die under the branches of a great tree with God's own sky above me."

The strain of the best aboriginal blood was strong in him. An authentic portrait of Pocahontas is in the possession of the Bankhead family. It is a copy of the portrait painted in 1613 when the daughter of Powhatan was in England with her husband John Rolfe and was received at court with much honor. This Missouri picture of Pocahontas has the merit of historical accuracy which the great painting of the baptism of Pocahontas in the Capitol at Washington is said to lack. The artist who painted the baptism took for his Pocahontas a Virginia lady, a member of the Fair family.

Both of Jefferson's daughters contributed to the population of Missouri. The youngest, Maria, or, as she was more commonly called, "Polly," married Colonel John W. Eppes of Virginia. She had only one child, a son, Francis Eppes. From this grandson descended the Eppes family of Missouri. The Pocahontas strain runs in the veins of the Missouri Eppes, for Francis Eppes married a niece of Thomas Mann Randolph, the governor of Virginia, who traced her descent from the Indian princess by the same lineage as the governor.

**Jefferson's Descendants in Missouri.**

Upon one of the anniversaries of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, Mrs. Champ Clark, wife of the then Speaker of the House of Representatives, wrote a charming narrative of the two daughters of Jefferson and their Missouri descendants:

"Thomas Jefferson married a widow, very beautiful and accomplished, so it is said. She was the daughter of John Wayles, and the 'relict' of Bathurst Skelton. She was only 23 years old when she married Jefferson, but, young as she was, she had borne to her first husband a child, a son named John Skelton, who had died in infancy.

"Mrs. Jefferson, by her second marriage, was the mother of six children, one of which

was a son. At her death she left three children—Martha, the eldest, whom Jefferson called Patsy; Mary, six years younger, called Polly, and Lucy, who was only an infant at the time.

"Tradition says that on her deathbed, Mrs. Jefferson made her husband promise that he would never bring a stepmother over her little girls, and he never did. He lived forty-four years after his wife died, but no other woman ever took her place in his heart or in his home.

"Of the daughters of Jefferson, Martha, the oldest, is the one most familiar to the American public, because she was so closely associated with her illustrious father. Martha married her second cousin, Thomas Mann Randolph, afterwards governor of Virginia, and a member of Congress.

"Both of Mr. Jefferson's sons-in-law served as members of Congress from Virginia during his term as President.

"In Bowling Green, Mo., and the surrounding neighborhood of Pike county, there are a dozen or more prominent families who are descended from Jefferson through his oldest daughter, Mrs. Thomas Mann Randolph. The pioneer of this family in Missouri was Captain John Warner Bankhead, who was the son of Jefferson's granddaughter, the lovely and beloved Anne Carey Randolph, wife of Charles Lewis Bankhead of Virginia. Her portrait, painted by Sully, shows her to have been very beautiful and it was said of her that she was wise and good as she was fair.

"She was Jefferson's first grandchild and her birth in 1790, the circumstances of which are still a matter of family record, was the occasion of much rejoicing. Jefferson was at that time a member of Congress at Philadelphia, and when his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, wrote to tell him about the baby and to ask him to select a name for her, he chose Anne Carey. This was very tactful in Mr. Jefferson and very pleasing to Mr. Randolph, whose own mother, the daughter of Colonel Archibald Carey, was dead, and his father had displeased him very much by giving him a youthful stepmother. Mr. Jefferson was trying to pour oil on the troubled waters.

"It was thus that Martha, the eldest daughter, started a long line of descendants of Jefferson. Mary, the second daughter, nicknamed Polly, was the only other child of this illustrious father to bear children. At the time of the birth of the first grandchild the young mother was only 19 years old, and Jefferson, himself, was 48. He wrote a beautiful letter to his daughter.

"'Your two last letters gave me more pleasure than any I ever received from you. The one announced that you had become a notable housewife and the other that you were a mother. The last is undoubtedly the keystone of the arch of matrimonial happiness, as the first is its daily aliment. Accept congratulations for yourself and Mr. Randolph.'

"At the same time Jefferson wrote a letter to Polly, who was then just 13 years of age, in which he felicitously complimented her on her new title of 'aunt' and desired her to write to him minutely telling exactly how the baby looked. To this Polly sent the following characteristic reply:

"'Dear Papa: I am very sorry that my not having written to you before made you doubt my affection toward you, and hope that after having read my last letter you were not so displeased as at first.

"'In my last I said that my sister was very well, but she was not. She had been sick all day without my knowing anything of it, as I stayed upstairs the whole day. However, she is very well now, and the little one also. She is very pretty (Baby Anne), has beautiful deep blue eyes and is a very fine child. Adieu, my dear papa. Believe me to be your affectionate daughter, MARIE JEFFERSON.'"

## The Jefferson Family.

"These two daughters of Jefferson were, then, the two important members of the family from the standpoint of the descendants. Many are the stories of these girls still extant.

"Mrs. Jefferson had not been fond of politics and for her sake her husband had given up the idea of a public career. It was said that he took up politics again after her death to engage his mind and take his thoughts off his own sorrow. He was offered and accepted the appointment as minister to France. He took Martha, then a little girl 11 years old, along with him and put her in school in Paris, and he left Polly and Lucy in Virginia with their

mother's half-sister, Mrs. Francis Eppes. There was an epidemic of whooping cough which ravaged the neighborhood and carried off baby Lucy Jefferson and her little baby cousin, Lucy Eppes, who was just about the same age. Polly Jefferson also had the malady, but escaped with her life.

"Mr. Jefferson then determined that Polly should cross the sea and join himself and Martha in Paris, and he wrote to that effect to his brother-in-law, Mr. Francis Eppes. Mrs. Eppes, who was one of the kindest and most motherly souls in the world, was enjoined to get little Polly into the notion to make the voyage, and her father promised her so many nice things that her little cousins were wild to go in her place, but Polly herself was of a different mind. She took her pen in hand and wrote her father a letter which she hoped would settle the matter so that she could remain in Virginia, where the people spoke English. This letter is still preserved in the family, and here it is:

"'Dear Papa: I long to see you, and hope that you and Sister Patsy are well; give my love to her and tell her that I long to see her, and hope that you and she will come very soon to see us. I hope that you will send me a doll. I am very sorry that you have sent for me. I don't want to go to France, I had rather stay with Aunt Eppes. Aunt Carr, Aunt Nancy and Cousin Polly Carr are here. Your most happy and dutiful daughter,

"'POLLY JEFFERSON.'"

"But Polly's dear papa had made up his mind to see his little daughter and he would not take 'no' for an answer. And so finally, although it nearly broke her kind aunt's heart, the parting came about.

"When Polly arrived in Paris, and was put to school, her French teacher asked her name. 'My name is Mary, but they call me Polly,' the child replied. 'Ah, Marie, that is a beautiful name,' exclaimed Madame. And so she was called Marie all the time she remained abroad, and when she came back home her friends there gave it the Virginia pronunciation, and she was called Maria. And strange to say, Maria is the name she bore the rest of her life, and Maria is engraved upon her tombstone.

"Polly Jefferson was married on the 13th of October, 1797, to John Wayles Eppes, who was called Jack, a handsome and attractive young Virginian, who once ran against his kinsman John Randolph of Roanoke, for Congress. John Randolph was a distant cousin to Jefferson, whose mother was a Miss Randolph. The only descendant of Polly Jefferson was a son, Francis Eppes, from whom there are many present-day descendants.

"John Warner Bankhead, son of Anne Carey, first grandchild of Jefferson, the progenitor of many Missouri descendants of Jefferson, was 15 years old when his great-grandfather died. He was born at Monticello, and, with his sister, Ellen, and his brother, William, was present when Jefferson died. There are numerous letters from Jefferson to his granddaughter, which are preserved in the family today.

"Four of Anne Carey Bankhead's grandsons fought in the Confederate army in Missouri under General Sterling Price. Young Tom Bankhead fell at the battle of Lexington.

"In Virginia the descendants of Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Mr. Jefferson's grandson and biographer, unsheathed their swords for the southern cause, and one great-grandson, Sidney Coolidge of Boston, took up arms and died in the defense of the Union. His mother was Ellen Wayles Randolph. She married Joseph Coolidge of Boston and became the ancestress of the New England branch of Jefferson's descendants. Her son, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, held office under President Cleveland.

"I have known personally and intimately many of the descendants of Jefferson, and I would state here and now that the chief characteristic of those of them whom I reckon among my friends and acquaintances is modesty and gentle breeding. For some reason the profession of medicine seems to appeal to the modern Jefferson more than law or politics. The present deputy sheriff of Pike county, Missouri, is Russell Bankhead, a Jefferson descendant; but three brothers of the family are practicing physicians.

"At the time of her death, February 11, 1828, five months before Jefferson's death, Anne Carey Randolph, wife of Charles Lewis Bankhead, had three children living. The oldest one, as I have said, married and came to Missouri. His sister, Ellen Bankhead, married a Virginian named John Carter, who afterwards became a resident of Pike county, Missouri."

**"Scotch Tom" Nelson's Clan.**

The blood of "Scotch Tom" Nelson flows strong in many Missouri veins. It has made its impress on the development of the state in many ways. "Scotch Tom," so-called from his North of England origin, came over to this country in 1700 or earlier. The eldest grandson was a governor of Virginia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a major general in Washington's army. One of the caravans which meant so much in the early settlement of Missouri was that of Thomas Withers Nelson, a descendant of "Scotch Tom." In this caravan were horses, wagons, slaves, and the first carriage seen in Central Missouri, if not in the state. Thomas Withers Nelson brought his fine furniture, his silver plate and the wardrobe of a Virginia gentleman. He was a cavalier of the cavaliers. After his marriage to Mary Gay Wyan, of Kentucky lineage, the colonial mansion of the Nelsons in Boonville, known as Forest Hill, became one of the social centers of the state in the forties and fifties, where distinguished visitors to the West found that brand of hospitality which has made Missouri famous.

From another branch of this prolific "Scotch Tom" family, of Colonial days, came Absalom Nelson in the early eighties to take the management of the Ozark Plateau Land company which had acquired 160,000 acres of land in Laclede, Dallas, Webster, Camden and Pulaski counties. Absalom Nelson started an apple nursery of 500,000 trees. In ten years he had demonstrated the fact that the Ozark country was the natural home of the apple and had become known far and wide as "the big red apple man." An orchard of one hundred acres which Absalom Nelson set out gave the fruit which took the first awards at Omaha in 1898, at Paris in 1900 and at the Pan American exposition in 1901.

It is strongly characteristic of Missouri sons to take up and carry on the work of their fathers, building broader on the foundations of their pioneer forbears. Arthur T. Nelson succeeded his father, who died in 1901, in the development of orcharding in the Ozarks. Through ownership and lease, Mr. Nelson came into the active control of over 20,000 apple trees and when he shipped 300 carloads of apples in a single season from the Ozarks he was recognized as the apple king of the country. One of his latest accomplishments is an experimental orchard of 100 varieties of apples from the record of which Missouri may enter upon her second century with scientific guidance for this great industry of the Ozarks. Another of Mr. Nelson's public spirited ventures is an orchard of 1,000 trees of Stark's Delicious, which should begin to tell in this centennial year of the state whether Missouri has reached the last word in apple improvements.

It was not strange that the Ozark country should be regarded as the natural habitat of the apple when on the Wheeler farm in Dade county there was to be seen an apple tree which, seven feet from the ground, measured nine feet and ten inches in circumference.

**Berthold, Man of Learning.**

At the banquet given to Lafayette was one citizen of St. Louis who, addressing each member of the large staff in turn, conversed with him in the language with which he was most familiar. This was Bartholomew Berthold. He not only spoke in the French, the Spanish, the Italian, the German, but he was fluent and used the idioms of the cultivated of these nationalities. A mer-

Adolphus Busch

George D. Capen

Theophile Papin

W. A. Hargadine

Ralph Sellew

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chant, Mr. Berthold had the reputation of being the most finished scholar of his time in St. Louis. The city was not without its highly educated citizens. But Mr. Berthold was more than a man of learning. He was of Tyrol birth. On his forehead was the scar of a sabre cut received in the battle of Marengo, where, a youth, Berthold fought in defense of his country against Bonaparte. He came to the United States as secretary to General Willot, when the latter, who had been in opposition to Napoleon, left France. The general went back to France after the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty, but his secretary remained in the United States, becoming naturalized and settling in St. Louis.

The high sense of personal honor and justice which characterized Missourians in the early period was illustrated by an incident in the family of Joseph Charless, the founder of the first newspaper. Joseph Charless, the second, learned the trade of his father, that of printer, but did not follow it. He went into the wholesale drug business. When the elder Charless died, in 1834, he wanted to leave his estate to his namesake and trusted son, following the old world custom. Joseph Charless, the second, persuaded his father, while the latter was in his last illness, to make equal distribution of the property interests to all of the heirs.

**General Smith's "Experiment."**

The richest man in Franklin was General Thomas A. Smith. He resigned from the regular army in 1818 and settled in Franklin, taking part as receiver in the establishment and conduct of the government land office. That office received an average of over $50,000 a month for several years. General Smith built a large brick house which went into the river, along with the rest of Franklin, a few years later. In the days of its boom, lots in Franklin sold higher than lots in St. Louis. As if foreseeing the end of Franklin, General Smith began buying land in Saline county and continued until he had nearly 7,000 acres. He moved to this estate and gave it the name of "Experiment," because he intended to make it an experiment in the value of Missouri prairie. Experiment became the show place of Central Missouri. William Barclay Napton, in his delightful "Past and Present of Saline County," described Experiment from personal visits made there:

"He had surveyed and divided a plot of forty acres near the center of this large tract, for the site of his residence, negro quarters, stables, barns and other outbuildings. The enclosure on the south side of the gradual declivity extending down to the spring branch of five acres embraced the yard around the residence; to the east immediately adjoining, separated by a sod fence, was an equal area devoted to a garden and nursery for young trees. Three hundred yards to the north, across the spring branch, were built two parallel rows of double cabins for negroes, adjoining which in the east was the overseer's house; the intervening space being studded with a growth of black locust. Around the yard were double rows of cotton wood and honey locust, the yard itself being shaded with forest trees, oak, ash, elm, box elder, etc., intermingled with a variety of evergreens. The garden of four or five acres was divided into equal squares, separated by broad walks, bordered with flowers, the walks always kept clean and clear of grass or weeds. There was never any lack of house servants, at all times in readiness. At least two cooks, two waiting maids, a dining room waiter, a carriage driver, a gardener and a man to feed and care for dogs, and an unusually well qualified man servant whose duty it was to wait on any gentlemen visitors. If the visitor at Experiment was from a distance and disposed to take part in a deer drive, he was furnished with a horse, gun and other accoutrements of a complete hunter's equipment. There was a small

armory of guns and pistols of various kinds kept in a room built for that particular purpose, and the arms under the care of one of the servants. General Smith was a lover of horses and dogs, always having a pack of thirty or forty deerhounds, besides coursing and bird dogs. When I was a boy, it was an interesting sight when the dogs were fed in a long trough, the food being usually corn meal mush. A great deal of the general's time was devoted to the planting and culture of fruit and ornamental trees, having his own nursery for starting the trees, he superintending the culture and grafting. In the course of a few years he had the greatest variety and most extensive orchard in this part of the state. Some of the yellow pines set out by him are now (1909), perhaps, eighty feet high and two feet in diameter. Adjoining the old garden there are yet pecan, chestnut and mulberry trees set out by him, which are large and flourishing trees, besides white pine, hemlock, spruce, locusts and innumerable cedars, monuments of good taste and foresight."

Indians, remembering General Smith as the former commander of the Army of the West, were among his visitors. On one occasion half a dozen chiefs on the way to Washington stopped at Experiment. They were taken into the dining room and given a fine dinner. On the table was a whole turkey and part of another, with ham and other dishes. The Indians refused to touch the whole turkey although the negro servants offered it to them. They ate heartily of the rest. But as they were leaving the table one chief drew an arrow, speared into the whole turkey, put it into his bag and slung the bag over his shoulder.

**Lincoln's Missouri Friend.**

Before John B. Helm moved to Missouri and became one of the leading lawyers in his part of the state, he kept store in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, and had for a customer Mrs. Nancy Hanks Lincoln, the mother of Abraham Lincoln. When Lincoln made his campaign trip to Kansas in 1860, he stopped off at Hannibal and went to the law office of Judge Helm. He said to a party of friends who showed him the way to Judge Helm, "This, gentlemen, is the first man I ever knew who wore 'store' clothes all the week! My highest ambition when a boy was to reach his position in society." And then the nominee for the Presidency told how, as a boy, he went with his mother to Helm's store and sat on a nail keg entranced by the sights. He remembered that Storekeeper Helm used to give him a lump of maple sugar. Lincoln remained over Sunday in Hannibal, passing most of the time with Judge Helm.

**The Missourian, a Fighting Man.**

In Daniel Boone Tavern, Columbia, at the celebration of the centennial of the presentation of the petition for statehood to Congress, Jackson Day, January 8, 1918, John F. Philips commented on "The Missourian as a Fighting Man." He said:

"The Missourian is a fighting man. He is like what Sam Cox said of the Irishman, 'He is never at peace except when in a fight.' In all of our national wars, the Missourians have been heroes in the strife. They formed the rank and file of that untiring, dauntless band that followed the plume of Col. Richard Gentry through the everglades of Florida, and put to inglorious flight the fierce Seminole Indians. They made up that immortal regiment of Doniphan's expedition that marched across the desert wastes from Fort Leavenworth to the Rio Grande river, and on through the sands and cactus of Mexico to Chihuahua, and planted our flag on its capitol. They helped to carry it through the land of the Aztec to his ancient capital, and unfurled it from the Castle of Chapultepec. The only time that they divided in

devotion to the nation's flag was in the Civil war, when about 70,000 followed the flag of the Stars and Bars, and about 110,000 stuck to the old Star Spangled Banner, and they made a record glorious in courage and fortitude.

"Today the old flag catches the glint of the woodman's axe in the pineries of Maine and reflects the flash of the fisherman's spear at the Aleutian Islands; while the sunlight of the Orient gleams in its folds. More wonderful still, I live to realize that the American flag is being carried across the Atlantic Ocean to be unfurled on the continent of Europe amid the powder-smoke and grime of the bloodiest, most horrible war that ever cursed the civilized world. My heart goes with it, because it is borne by our blue-eyed bright faced boys, the flower and chivalry of American young manhood. My prayer is that the old flag, with all its glorious memories, may come back to its own country, and its own home, its stars speaking of the crests of victory, its stripes of the blood of sacrifice and its azure field of the peace of Heaven."

**The Pioneer Free Masons of Missouri.**

Early records of masonry in Missouri illustrate how widely distributed in respect to former residences were the new comers. Missouri lodge was granted a charter by the grand lodge of Tennessee in 1815. This charter was issued to Joshua Norvell, who had moved from Nashville to St. Louis, to take charge of the Western Journal, Thomas Brady, a St. Louis merchant, who had come from Ireland, and John A. Pilcher. Among the masons in St. Louis who joined the lodge, presenting credentials from lodges elsewhere, were Major Thompson Douglass, from Maryland, paymaster U. S. A.; Risdon H. Price, eastern shore of Maryland, merchant; Nathaniel B. Tucker, Virginia, judge of the circuit court; Thomas H. Benton, Nashville, Tenn., lawyer; Captain Peter Ferguson, Norfolk, Va., who became judge of probate; Dr. Edward S. Gantt, surgeon, United States army; John Rice Jones, Ste. Genevieve, Mo., judge supreme court; Captain Henry S. Geyer, Hagerstown, Md., lawyer; Sergeant Hall, Cincinnati, lawyer and editor; Jonathan Guest, Philadelphia, merchant; William H. Hopkins, Philadelphia, merchant; William Renshaw, Sr., Baltimore, merchant; David B. Hoffman, New York, merchant; Abraham Beck, Albany, N. Y., lawyer; Moses Scott, Ireland, justice of the peace; George H. C. Melody, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph C. Laveille, Harrisburg, Pa., architect; Daniel C. Boss, Pittsburg, merchant; William G. Pettus, Virginia, secretary of the Missouri constitutional convention.

When, in 1820, the Royal Arch Masons wanted to organize a St. Louis chapter they needed nine petitioners. The town could supply only four. Two were found in St. Charles and two more in Edwardsville. The ninth was Clement C. Fletcher, who was in business at Herculaneum, having come from Maryland two years before. For several years Mr. Fletcher rode thirty miles across the Meramec and up the Mississippi river bank to attend the monthly meetings of the chapter. He was the father of Governor Thomas C. Fletcher.

**The First Missouri Scientist.**

In the first decade of the century the leading scientist of St. Louis was Dr. Saugrain. He was described as "a cheerful, sprightly little Frenchman, four feet six, English measure; a chemist, natural philosopher and physician." The few newspaper and literary St. Louisans of that day were fond of Dr. Saugrain, and visited him. One of them left this description of the first laboratory in St. Louis:

The doctor had a small apartment which contained his chemical apparatus, and I used to sit by him as often as I could, watching the curious operations of his blowpipe and crucible. I loved the cheerful little man and he became very fond of me in turn. Many of my countrymen used to come and stare at his doings, which they were half inclined to think had too near a resemblance to the black art. The doctor's little phosphoric matches, igniting spontaneously when the glass tube was broken, and from which he derived some emolument, were thought by some to be rather beyond mere human power. His barometers and thermometers, with the scale neatly painted with the pen, and the frames richly carved, were objects of wonder, and some of them are probably still extant in the west. But what most astonished some of our visitors was a large peach in a glass bottle, the neck of which could only admit a common cork; this was accomplished by tying the bottle to the limb of a tree, with the peach when young inserted into it. His swans, which swarm around basins of water, amused me more than any of the wonders exhibited by the wonderful man.

The doctor was a great favorite with the Americans as well for his vivacity and sweetness of temper which nothing could sour, as on account of a circumstance which gave him high claims to the esteem of the backwoodsmen. He had shown himself, notwithstanding his small stature and great good nature, a very hero in combat with the Indians. He had descended the Ohio in company with two French philosophers who were believers in the primitive innocence and goodness of the children of the forest. They could not be persuaded that any danger was to be apprehended from the Indians; as they had no intention to injure that people, they supposed of course that no harm could be meditated on their part. Dr. Saugrain was not altogether so well convinced of their good intentions, and accordingly kept his pistols loaded. Near the mouth of the Big Sandy, a canoe with a party of warriors approached the boat; the philosophers invited them on board by signs, when they came too willingly. The first thing they did on entering the boat was to salute the two philosophers with the tomahawk; and they would have treated the doctor in the same way, but that he used his pistols with good effect; killed two of the savages, and then leaped into the water, diving like a dipper at the flash of the guns of the others, and succeeded in swimming to shore with several severe wounds, the scars of which were conspicuous.

Madame Kennerly told how Dr. Saugrain bothered by Indians electrified the brass knob of his door. When an unwelcome red visitor had been properly shocked the Doctor would say: "You see the Great Spirit is displeased with you for coming to see me at the house in which I have my work to do. He has punished you."

**Jefferson's Secret Emissary to St. Louis.**

"I very early saw that Louisiana was indeed a speck in our horizon which was to burst in a tornado," President Jefferson wrote to Dr. Priestly in January, 1804, after Lower Louisiana had been delivered at New Orleans. This expression is from a letter by Mr. Jefferson in the state papers relating to the purchase of Louisiana Territory which were published by Congress in connection with the World's Fair of 1904. But these state papers do not make public all that was going on during Mr. Jefferson's administration with reference to Louisiana Territory. Four years before Bonaparte made up his mind to cede, Jefferson sent a secret emissary to St. Louis. He desired to know the political sentiment of the people, and especially the feeling toward the United States. The President foresaw trouble if a foreign flag continued to float much longer on the west bank of the Mississippi. The secret mission to St. Louis was part of Mr. Jefferson's plan of preparation to acquire possession by force if necessary when the time was ripe. The person selected for this delicate mission was John Baptiste Charles Lucas. At a later date Lucas, in 1805, received from President Jefferson,

who remembered the valuable secret service rendered, the appointment of commissioner of land claims and judge of the territorial court. He came to St. Louis in September, bringing his family to make this his home. But about 1801 Judge Lucas made himself known to St. Louisans and to the Spanish officials as Pantreaux. He had a boat, two or three boatmen, a small stock of goods. Ostensibly he was a trader from up the Ohio, exchanging what he had brought from Pittsburg for furs at St. Louis. In reality he was distributing American ideas along the Rue Principale of St. Louis.

Perhaps Mr. Jefferson could not have found a better man to study the conditions at St. Louis and other French settlements on the Mississippi. Lucas could do more than observe. He was an ardent supporter of republican principles. He not only spoke the language of the people he visited, but he could talk to them of France. In Paris young Lucas, the law student, had a friend in the son of the landlord at Passy where Benjamin Franklin and Adams lived at the time of the American Revolution. He listened to the Americans and he became an American at heart. Le Roy de Chaumont was the son of the Passy landlord. He caught the American fever and decided to come to the United States, buy cattle and live in western New York. John B. C. Lucas, differing in political sentiment with his father, the king's attorney, of an old Normandy family, came at the same time. That was in 1784. Albert Gallatin had come out to America four years earlier, just after graduating from the University of Geneva.

Somewhere the young Frenchman and the young Swiss began an acquaintance which developed into lifelong friendship. There was only three years difference in their ages. Gallatin settled near Pittsburg. Six miles out of town Lucas bought a farm. He busied himself learning the language of the country. Gallatin went to the Pennsylvania legislature and Lucas followed him into public life. In 1795 Gallatin was elected to Congress and the same year Lucas went to the legislature. At Washington Gallatin won the confidence of Jefferson and became closely associated with him. Gallatin shared Jefferson's interest in the critical situation on the Mississippi. Lucas visited Washington and made a strong impression upon Jefferson. He undertook the confidential journey to St. Louis and went from here to other places on the river, going as far south as New Orleans. He made his confidential reports to Mr. Jefferson. The President developed his policy toward the Mississippi problem, utilizing the information Lucas supplied. In 1803, Lucas, with all of the support the administration at Washington could give him for his valuable services at St. Louis and along the Mississippi, was elected to Congress from Pennsylvania. As soon as the acquisition of Louisiana was concluded, Mr. Jefferson selected Lucas as the representative of the administration at St. Louis, making him at the same time commissioner and territorial judge.

Judge Lucas was not a large man. As he grew in years his hair became snow white; the fire remained in the jet black eyes. Judge Lucas had more than the courage of his convictions. He asserted his opinions. He was a very positive man. He never forgave Thomas H. Benton for the death of his son, Charles Lucas. Long years afterwards, perhaps a score, Judge Lucas, his daughter, Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, and James H. Lucas were guests at a Planters' House ball. The judge saw Mr. Benton some distance down the room. An effort was made to prevent a meeting. Judge Lucas, with flashing eyes, made his way through

the throng to Mr. Benton, stopped in front of him and looked at him. Then turning to James H. Lucas he said with deliberation and in tones loud enough for many to hear:

"It is a consolation, my son, that whoever knows Mister Senator Benton knows him to be a rascal."

The senator did not reply. A few minutes later he left the ball room.

**Loyal Missourians Rebuffed Aaron Burr.**

Aaron Burr found no encouragement in St. Louis for his southwestern empire. He came here in September, 1805, having retired a few months before from the vice presidency. General Wilkinson, commander of the United States army, was acting as governor of Upper Louisiana with his residence at St. Louis. He received Burr as his guest. To meet Burr the leading citizens of St. Louis were invited to the governor's house. Wilkinson was very friendly at that time with Burr, although a year later he turned against him and reported to the administration at Washington what he claimed were the details of the conspiracy. The rebuff to Burr at St. Louis was prompt and convincing. The first St. Louisan invited to confer was Rufus Easton. Burr had known the young Connecticut lawyer in Washington. He had interested himself personally to have Mr. Easton appointed a judge of the new territory and had advised him by letter to form the acquaintance of General Wilkinson, when he reached St. Louis. That was in March of 1805. Four months later, coming down the Ohio river after his visit to Blennerhassett, Burr wrote from Fort Massac to Easton of his coming. At the conference in St. Louis he revealed enough of the plot to draw from Easton an emphatic refusal to be connected with it. Easton broke off friendly relations with Burr. Within a few days after the conference Easton wrote to President Jefferson that "General Wilkinson has put himself at the head of a party of a few individuals who are hostile to the best interests of America." This was in October, 1805. At a still earlier date, two months before his appointment as judge, Easton had communicated to another Connecticut man, Gideon Granger, Jefferson's postmaster general, his belief in the existence of a traitorous project to divide the Union. Easton had spent a considerable part of 1804 at Vincennes and at St. Louis. At both places there were reports current of the proposed movement to establish a southwestern empire to include the Louisiana Territory and Mexico.

Burr did not remain long in St. Louis after Easton took such a positive stand against him. He did not find any encouragement. Wilkinson, who thoroughly enjoyed ostentation, had an official barge, luxuriously equipped for those days, with twelve rowers in uniform. Burr took the barge and went down the river to Ste. Genevieve. Wilkinson began to show strong dislike for Easton. He circulated charges of official misconduct. Easton went to Washington and had a personal interview with Mr. Jefferson. Subsequently he made an official report of all he had learned about Burr's plot.

Burr came to St. Louis under the impression that he would find the French habitants ready to throw off United States authority. He met with no encouragement of that impression. On the contrary he quickly discovered that both the French residents and the American new comers were loyal to the United States government. Burr went away from St. Louis to spread his plans and to seek

DR. ENNO SANDER

COL. JAY L. TORREY

WILLIAM CARR LANE
First Mayor of St. Louis

CHARLES GIBSON

supporters along the Ohio and the lower Mississippi. From St. Louis the authorities at Washington received from time to time the warning of Burr's movements. From St. Louis was sent the letter giving the information that Burr expected to have Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and Orleans territory declare themselves on the 15th of November, 1806, independent of the United States. St. Louis and Louisiana territory, of which it was the capital, had rejected Burr's overtures and were not in the combination. On this letter from St. Louis, United States officials at New Orleans proceeded to take care of Burr. They arrested his agents. Burr was summoned before a grand jury. The President issued a proclamation. The boats on the Ohio which had been prepared for the expedition were seized. The movement collapsed.

**Father of the Naval Academy.**

Nearly half a century after his death, recognition of a great service rendered the nation came to a Missourian. It was in the form of a bronze tablet provided by Congress and placed in the library of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The tablet bore in relief the bust of William Chauvenet "Through Whose Efforts and Plan the Naval Academy was Established and Organized at Annapolis." So reads the inscription. "Chauvenet, more than any other man, is entitled to the title of Father of the Naval Academy," Admiral Franklin said at an alumni dinner in 1890. President Taft told a graduating class that Chauvenet originated the idea of a naval academy. Chauvenet planned a course of study which was approved by two secretaries of the navy, including Bancroft. He was a member of the first faculty, was president of the academic board and at various times was professor of mathematics, astronomy, navigation and surveying. About the time Washington University was started, Chauvenet came to St. Louis, took the chair of mathematics and later became chancellor, holding that position until a few months before his death. To Chancellor Chauvenet the university owed largely the high rank which it almost immediately obtained among American institutions.

**Missourians Urban and Rural.**

The Missourian is a home lover. Some years ago John T. Fitzpatrick, of the state bureau of statistics, found that there were 798,812 families living in 677,196 dwellings. That meant 110 families to 100 dwellings. The Missouri family averaged 4.4 persons. But the comparison of country with town population was even more interesting, perhaps. The majority at the time of this analysis was rural. There were 1,894,518 people living in the country and 1,398,817 town dwellers. The birthrate was much higher in the country. The towns had only 61,460 children under five, while rural Missouri had 121,083. Further, as to ages, the bureau found that the tendency of the younger element in Missouri is to flock to town and that many in town, when they reach the age of forty-five, "return to the farm to spend their declining years, living on the best the land offers and there become healthier." It was discovered that in the country there were 51,568 who are over sixty-five, while the towns showed but 26,682 above that age. Between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five there were more people in town than in the country, 137,931 in the towns and 133,276 in rural sections. Of Missourians between forty-five and sixty-five there were more in the country than in town, showing in the

judgment of the state statistician that those who make rural Missouri their homes are healthier and live longer than those who choose urban life.

The comprehensive character of the population of St. Louis in early days found illustrations in the religious life of the community. Near Park avenue, in 1842, the Lazarists had an ecclesiastical seminary. At the head of it was Vicar General Joseph Paquin, born at Florissant, 1799, practically a native of St. Louis. The professors were two Spanish, one Italian and one German father. The teacher of Greek and Latin was an Irishman. The students were Irish, French, Italian and Americans. They received instruction in the modern languages from teachers familiar with those languages from early youth. In the recreation hour, after supper, Father Paquin encouraged the professors and students to tell their recollections of their respective countries and to sing the songs of the various nationalities, he leading with the French chansons of early St. Louis, taught him in his boyhood.

**Chips of Old Blocks.**

Blue grass, which was first found growing wild in the Shenandoah Valley, made its way into Missouri by way of Kentucky. Central Missouri tradition has it that Dr. John Sappington was one of the first men to sow blue grass seed in Missouri, dividing that honor with Richard Marshall. These two pioneers, it is told, not only introduced the seed and sowed it on their own land in Saline county, but when they went about the country they carried seed from their fields and scattered it along the roads in promising soil. If the tradition be true, and there is no reason to doubt it, Dr. Sappington is entitled to be classed as a benefactor of the pioneer days for something other than his antidote for the chills and fever. Richard Marshall was one of the historic characters of Arrow Rock. He had a voice so strong that when he called his hogs he could be heard by the neighbors a long way off. And when he came back to the "Rock" and engaged in conversation, he could be heard the length of the principal street. He had a habit of concluding each assertion, when he was especially in earnest, with "You hear me!"

Dr. Sappington had a son, William B., who became a widely known Missourian, tradition of whose wit has outlived him. When the doctor was having his Saline county land improved, the Sappington family was living in Howard county. The doctor sent William over the river with sides of meat for the hands. The boy crossed in a skiff and then carried the meat to the farm. Rev. Peter Nowlin, the minister, came on William sitting by the road for a rest and stopped to give him some friendly encouragement. He asked William what his father intended to make of him. "Well," said the chip of the old block, "so far as I am able to judge, I think he intends to make a horse of me."

The Missouri boy was not dull-witted. Some one seeking Dr. D. C. Gore found the doctor away from home but the son was there, engaged in improving his aim by throwing stones.

"Where is your father?" the caller asked.

"Dunno!" said the boy, letting fly another stone.

"Gone to see his patients?" was suggested.

"Nope. Patients all dead." And away went another stone.

## CHAPTER L

## SOME MISSOURI DISTINCTIONS

*Conservation of Humanity—Inspiration of a Great School of Medicine—Washington University's Forward Stride—Verdict of the Belgian Commission—Evolution of Barnes Hospital—A Credit Like Bread on the Waters—Beginnings of Two Fortunes—How Adolphus Busch Repaid Robert A. Barnes—St. Louis University's New Medical Standards—The James Campbell Bequest—A Well Guarded Secret—Another Poor Boy's Contribution to Philanthropy—The Clinic Refined—St. Louis, the Nation's Nerve Center—E. C. Simmons, the Man of an Hour—The Prosperity Movement—Roosevelt's Indorsement—Two Original Missouri Industries—Genius and Geography—International Fame of the Sage of the Osage—Missouri, Habitat of True Americanism—The St. Louis Educational Movement—A Butterfly Farm—Nelson's Sni-a-Bar Object Lesson—Making Ten Pounds of Beef Where One Grew Before—A School of Healing—Weather Forecast—The Record of Ravenswood—Missouri's Loan to Great Britain—Birth and Home of Manual Training—Sir William Mather's Tribute—The Burns Club—Missouri's Vital Part in Currency Reform—Genesis of the Federal Reserve System—Henry Shaw's Vision Come True—The Veiled Prophets—Forty-two Years of Pageants—Secrets of Success—The Order's Place in the Life of St. Louis—Rural Spread of the Salvation Army—Beginning of the German Evangelical Synod—Aboriginal Road Making—Invention of the Drag—Some Missouri Marvels.*

"The greatest natural resource that any community has consists of its men and women, and there is no resource which so much needs conservation or whose conservation has been so much neglected in its larger aspects. It is difficult to see how any other educational department can so directly and so profoundly influence the welfare of a great community as an effective medical department; and while other departments, such as agriculture, college and educational divisions, have been fairly well developed, medical departments everywhere, not only in the West, but throughout the nation, have been comparatively neglected."—*From the formal announcement of the new Washington University Medical School, 1912.*

Modest and plain were the words which told of the inspiration for this, the most notable forward stride in medical education taken anywhere in the United States. Four citizens of St. Louis, Robert S. Brookings, William K. Bixby, Edward Mallincrodt and Adolphus Busch inaugurated the movement with gifts which insured completion. Plans were made and work begun on a basis of $5,000,000 expenditure for grounds, buildings and endowment. Steadily the building went on until three separate institutions, a great medical school, the most modern and best equipped hospital in the country, and a children's hospital without a superior anywhere else were completed and in operation. The location of the great group was the best possible, fronting south and west on Forest Park. More in detail, the group included a pathological laboratory, a laboratory for biological chemistry, physiology, pharmacology and preventive medicine, a building for the anatomical department, a training school for nurses, a clinical building and a power plant for the common service of all.

When the Belgian Medical commission visited the United States in 1919, the Washington University School of Medicine was pronounced, in the official report, the best the commission had seen in Europe or in this country.

**Washington University's Great Step.**

In May, 1911, the sites had been secured; the architects' plans for the buildings were ready. Chancellor Houston made this definite announcement:

St. Louis is to have a new, thoroughly efficient, modern general hospital, a new children's hospital and a great, modern medical school. This is no dream; it is a reality. The school is in operation, with its reorganized staff and largely increased facilities. All obstacles to the prosecution of the hospital plans have been removed, and the erection of buildings will be begun as soon as the details have been perfected. The three institutions will work in the closest affiliation and, as far as service goes, will be one.

The three institutions will occupy adjoining tracts of land beautifully located at the east end of Forest Park, east and west of Euclid avenue, south of the Wabash railroad. The tract has a double front on Forest Park, and it would be difficult to find a more convenient or beautiful location in St. Louis. The site is sufficiently removed from the smoke of the city, yet sufficiently near the mass of population to make access easy.

On the tract will be erected the Robert A. Barnes Memorial General Hospital, with a building for a training school for nurses, the new building for the St. Louis Children's Hospital and an entirely equipped home for Washington University Medical School, consisting of a clinical building in close proximity to the hospitals, a pathological laboratory building, a laboratory building for biological chemistry, physiology, pharmacology and preventive medicine, a building for the anatomical department and a power plant for common service.

The Robert A. Barnes Memorial Hospital, facing south, will at the outset contain approximately 300 beds, with all the most modern arrangements not only for administrative service, but for scientific efficiency. The building and equipment will cost about a million dollars, and the hospital will begin work with at least a million dollars of endowment. It will be of modern, fireproof construction and will be as perfect for its purpose as the best architect and the best hospital expert in America can make it.

The St. Louis Children's Hospital, of adequate size and of equally modern construction, will be located on the southwestern corner of the tract, fronting on Forest Park, with a southwestern exposure. When completed it will be filled with patients at the time remaining in the present Children's Hospital, which is now working in affiliation with the Washington University Medical School.

The clinical and laboratory buildings of Washington University Medical School, with their equipment, will cost in the neighborhood of $1,000,000, and to them, when they are completed, will be transferred the laboratories and the recently greatly extended equipment contained in the present university medical buildings.

The buildings of the three affiliated institutions, with their equipment, will therefore represent an investment of more than two and a quarter millions of dollars, and the operating expenses of the three will represent the income of a capital in excess of three million dollars.

**The Evolution of Barnes Hospital.**

Leading up to the Barnes hospital, which cost $1,000,000, and to this group of magnificent buildings devoted to conservation of humanity, is a chain of interesting events in the life of St. Louis. Robert A. Barnes was a native of the District of Columbia, descended from an old Maryland family. He prospered in St. Louis and became president of the "old State bank," as it was known commonly, but more correctly the Bank of the State of Missouri. Mr. Barnes, also, was one of the builders of the Broadway car line and was president of the company. From Mr. Barnes, Adolphus Busch obtained the credit which enabled

him to make headway in his business career. He had married the daughter of Eberhardt Anheuser, not long after Mr. Anheuser had acquired an interest in the old Bavarian brewery. Mr. Busch was given the opportunity to see what he could do with the property. When he had formulated his plans for expansion he realized that he must have at least $50,000 credit in the bank. He made the rounds of the banking offices explaining what he hoped to do with the brewery's limited plant. One banker after another turned down the ambitious young German. Some of those who refused him credit frankly told Mr. Busch that they had no confidence in him; that he had fitted up his offices extravagantly, putting carpet on the floor, and substituting artistic spittoons for the old wooden boxes filled with sawdust which had been good enough for several generations of St. Louis business men. They expressed the opinion that his scheme to develop the brewery business would be a failure. Telling the writer of that experience, Mr. Busch said:

"I went up to the old State bank and saw Mr. Barnes. I told him what I wanted. I asked him to come down to my place, to examine the books and to see for himself how I did business. Mr. Barnes gave me the credit I needed and I went ahead."

That loan of $50,000 was the cornerstone on which Mr. Busch began to build his business success. Nearly fifty years later Mr. Busch gave from his fortune toward the group of medical structures which were to be associated with the Barnes hospital a contribution several times the amount of Mr. Barnes' loan to him.

Mr. Barnes had no special religious affiliation. He married Louise De Mun, a great-granddaughter of Madame Chouteau, one of the five daughters of Jules De Mun, in his day deemed the best educated young man of St. Louis. Mrs. Barnes was a devout Catholic. Not only was there no conflict of religious opinion between them, but she agreed heartily with her husband in his plan to leave the bulk of his fortune for a hospital and to place the bequest in the hands of Methodist trustees. Very frankly Mr. Barnes explained his reason for choosing Methodists to administer upon the hospital trust was that from his observation they were perhaps the most economical in the management of such trusts.

**Three-fold Purpose of Barnes Hospital.**

"A hospital for sick and injured persons, without distinction of creed, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church South," was the vision. Robert A. Barnes began life in St. Louis on a salary of twenty-five dollars a month and the privilege of sleeping in the store. He saved $100 out of that first year's salary, and the end of every year after that found him better off than he was before. When he died his trustees received $940,000 with which to carry out the dream. Mr. Barnes wasn't a Methodist. That was the extraordinary part of his bequest. But he said to Smith P. Galt, who drew the will and was one of the first trustees, "A person ought to invest his money for doing good as he invests it in his business, where it will bring the largest returns. Whilst the Methodist church is one of the largest Protestant denominations, it is one of the poorest financially, yet it does more good among the poor than any of the others, so I think my fortune will do most good with it."

Mr. Barnes provided that as vacancies occurred among the three trustees he

selected, the places should be filled by the bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, because, he said of the bishops of that denomination, "they are not only men of piety and good principles, but of sound sense and executive ability, and I can trust both their heart and their head."

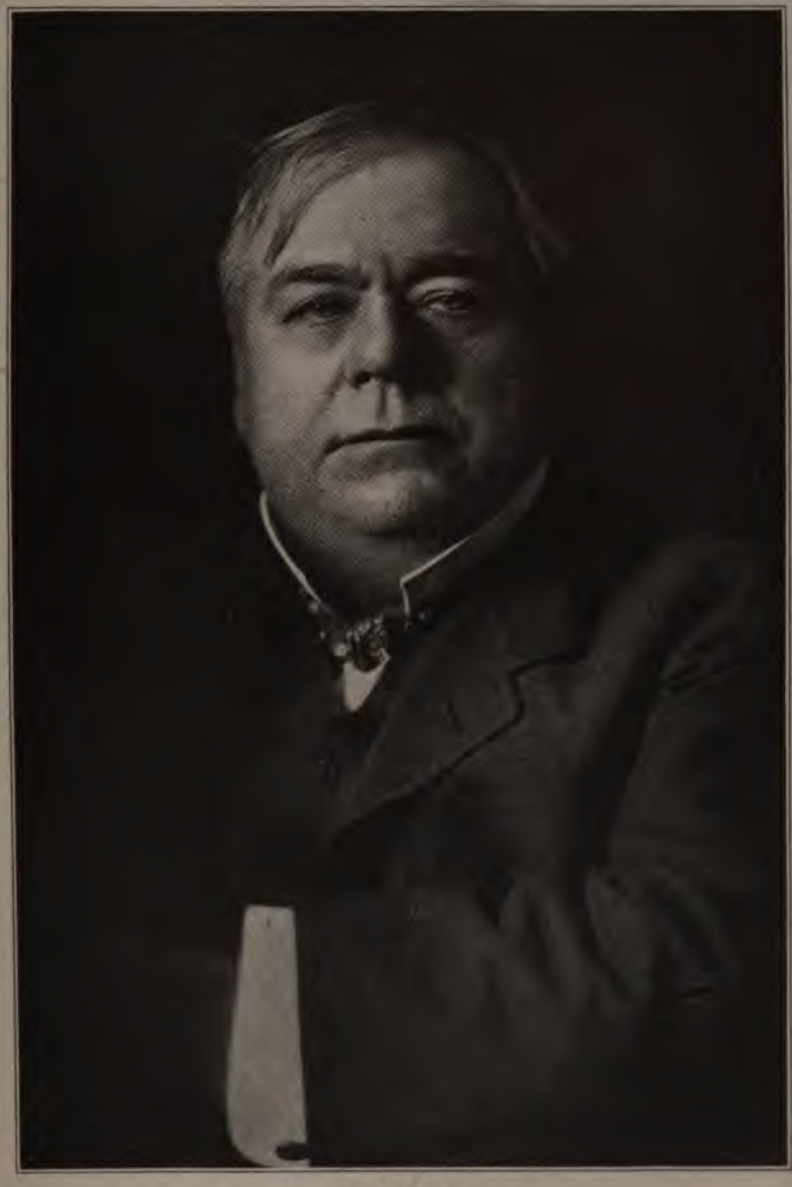
The trustees wisely held the fund until they were able to build and endow on a scale that made Barnes hospital without a superior if an equal among the institutions of its class in the United States. More than treatment of sick and injured was had in view with the planning and equipment of Barnes hospital. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, when the corner stone was laid seven years ago, set forth the three-fold purpose,—care of the sick, training of physicians, and advancement of medical knowledge:

"The aim of Barnes Hospital is not simply to provide a boarding house for the sick, to which some would limit the function of a hospital, but to aid in prolonging human life and increasing human happiness by increasing knowledge as to the cause, nature and treatment of disease, and so making the strongest possible appeal to philanthropy in our day, when some twelve years have been added to the average period of human existence. This reduction in mortality is the sequence wholly in our control of infectious diseases in their relation to the period of life under fifty years. All honor to the wise philanthropists, especially in our own land, who have given millions for the control and investigation of diseases like tuberculosis, cancer, hook-worm and pellagra, and other diseases which are proving so fatal to the race. Most of this work is being done in the laboratories of the medical schools of the highest order. Happy is the hospital that can do work that is at once philanthropic and educational and scientific. Barnes Hospital, under the wise conduct of its trustees, thus aspires to the mission and work of an ideal hospital."

**St. Louis University's Exceptional Standards.**

When St. Louis was half as large as it is in this centennial year, it had four times as many medical colleges. Educational requirements for entrance to these institutions were not rigid. Two years was considered a sufficient time in which to equip the medical student with a diploma authorizing him to go forth and "practice." St. Louis leads all other centers of medical education, except possibly Philadelphia, in the standards. Her colleges have set requirements higher than the laws of the state demand. To enter the School of Medicine of St. Louis University, the student must come with his bachelor's degree, showing a college course and must take four years of the professional course, or he must show the completion of a reputable high school course of four years and must take five years with the University, one of which years shall be devoted to a college curriculum of such sciences as are preparatory to the professional studies, and four of which shall be in the School of Medicine. These must precede the granting of the diploma of M. D.

St. Louis University, in pursuance of a policy to advance still higher the standards, grants a degree which is unique. No other institution in the United States has it. The student graduate of the School of Medicine is encouraged to take a year in hospital work at one of the several approved institutions of the city. Upon this practical experience he writes a thesis. His paper, if satisfactory, forms the basis on which the university grants the higher degree of bachelor of science in medicine. This innovation of St. Louis University is in the direction toward which medical education is tending. The movement to make a year in



W. R. NELSON

practical hospital work supplementary to the four years in college has become nation-wide. In the opinion of the St. Louis University faculty, this hospital work will become one of the requirements for a degree from the best medical institutions.

The School of Medicine, as a department of St. Louis University, came into existence by the consolidation of two strong medical colleges, the Marion Sims and the Beaumont. This resulted from the evolution of medical education in which St. Louis has taken foremost rank. A few years ago there were no members of the faculty who devoted all of their time to teaching. The lecturers were also practitioners. Now, all of the instruction in the first two years of this School of Medicine is done by men who give their time exclusively to it. Laboratory work has become a much more important feature, the equipment for which demands heavy expenditure. Preventive instruction is now given a leading place in the curriculum.

**The James Campbell Bequest.**

But St. Louis University looks forward to much greater things. Not long before his death, James Campbell was approached on the subject of devoting some of his great wealth to a certain praiseworthy purpose. "No," said the financier, "when I get ready to give, I will do it in my own way." And he did. When his will was made public in 1914 it revealed that the estate, after provision for wife and daughter and possible grandchildren, was bequeathed to St. Louis University for this definite purpose:

> "For the erection, equipment, furnishing, maintenance and support of a hospital in the city of St. Louis, or in St. Louis county, State of Missouri, for sick or injured persons, and for the adavncement of the sciences of medicine and surgery."

James Campbell kept his secret well. He had his will drawn by the most capable of legal help, leaving, however, a blank space where the legal phraseology provided for the final bequest. In that blank space Mr. Campbell wrote the name of St. Louis University and then the paragraph given above. In another place where it was necessary to specify by name the legatee Mr. Campbell had a blank space left and inserted, after the will came from the hands of the lawyers, the name of St. Louis University. Opposite these insertions, Mr. Campbell wrote "this insertion is made by me in my own handwriting." Not the slightest intimation had the university received of this intended action of Mr. Campbell. Of the amount of the benefaction to reach the institution after the execution of the trust to the wife, daughter and possible grandchildren only the most indefinite estimates could be made. That the university would receive "millions" for this humanitarian purpose and that this was the greatest philanthropic bequest made by a Missourian were about all that could be said. To the Mercantile Trust company was left the administration of the estate unhampered as to specific instructions in regard to investment and management, a striking evidence of complete faith in business associates.

**The Rise of James Campbell.**

James Campbell had begun business life at the age of eleven years, sweeping out a Wheeling, Va., grocery. That was in 1859. One day he carried an

order of groceries to the headquarters of General Fremont. He attracted the notice of the Pathfinder and was made a messenger. When Fremont left the army and came west to build a railroad through Southwest Missouri the blue-eyed, laughing Irish boy came with him; he watched the engineers until he knew how to handle the surveying tools. At first he carried the chain and drove stakes, getting in the way of the boss to peek through the instrument and see how it worked. In camp at night he watched the writing of the field notes. Before he was twenty-one he had mastered the practical details of railroad surveying and was at the head of a field party. As he saved a few dollars he got options on good pieces of land which he sold at profit to incoming settlers. Associates said: "Jim Campbell can see prosperity and immigration coming into a locality a year before anybody else can." And so his capital doubled from time to time.

In that period Missouri went railroad mad. Counties and townships issued bonds,—millions of dollars on the face. The bottom dropped out in the panic of 1873. Seventy-four Missouri counties defaulted. James Campbell bought those bonds. He invested all of his savings and all that he could borrow at the banks. He took bundles of those bonds to banks, impressed the bankers with their ultimate value, borrowed on them as collateral and bought more bonds. It wasn't speculation in the sense of chance. James Campbell had seen and studied many of these counties as he ran the lines of proposed railroads He knew the land, township by township. He foresaw Missouri's development. The bonds cost from ten to twenty-five cents on the dollar. They became worth millions. One batch of them cost $7,000 and yielded nearly $500,000. Such was the foundation of the fortune which will come back to benefit generations. "Two things every man must have if he wishes to make any marked success in the world," James Campbell said, near the close. "These are patience and faith. Tenacity counts for more than genius."

**Refinement of the Clinic.**

In the new St. John hospital, of St. Louis, a stone balcony overlooking the operating room accommodates about a dozen people. In the old St. John hospital, following the custom of such institutions, there was an amphitheater from which one hundred or more students could look down on the patient undergoing operation. That is one distinction that has come in latter day medical education. The clinic has been relieved of what was one of its chief terrors, publicity. At the great School of Medicine of St. Louis University, the scores of patients who come daily for treatment are seen by small groups of students with the operating surgeons and nurses. If the patient is a woman a curtain is drawn to conceal the face.

**When E. C. Simmons "Went to the Front."**

In 1908 there were dull times. A period of business torpidity existed. In the East there were symptoms of panic. Trade in the cities and traffic on the railroads declined. Industries suspended. Bread lines lengthened. The conditions seemed to make possible many evils. Executive heads of several St. Louis railroads canvassed the agricultural situation. Their returns showed that the farms were doing well; that the trouble seemed to be with the mind, not with

the body of the country. One of these railroad men went to Festus J. Wade, told what the returns from the country showed and asked if it wasn't possible to arouse people from this torpor. Wasn't St. Louis, in the heart of productive territory, the logical place to start? Could not the psychological person to head such a movement be found in St. Louis?

Mr. Wade said "yes" to all three questions in one time, called over the phone to E. C. Simmons a request to stop for a moment on his way up town to his bank meeting. When Mr. Simmons came into the Mercantile Trust company, Mr. Wade told him what was in mind and added the opinion that it was quite possible to do some good if Mr. Simmons would "go to the front."

"Now," argued Mr. Wade, "don't turn us down. Please take a day to think it over. We believe there is something in it."

"I don't need to take a day to think about it," replied Mr. Simmons. "I can tell you right now, the idea is good and I'm with you."

The mental habit of Festus J. Wade is of the instantaneous exposure order. "The best known merchant in the United States," E. C. Simmons has been called truthfully.

The next day the board room of the Mercantile Trust company was filled with men representing almost every large business interest in the city. Mr. Simmons sat at the head of the table. Down one side and up the other each man expressed himself on the situation. Summarized their conclusions were:

> Fundamentally we are all right. What we need most is to think right. The panic ought to be over. It would be, but for lack of confidence. Is it possible by a strong energetic, intelligent campaign of sentiment to expedite normal business activity? Yes, but some of the causes of timidity must be banished. Business men are entitled to the credit of ten years of the greatest prosperity the country has known. Some business men are to blame for the panic. Business men must find and apply the remedy for present troubles. We cannot criticise the President of the United States for the exposure of vices and evils in business methods. The American people have passed judgment that in some measure his charges are true. Corrective laws have been passed by Congress; they are wise. Prosecutions which the President caused to be instituted should proceed to finality. But demagogic agitation should cease. Radical, hasty, experimental legislation, the country over, against railroads should be condemned and checked, and the way to do it is through public sentiment.

**The National Prosperity Association.**

The business men of St. Louis organized "The National Prosperity Association" with E. C. Simmons at the head of it. Other members of the executive committee were W. K. Bixby, vice chairman, James E. Smith, Murray Carleton, Jackson Johnson, George A. Meyer, Festus J. Wade.

There was no precedent to guide. But the facts supported. Crop prospects favored. The philosophy of the movement was sound. Two strongly favoring factors contributed. In St. Louis the harmonious, effective organization of business interests has been a progressive development of seventy years. Perhaps in no other American city have the business men perfected organization for general good so thoroughly and efficiently. The machinery, in the form of the Business Men's League, was ready for immediate application to the prosperity movement. The other factor was the relationship which the business houses of St. Louis sustain to their traveling salesmen. That relationship is close,

confidential, encouraging on the one side, loyal, enthusiastic and zealous on the other. Every business man who attended the first meeting of the prosperity movement went to his office to prepare a letter in his own way to his corps of traveling men. Within twenty-four hours every business house in the city, having men on the road, had been asked to cooperate. And as rapidly as the mails could carry the appeal from St. Louis wholesale houses west, north, south and east, traveling men began to talk the encouragement which bottom facts justified. The response was quick and emphatic.

Then was opened the most extensive interchange of correspondence which had been attempted among the business organizations of the country. There were 100,000 of these associations. Many thousands of them had come into existence within five years. Never before were these organizations massed in a common movement. Responses of appreciation, tenders of cooperation, inquiries showing interest were almost innumerable. The National Prosperity Association of St. Louis taught the tremendous power which the business organizations, united in a common purpose, possess. It blazed the way for that coordination and organization of commercial bodies which gave the nation its irresistible force in the war emergencies ten years later.

The St. Louisans took the movement to the White House. To Mr. Simmons and his delegation President Roosevelt gave his hearty indorsement of the movement:

> The business and commercial interests of this country to be prosperous in any enduring sense must be administered honestly. With occasional exceptions they have been and are now so administered. As you have well said, wherever there is evidence of dishonesty it must be pursued relentlessly and punished; but having thus moved forward to a high plane of business integrity, and on that plane built wisely, let no man seize the moment when we have, as a nation, pilloried the real malefactors, to say that all American business men, or even any considerable number of them, are malefactors. I welcome your work and shall be glad to cooperate with you in any effort to establish prosperity on right and honest lines.

Its second month the National Prosperity Association opened with Re-employment Day and with orders for goods in anticipation of demand. The industries of St. Louis and vicinity added to their labor rolls between 17,000 and 20,000 people. The wholesale houses placed orders for $5,000,000 worth of new stock. This was an application of works to go with faith which was novel in business rules. It was taken up by other cities and Re-employment Days, one after another, came in quick succession through the summer in different parts of the country.

**St. Louis, the Nerve Center.**

To delegates and alternates and national committees of the great political parties, the National Prosperity Association submitted its appeal that platforms be framed and campaigns be conducted with consideration for the business interests of the country. There is no record of a Presidential year which caused less disturbance of trade, less anxiety among business men.

Week after week through telling addresses of President Simmons and his associates, through almost endless correspondence, through an encouraging press,

the movement of sentiment-making went on. The unemployed became fewer, the idle cars on the sidetracks diminished, the swelling volume of trade recorded the change.

The National Prosperity Association made no claim. It congratulated. The movement was one of protest against doubters and pessimists. It sought return of confidence by that which had brought on the distrust—public sentiment. Business activity returned, in spite of the political campaign, more rapidly than was ever before known after a panic. A business organization upon the Atlantic seaboard, when the improvement became so apparent and permanent that it could not be mistaken, sent this message to President Simmons and the National Prosperity Association:

"You have shown the rest of us that St. Louis is the nerve-center of the United States."

**The Corn Cob Pipe and the Zither.**

The Missouri meerschaum had its introduction as an industry in 1872. Henry Tibbe, a wood turner in Franklin county, conceived the idea of fashioning a pipe out of a corn cob. He received an order from St. Louis for 6,000 corn cob pipes, but didn't think enough of the invention to take out a patent until six years later. A method of filling the pores with plaster gave the cob pipe a character which justified its claim to patent protection. The industry grew into 30,000,000 pipes a year, turned out by half a dozen factories in several hundred designs. It called for corn of a variety which requires longer time for hardy maturity than ordinary kinds. A cob pipe of artistic and durable finish goes through six vigorous treatments with the saw, the borer, the plaster, the sand paper, the shellac, the varnish. Leach the actor composed lines to the cob pipe:

"When you wish to smoke a healthy, peaceful pipe,
Just try an honest corn cob of the East Missouri type.
Don't brag about your calabash, or a brier from B. B. B.
Till you try a plain old corn cob from East Missou-ri-ee!

"When the pipe you smoke is Sepiolite, for sure—
In other words, a meerschaum, of sea foam, ever pure—
Don't think you're really smoking the only pipe to be,
Till you try a long stem corn cob from East Missou-ri-ee!"

Back of the development of the cob pipe industry is the story of the discovery of corn cob utility by "Doc" Carr. Among the cherished traditions of St. Charles is the memory of "Doc" Carr who fought Indians, set type and fashioned cob pipes with a jacknife. Perhaps Carr was not the first Missourian who hollowed out a cob, put stem in the bottom and punched down the crumbled leaf with thumb. But Carr, it appears from tradition, was the first Missourian to turn out a surplus of these pipes, shellac them roughly and sell them for five cents apiece. He improved on the first output and charged a dime. But Carr's industry did not get beyond the local retail stage. It remained for others to take out patents, invest capital and acquaint the world with the Missouri meerschaum.

A state official at Jefferson City, some years ago, wishing to make a holiday gift of exceptional character to a young lady in whom he was interested, sent

abroad and imported from a noted musical instrument dealer in Germany a zither. When the gift was received and examined the place of manufacture was discovered to be a town on the Missouri Pacific railroad a few miles east of Jefferson City. That Missouri maker of the sweet-toned combination of strings and sounding board was at the head of his industry in the world.

**Genius and Missouri Geography.**

The Rev. Dr. James Wilderman Lee wrote many things that will live. His paper on "Genius and Geography" read before the Burns Club of St. Louis in 1915 was one of them. "The geography of the earth's surface," Dr. Lee said, "is only the description of so much commonplace gravel until the whole is idealized and transformed and illuminated by the genius of man." This was the conclusion drawn by Dr. Lee to account for the perpetual distinction which the genius of Burns has given to "a few little rivers and villages and towns and the City of Edinburgh."

"Railroads, warehouses, vast fields of wheat, pork and beef plants, add in themselves nothing alone of permanent value to these countries, which are being mapped and geographically described from the standpoint of historic people and historic deeds," Dr. Lee said.

In a handsome stone building overlooking a sweep of the Osage river at Osceola is the most complete library, public or private, in the United States, on classical and philosophical subjects. It is the collection of Thomas Moore Johnson, who died in 1919. For more than a generation, this little city has been known to scholars and educators in this and other countries. Some years ago a German scholar came to Missouri to take a professorship in a Missouri college, saying he was influenced to do so because this state was the home of Thomas Moore Johnson. Writers and lecturers have journeyed to Osceola to make grateful use of Mr. Johnson's exhaustive knowledge and to consult the library freely placed at their service. During a period of years Mr. Johnson published "The Platonist, an Exponent of Philosophic Truth," and later "The Bibliotheca Platonica," in which he presented his interpretations of the writings of Plato, Aristotle and their successors. Among the books of which Mr. Johnson was the author and which have places in the libraries of universities in England and on the continent are "Plato and His Philosophy," "Iamblicus' Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy," "Opuscula Platonica," "The Three Fundamental Ideas of the Human Mind," "Proclus' Metaphysical Elements." The genius of Thomas Moore Johnson has given the Missouri Osceola a lasting place in the world's geography.

When a St. Louisan traveling abroad made some inquiry for an authoritative work on some historical feature of ancient Greece, he was told that the greatest authority on that particular subject lived in St. Louis and that his name was Denton J. Snider.

**Missouri, Birthplace of True Americanism.**

Thekla Bernays, widely observant traveler, lifelong student of philosophy, devoted lover of the ideal, once wrote:

"Missouri seems singled out to appear as the birthplace of the broadest and finest interpreters of the true American spirit. The true American spirit, as I conceive it, is that

THE BOTANICAL GARDEN AND HOME OF DOCTOR SAUGRAIN

HENRY SHAW
Founder of the Missouri Botanical Garden

spirit which seeks to spread good will on earth, to level all obstacles which shut out any part of humanity from the beauty and the happiness of earth, from the possibilities of realizing the best that is in themselves, and of giving of their best to their less favored brethren and sisters. Who now I ask, has stood for this spirit in a sweeter, gentler, in a more smiling and smile-provoking, therefore in a most optimistic and truly American way than our grandest Missourian, Mark Twain? And is he not sweetly and ably seconded by that other Missourian, Eugene Field, friend of all children, grown-up children as well as 'little delights,' as the Romans called them, though that honeyed phrase in these days must include their sometimes being little terrors. These two have gone before into infinity. Augustus Thomas, whom in his days of local glory many of us called 'Gus,' is a third Missourian whose name has become known from ocean to ocean and beyond the seas.

"Antedating Mark Twain, or rather contemporary with his earliest work, was a movement not productive of creative literature in its highest sense perhaps, but educational rather, and humanitarian; a movement that, beginning in St. Louis, eddied out from this center all over the country to its outermost confines and beyond. The originators and parents of this movement were not all Missourians by birth; on the contrary, they came from various states both in and out of America, but it was in St. Louis, virgin soil for the planting of their ideas, that they came together, conceived and first carried out their plans for a school system which has been widely copied and stands as a model for the world. This group comprised William T. Harris, afterwards the United States commissioner of education; Denton J. Snider, author of many philosophical and educational books; ex-Governor Henry C. Brockmeyer; Thomas Davidson, the great scholar; Charles L. Bernays, well-known journalist and brilliant critic of music; Susan E. Blow, who introduced kindergartens in the United States; Miss Anna Brackett, Miss Mary Beedy, teachers of high ideality and forceful character, active during their best years of life in our normal and high schools.

"This inspired and inspiring little circle not only accomplished the tremendous work in the schools, the benefit of which we are still reaping, but they formed the nucleus from which emanated nearly all that was done in those days in music, art and metaphysics in St. Louis. For a number of years they published the Journal of Speculative Philosophy, the first organ of philosophic thought printed in this country, a publication which was looked upon with respect even in European universities. It was devoted principally to the interpretation of the Hegelian philosophy, but it printed studies on the ancient Greek philosophers also, as well as quotations and translations from modern French and German metaphysicians and essays on Dante, the scholastics of medieval times, and articles on music and art."

**The St. Louis Movement.**

"The St. Louis Movement" had its beginning with Dr. W. T. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in 1857. Dr. Harris was a native of Connecticut, an educator by profession. He came to St. Louis at the age of twenty-two and became connected with the public schools, advancing through the positions of assistant teacher, principal of a district school, and assistant superintendent to superintendent.

Henry C. Brockmeyer was seven years older than Dr. Harris. He came to this country from Prussia when he was sixteen, passed through St. Louis in 1848, and settled on a farm in the interior of the state. Coming to St. Louis in 1857 to make this his home, Mr. Brockmeyer met Mr. Harris and the Philosophical society was started.

To the leaders of the cult, the school of philosophy, established by William T. Harris, was a serious, earnest movement. Some of the younger Americans who attended from mixed motives found amusement in the discussions. The Hegelian society, as it was called, about 1869, met in the old Tivoli, a very respectable place and at the same time thoroughly Bohemian in that the visitor could drink beer, listen to music, order a German meal and talk philosophy.

The Tivoli was on Fourth street, opposite the Southern hotel. It was one of the distinctive institutions of downtown St. Louis. There, weekly or oftener, the Hegelians met to discuss the correlation and conservation of forces. Perhaps no one was more fluent in the statement and support of the philosophical propositions than Dr. John W. Waters, who was said to bear a striking resemblance, phrenologically, to Darwin. Dr. Adam Hammer, one of the most assertive and combative members of the medical profession of his generation in St. Louis, was a student of Hegel, Kant and Fichte. He seldom missed a meeting of the Hegelains. One of the younger members of the coterie quoted Dr. Waters as laying before the society a problem for discussion, with this prelude:

> Here is a grain of corn; it was taken out of the body of a mummy. This body died 6,000 years ago. Death is a mighty and universal truth when only the mortal part is left behind. Here bring ye reason to bear, reason which is mistress and queen of all things. Now, gentlemen, is this grain of corn taken from this mummy's body dead or alive? It is not alive, since there is no evidence of life, only form. It is not dead, for if this grain of corn be planted in the earth where it gets heat, light and moisture, it germinates again, and we have a new crop of corn. If it is neither dead nor alive, it is dormant, and dormancy is neither life nor death, but a state of condition. Nothing exists except what conditions make. Come! Let us place our problem! This grain of corn,—it is not alive; that is A. It is not dead; that is B. But it is dormant; that is X, and X is both and neither. Now then, state the problem! You cannot tell A from B, or B from A, without the intervention of X, which is both and neither, and 'tis condition which makes it exist.
>
> "Naturlich!" ejaculates Dr. Hammer, and the philisophical free-for-all is on.

"The St. Louis Movement" attracted a great deal of attention. It brought here on visits Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott, Julia Ward Howe. It meant to some who used the expression "a remarkable awakening of interest in metaphysics." It was used by others to describe what they believed to be a marked increase of intellectual activity in St. Louis. Possibly both views were well founded. Dr. Harris, in response to an apparent demand from a circle wider than the Philosophical society, began to publish the Journal of Speculative Philosophy. With the love of wisdom on the part of the limited number, the intellectual activity of the many St. Louisans increased so that it seemed to justify in 1875 the publication of a magazine, which even in later days would be called high class. The name of the magazine was The Western. The earliest associates with Dr. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in "The St. Louis Movement" were Denton J. Snider, William C. Jones, Dr. Hall, Dr. Waters, C. F. Childs, Professor Howison, Dr. Adam Hammer and Britton A. Hill.

**Missouri Lepidoptera Farming.**

A butterfly farm made one Missourian famous. Lepidoptera would be the more scientific name. Charles L. Heink had the fad of collecting butterflies and moths. He pursued it until he discovered that Missouri was an astonishing field in the extent and variety of its entomology,—just as it is noted for ornithology and for botany. Heink, finding the conditions so favorable, went to breeding lepidoptera to get more perfect specimens for his collection. Then he took to raising moths and butterflies for other collectors until he had a trade in lepidoptera extending to other countries as well as throughout the United States. He found

1,000 distinct varieties of moths and butterflies native to Missouri. By exchanges and in various ways Heink acquired a collection of more than 3,000 lepidoptera. The bluffs and streams of the Ozarks afford the best hunting grounds for this unusual game. Cliff cave, below Jefferson Barracks, has proven to be an especially rich field. The rocks and mosses about the mouth of this cave have yielded some specimens not found anywhere else in the world, unless it be at the mouths of other Ozark caves where like conditions of rocks and mosses exist. Creve Coeur lake and Meramec Highlands, favored for reservations by the advocates of an outer park system for St. Louis, abound in lepidoptera as do the hillsides along the streams of the Ozarks generally. There is a close relationship between this lepidoptera asset of Missouri and the like extraordinary variety of Missouri flora which prompted Hardeman's historic garden and Henry Shaw's later selection of this state for his botanical philanthropy. Heink said of the butterfly agency in nature's economy:

"To my mind the study of lepidoptera is not only absorbingly interesting, but is of great benefit to mankind as well. Many of the species are useful in distributing the pollen of flowers and fertilizing them so that they seed. You know clover could not reproduce in Australia for a long time, and clover seed had to be shipped from England at great cost every year. Agriculturists studied the question for a long time before they discovered that wherever clover grew well there were bumblebees in great numbers. Bumblebees were imported to Australia, and now it is one of the finest clover-producing countries in the world. Some plants depend upon this cross-fertilization for reproduction and butterflies and bees carry the pollen on their legs from one to the other as they fly from flower to flower in search of honey."

**The Sni-a-Bar Experiment.**

A Missourian made a fortune in the city and put a good fraction of it into a farm to give farmers an object lesson in beef production. William R. Nelson came from Indiana, after various and not over lucrative ventures in a variety of enterprises. He started a newspaper on faith in the future of Kansas City and its tributary territory. When he found that his Star was well in the ascendency, he set about doing something for the region of his adoption which, as his will says, had been good to him. Kansas City was looming as the great livestock center of the Southwest. His decision was a Missouri distinction. A farm of 1,755 acres was acquired and given the historic Missouri name of Sni-a-Bar. With that training of thrift and economy with which building up a newspaper from a shoestring might endow one, Mr. Nelson proceeded to improve and stock his experiment.

The idea of proving that beef production could be made profitable on high priced blue grass Missouri land was born in Mr. Nelson's mind from what he saw being done in England on a leisurely foreign trip made after he realized that his newspaper could stand alone. Mr. Nelson saw the English breeders taking ordinary cows with just a strain of unmixed Shorthorn blood, breeding them to registered bulls and after five crosses getting the progeny into the herdbooks and selling these animals at high prices to American breeders. Why couldn't the American livestock raiser take his red and roan cows, put a good bull at the head of his herd, and, after a few crosses, produce a steer that in weight and quality would top the market and yield much greater profit than the feedlots of

Missouri, were then showing. Mr. Nelson sent his manager of Sni-a-Bar into the Kansas City market and bought 400 cows fairly well picked, but, nevertheless of the low class known to the packers as "canners." His orders were to pick cows that looked as if they would give enough milk to make good calves. The next step was the purchase of registered Shorthorn bulls, white as to color, for which Mr. Nelson paid from $1,000 to $5,000 apiece. According to Mr. Stout, the managing editor of the Kansas City Star, "No bull was too good for Mr. Nelson. The only fear he had of the plan's success was a lack of nerve to cull as the herd should be culled. He distrusted himself in this, for he realized that he, like many another breeder, was prejudiced in favor of the cattle he himself had bred."

Mr. Nelson began his experiment in 1912. He died before the time had come to judge of results beyond two crosses. But he provided in his will the means to continue the Sni-a-Bar object lesson thirty years. In the fall of 1918, more than 2,000 livestock men gathered at the farm to see what three crosses had accomplished. "I have been to the American Royal Livestock show every year, but I have learned more today than at all the shows," was the expression of one expert feeder of cattle.

For his original stock of cows, Mr. Nelson paid about $80 a head. There they stood in one pen, red and bony, thin and common, "just farm cows," as one observer put it. But the latest calves beside these cows, the first cross, were good to look upon. "They are 100 per cent better than their mothers," was the judgmen of Matthew Hall, a leading farmer of Saline county. The field representative of the Shorthorn Breeders association, W. A. Cochel, pointed out the differences: "They have wider and straighter backs, deeper ribs, better hindquarters, more high-priced meat and less cheap meat. These calves are worth twenty-five dollars a head more than if they had been bred by an ordinary bull."

The next pen showed three-year-old heifers, the first cross grown to maturity, with calves of the second cross by their sides. The three years growth of the first cross showed in even more striking form than the first cross calves what the experiment of pure-bred sires had accomplished. These three-year-olds were closer to the ground, broader and weighed almost as much as their mothers. But the second cross calves, from these heifers, demonstrated still plainer the expected results. "They are twenty per cent better than the first cross," was the judgment of the lookers-on. They had better heads, squarer bodies, with straight lines from the head to the tail. They showed less of the angle of the mothers and more of the smoothness of the bull. The two crosses had added thirty-five dollars, at least, to the value of the calves, the experts said.

The exhibit of the third cross, which was as far as the experiment had developed, showed the continuance of the improvement. Sni-a-Bar farm has begun to send to the stockyards steers of these early crosses. In the prices realized is seen the economic side of Mr. Nelson's unique remembrance of what his newspaper territory had done for him. First and second steers of the same age ran in the same pasture, received the same rations and were weighed at the same time. Their value as beef at the stockyards was judged by President Houx of the Kansas City stockyards. The first cross averaged in weight 850 pounds; the second

cross, 1060 pounds. The value of the first cross was $119 a head; of the second cross, $190 a head.

Mr. Nelson had a partiality for white bulls and red cows to begin with. Color counts when it comes to the sale of high-priced beef on the hoof. Roan is the fashionable color with the buyers at the yards. The breeders of pure-breds in Great Britain have established that as a popular color. First crosses from white bulls and red cows at Sni-a-Bar gave mostly roans, and second crosses came white. Then it was time to start back with red bulls for white cows to get the desirable roans in the third crosses. That is one of the problems that is being worked out at Sni-a-Bar. The experimental farm is endowed to go on for thirty years, by which time, Mr. Nelson believed it would have accomplished what he intended. At the end of that period, the Nelson estate is to be devoted to art in Kansas City. Very substantial but not extravagant were the policies Mr. Nelson adopted in making Sni-a-Bar an object lesson in farming. He built a rambling one-story combination of farm and club house. Out of the bluffs he had quarried and broken the limestone to make more than seven miles of hard roads. He sent down into the Ozarks and bought oxen for the work, to carry out a theory that much that was to be done with draft power at Sni-a-Bar could be done better with oxen than with horses or mules, and furthermore it would be more economical. Sni-a-Bar was not to be a rich man's plaything. Not one-third of the period allotted for the experiment to work out has passed, but Sni-a-Bar is beginning to show on the profit side. Art in Kansas City is in a fair way to gain in the value of the estate by the wait to upbuild the great meat producing industry which is the city's chief cornerstone of industry.

**The Third Demonstration.**

More than 4,000 people came to Sni-a-Bar farms in 1920 to see for themselves the third demonstration of Colonel W. R. Nelson's experiment with purebred bulls at the head of herds bred up from the common "canner" cows bought originally in the Kansas City market. Animals of the third cross from the beginning were shown. Alongside in pens were the common cows and their calves from scrub stock bought on the market this year. The demonstration was impressive. It showed at a glance what the introduction of the pure bred shorthorn bull into a group of common cows would mean. If Horace Greeley was alive he would revise his two blades of grass with a livestock application.

These 4,000 and more farmers came from several states. They included many boys and young men. "You can't measure the value of this demonstration," said C. A. Saunders, of Manilla, Iowa, a leading Shorthorn breeder of that state, "because it is impossible to tell how many young farmers will leave here today, won to the idea of better stock through seeing these cattle. There would be no cause to worry over the shortage of breeding cows in this country if every farmer could see the value of using purebred sires as shown here today."

Dr. H. J. Waters, who gave the Missouri College of Agriculture its standing of nation-wide excellence, and who is recognized as the foremost writer in the West on agricultural topics, said of the Sni-a-Bar experiment: "It is the largest and most comprehensive demonstration in any phase of agriculture ever established. It is the only one, so far as I am informed, for the continuance of which pro-

vision has been made for a long period of years. As this demonstration progresses, the results will become more and more striking and important, and as they become known they will attract the attention not only of the farmers and breeders of the middle West, but of the entire United States and other countries. It is an old maxim in education that we remember five per cent of what we hear and fifty per cent of what we see. The trained eye of the farmer did not fail to grasp the lessons the demonstrations at the Sni-a-Bar farms teach, and both young and old carried home these fundamental truths."

**A Missouri School of Healing.**

A Missourian, Dr. Andrew Taylor Still, originated a school of healing which in fifteen years had arrived at the recognition represented by eight colleges and 5,000 practitioners scattered not only throughout the United States but in England, Canada, Cuba, Ireland, the continent of Europe and the Philippines. Osteopathy became known far beyond the borders of the state. The first college was established in Kirksville in 1892. Textbooks to teach the new method of healing were written and a course of twenty-seven months was established. The college opened with a dozen students. The philosophy of osteopathy, as defined by the founder of the school, is very simple:

"Nearly all disease is due to the malworking of some organ or set of organs, and this in turn is caused by interference with the blood or lymph or nerve supply, brought about by some structural derangement. In other words, healthy bodily function is always dependent upon the normal condition of the bodily mechanism. The human body contains all the remedial agents necessary for the maintenance of health, and these curative fluids are distributed when and where needed, except when such distribution is interfered with by structural disorder. To effect cures, therefore, it is necessary merely to restore structural harmony so that the inherent healing power of nature may regain control, making the administration of drugs unnecessary."

**Weather Prophecy in Missouri.**

A Missourian left the pulpit to become a weather prophet. He made a competency by publishing his forecasts in an almanac but refused a great fortune offered by speculators for the exclusive use of his foreknowledge.

"Ah, my boy," the Rev. Irl R. Hicks said to a reporter in 1908, when he had won his reputation as a forecaster, "if I went into a thing of that sort, if I should prostitute in that way the gifts that God has given me, God would trip me up. No, no, I could not stultify myself in that way. I believe in the eternal verities. Not for all the money in the universe would I sell myself out. I say to all who offer to pay me big money for exclusive information, 'if you've looked into my work and satisfied yourself of its value, pay me for my almanac and you'll get as much as if you paid me a million dollars.' I do not wish to make even a dollar by wrong methods. I have a nice home for my family and a comfortable living and that is all I want."

One of the offers came from a representative of a Boston syndicate, speculating in wheat, corn, cotton and other commodities. This man told Mr. Hicks that the syndicate had followed his predictions for a year and had learned that if they had based their trades on those predictions they would have cleared many

millions. "He offered me a tremendous sum if I would stop publishing my weather forecasts and would give his syndicate the exclusive information."

Based on certain movements of the heavenly bodies, conjunctions of the planets and like formulas worked out by himself through thirty years of study and experiment, Mr. Hicks made up his forecasts at the end of one year for all of the following year. He never studied astronomy or meteorology in the schools, but "learned by reading and observation, mostly by observation." The United States weather bureau experts scoffed at what they called Hicks' "pretensions," but this Missouri prophet kept on with his almanac gaining followers until his profits enabled him to buy an abandoned church and set up his own publishing house.

"Many men of large affairs," he once said, "have found commercial value in my predictions, Armour for instance. Not long ago I had a letter from him saying he depended on my almanac largely for his foreknowledge of weather conditions. He said he had a number of high-grade cattle to bring from Scotland and he asked me to tell him in advance when there would be a calm period for shipping them. I did so, and he landed safely in Halifax, after a calm passage."

**The Record of Ravenswood.**

In Ravenswood, Missouri agriculture reaches one of its highest planes. In 1825, Nathaniel Leonard came out from Vermont and "took up an eighty" in Cooper county, near Bunceton. If the traveler through Missouri, receiving his impression from a railroad car window, could today see the "big house," the twenty-two hundred acres of rolling blue grass pasture and well tilled fields, the two-story brick schoolhouse, with its land for experimental purposes, the forest groves, the church, the collection of comfortable brick houses with cement porches and slate roofs for the families who make up Ravenswood's working force, the evolution of farming in Missouri would mean something impressive. Nathaniel Leonard was one of the pioneers who demonstrated the productiveness of Missouri prairie. He was the first man in that part of Missouri who broke the sod when neighbors living along "the branches" predicted he would go broke. In 1839, he dared again and did another thing which made him a Missouri benefactor. He went to Kentucky and brought back the first thoroughbred Shorthorns to cross the Mississippi,—the white bull Comet, and the red heifer Queen, paying $1,000 for the bull and $500 for the heifer. James S. Hutchison, the brother-in-law of the founder of splendid Ravenswood, a few years later brought in the bull Malcolm, and thus began the upbuilding of fine herds in Missouri. Three generations of Leonards have brought Ravenswood to its present nation-wide fame, not only as the home of pure bred stock but as the solution of farm labor.

More than 1,000 bulls have gone forth from Ravenswood to improve the herds on the ranges of the United States. Ravenswood thoroughbreds have been shipped to the pampas of South America. The record of Ravenswood, which redounds to the glory of Missouri, is that of men who have made ten pounds of beef grow where one pound grew before.

**When Great Britain Borrowed from Missouri.**

In 1883 Sir William Mather came to this country to investigate industrial education. The British government had suddenly become aroused to the unpleas-

ant situation that her works, her great manufacturing establishments, were under the supervision of men educated in France, Germany and Belgium. This was a blow to British pride. It was a revelation of the inadequacy of the British educational system. Sir William Mather was on a tour of investigation to discover the remedy which Great Britain might apply to the weakness in her system. He came to the United States and visited the eastern educational centers. He was soon told, "If you want to be thoroughly informed on the development of industrial education in this country, go out to St. Louis and see Doctor Woodward."

Sir William came to St. Louis and remained a week or more. What he found in the manual training school of Washington University so impressed the visitor that he was almost extravagant in his expressions of satisfaction and admiration. He said that in St. Louis he recognized the most practical forms of industrial education he had seen anywhere. After Sir William Mather returned home there came a pressing call for Dr. Woodward to visit Manchester. Dr. Woodward went, remained three or four months until he had started fairly an institution on the plan of the St. Louis school. When the doctor sent back to St. Louis the catalogue showing the plan and curriculum, Mr. Cupples wrote him: "I recognize every word. The only change you have made is to substitute 'Manchester' for 'Washington University.'"

The English are not slow to act when convinced. As a result of the Manchester experiment, introduced by Calvin M. Woodward after the model of the St. Louis school, Great Britain has appropriated a million pounds sterling every year since 1888 for industrial education. A manual training school for the Soudanese youth has been established at Khartoum by Sir William Mather, as a department of Gordon College.

Sir William Mather made a second visit to St. Louis to note the progress of St. Louis in educational lines. He was accompanied by Mrs. Mather. Mr. Cupples and Dr. Woodward took the visitors to the McKinley and Yeatman high schools and showed them a thousand boys and girls learning to use their hands as well as their heads, the boys in the manual training, the girls in domestic science. There is nothing better in high school architecture and equipment in the United States than St. Louis possesses. The English visitors had not seen the equal anywhere abroad.

### "Put the Whole Boy to School."

The educational theory upon which manual training has been encouraged and developed in the public schools of St. Louis and in Washington University is well stated in these words by the recognized authority, Professor Woodward:

> I do not believe it a good policy to keep a certain proportion of our youth relatively ignorant that they may be willing to fill what is called the industrial demand. It is said that boys from the mills and from the farms are needed there and should be so trained that they will remain in the mills and on the farms, hence they must not be taught or trained too much.
>
> On this theory training shops and agricultural schools sometimes have been managed, but I question the policy. We are told it is best. Best for whom, and best for what? Best for citizenship or best for the consumer and the business? Would it be best for your son or mine, and would it have been best for us when we were boys?
>
> I was a farmer's son, and at sixteen I was a good and able farmer, but my high school

training enabled me to see over the fences, and I broke for pastures new. I believe in giving every boy a glimpse of the world's activities and opportunities, and in allowing him to make the most of himself, but at the same time he must be trained for usefulness of some sort.

One word in regard to an industrial training which best fosters our industries. I am decidedly of the opinion that they make a mistake who contract the range of one's education, in order to confine him to a limited range of work. Managers of our industries should realize that it is ultimately in the interest of their own business affairs to secure workmen of greater efficiency and intellectual as well as manual skill.

I believe the system of education which is of greatest benefit to the youth of a community is also of the greatest benefit to the industries of a community, provided those industries are wholesome and desirable. It is impossible to raise the grade of citizenship all through the length and breadth of a community without increasing its value in every domain of labor, whether manual or mental, or both.

It may not be really fashionable to be a skilled workman, but a skilled workman may be a gentleman and a cultivated man. And when we look to the highest interests of the community; when we look at the interests of the unschooled half of our boys, the most effectual way of making them cultivated gentlemen is by first making them skillful workmen. And it is high time that it should be understood in all our public schools, which aim first and last at the development of character, that, as Newton said, "the thrifty mechanic is the most moral of men" and, as Franklin said, "the best workmen are the best citizens."

Sir William Mather went on record with a remarkable tribute to St. Louis and Professor Woodward. He wrote that what he saw and learned on his first visit to St. Louis prompted him to take up the cause of manual training, or, as he called it, technical training, in England. In Parliament, Sir William stood sponsor for the Technical Education bill. He led the discussion in committee and in the House and was largely responsible for the passage. When success came he wrote to Dr. Woodward again, telling the result to show "how far one little candle throws its beams." Like testimony to the origin of the manual training movement was given by Grasby in his interesting volume on "Teaching in Three Continents —America, Europe and Australia." He found the source of the movement in the St. Louis manual training school of Washington University. Professor Chamberlain of Los Angeles once said that no educator ever comprehended so much of an educational creed in six words as Professor Woodward did when he said in an after dinner speech at the Vendome, Boston, 1885: "Put the whole boy to school."

**Robert Burns in Missouri.**

The first formal memorial in America to Robert Burns was unveiled in Missouri. The bust of the Ayrshire poet, whose genius is now kept green by more than 300 Burns clubs scattered in all parts of the world, has had a place of honor in the Mercantile library at St. Louis since June 9, 1866. It was the work of William Brodie, R. S. A., and was presented by the Caledonian society. At that time there were just two memorials to Burns, one at Alloway; the other at Edinburgh. Missouri has had for half a century, students and lovers of Burns in Judge D. C. Allen, of Liberty, and others. Conspicuous in the Place of Nations at the World's Fair, in 1904, was the replica of the Burns cottage.

The Burns club meets on each recurring birthday anniversary of the poet and pays Missouri tribute to "the Immortal Mem'ry." The president of this club is William K. Bixby, whose collection of Burns manuscripts has, perhaps, no equal elsewhere in the world. Across the upper front of the quaint House of the

Artists' Guild is the long, vaulted chamber of the Burns club. It is a reproduction of the living room of the Burns Cottage at Ayr. In this chamber the members of the club assemble to keep the anniversary of the birth of the poet and at such other times as special meetings may be called. With few exceptions the articles which furnish the room are associated with the memory of Burns. Portraits of the Burns family, pictures of the places made famous by the writings of Burns, facsimiles of the letters and poems of Burns cover the walls.

In one end of the chamber is the huge, old-fashioned chimney and fireplace, with a spinning wheel and reel of the Armour family in the corner. The opposite corner contains a sideboard of ancient pattern, on the shelves of which are arranged plates and bowls and ashets of the days of Burns. But there are other things in the chamber which give even more atmosphere. Beside the fireplace, as if ready for immediate use, hang the iron holder of "Bonnie Jean," and the griddle on which the cakes were baked over the coals. One of the tables was owned by Burns when he lived at Dumfries, another table was in the Tam O'Shanter Inn and a third table was made of wood from St. Michael's Church at Dumfries. A little chair was the favorite seat of Burns when he was a child. The milking stool of "Bonnie Jean," an eight-day clock one hundred and thirty-five years old,—these and many other relics are treasured by the club.

**Burns Nights.**

Burns Nights of the Burns Club of St. Louis pass all too quickly. No two of them are alike but there are some features which are never omitted. None of these Burns Nights passes without additions to the Burnsiana of the club, to be inspected and discussed. After the assembling in the chamber, the guests and members go down to the rathskeller and take their places at the long table. They stand while the president pronounces the Burns grace. Usually there is present at least one clergyman. The look upon the face of this guest is a study as President Bixby reverently intones:

"Some hae meat and nae can eat,
And some there be that want it,
But we hae meat and we can eat
And sae the Lord be thankit."

Then William Porteous, the glorious singer of the club, gives "Afton Water," or something of like beautiful sentiment from the Scotch. In the early service of the dinner President Bixby rises to recall that on June 23d, 1785, Robert Burns addressed his famous farewell to the brethren of St. James' Lodge, Tarbolton. This message holds good on the anniversary with Burns' birth with all Burns clubs:

"A last request permit me here,
When yearly ye assemble a',
One round, I ask it with a tear,
To him, the Bard that's far awa'."

The members of the club stand and respond to "the Bard that's far awa'." Before he is allowed to take his seat, Mr. Porteous sings, it may be "Duncan

ROOM OF THE BURNS CLUB, ST. LOUIS

Gray." Then follow in rapid succession such readings from Burns as "Address to the Unco Guid," letters of greeting from other Burns Clubs, Scotch stories. In Scott H. Blewett the club has a reader of rare native power, who brings out the full sentiment and beauty of the Scotch dialect. Again and again Mr. Porteous is brought to his feet and leads the club in singing "Scots wha hae," "Coming Through the Rye," "O-a the Airts," "Red, Red Rose," "Ye Banks and Braes," "John Anderson, My Joe," "My Nannie's Awa," "A Man's a Man for a' That," and so on through a soul-stirring range of Scotch melodies.

At the proper stage of the dinner haggis is brought in and passed around the table, a piper playing the bagpipes. Scotch cakes are at every plate.

After the dinner come the more formal proceedings, the address of the evening and the comments thereon by the members and guests.

Burns Night closes invariably with the guests and members assembled again in the club room, hands joined and all singing "Auld Lang Syne."

**The Club's Burnsiana.**

In a strong box is preserved the club's growing and invaluable collection of literary Burnsiana. Here are the manuscripts, or original typewritten copies, of the addresses and poems which have made the Burns Nights of the club historic. Among them:

"Burns and Religion," by Rev. Dr. William C. Bitting.
"Burns, the World Poet," by William Marion Reedy.
"Burns and English Poetry," by Professor J. L. Lowes.
"Burns and the Prophet Isaiah," by Judge M. N. Sale.
"Burns and the Auld Clay Biggin," by Frederick W. Lehmann.
"Lines to Burns," by Chang Yow Tong, of World's Fair fame.
"To Robert Burns," by Orrick Johns.
"To the Bard of Auld Lang Syne," by Professor James Main Dixon.
"Robert Burns," by Willis Leonard McClanahan.
"Two Artists of the People," by Albert Douglas.
"The Birth O' Tam O'Shanter," by Thomas Augustine Daly.
"Genius and Geography," by Rev. Dr. James W. Lee.
"The Scotch According to Johnson," by Frederick W. Lehmann.
"Robert Burns, An Immortal Memory," by Henry King.
"The Muse of Robert Burns," by Irvin Mattick.
"Lines to St. Louis Burnsians," by M. Hunter.

**Missouri's Vital Part in Currency Reform.**

To Missouri, more than to any other state is due the legislation which prepared the United States to meet the financial test which the World war imposed. To Missouri was due in large measure the law which brought relief from the hitherto recurrent money panics. At St. Louis, in 1906, was launched the movement which led to the Federal Reserve system. The American Bankers Association, meeting in St. Louis that year, took up with intense earnestness the problem of elastic currency. After prolonged discussion the association chose a commission of fifteen to draft a plan of currency reform to be presented to Congress. And three of the fifteen were Missourians. More than that, one of the three brought into close cooperation with the movement the great and rapidly growing interest represented by trust companies.

While the American Bankers' Association, in session at the Olympic theater, threshed out the plan to set in motion currency reform, the trust companies of the United States in session elsewhere decided to join the movement. By resolution, they declared the present system of issuing paper money through national banks was "defective in that it issued and retired without regard to the needs of commerce." They affirmed that the vital principle in monetary reform was "elastic currency." And they insisted that the proposed commission "should have a sufficient number of trust company officials to represent the trust companies as financial institutions." The sponsor of this action by the trust companies in convention was Festus J. Wade. It followed logically that Mr. Wade was made the representative of the trust companies on the monetary commission of fifteen empowered by the American Bankers' Association to prepare and present to Congress the plan for elastic currency. The other Missourians on the commission were Edward F. Swinney of Kansas City and Charles H. Huttig of St. Louis.

Thus the commission was formed with one-fifth of the membership from Missouri, but with elements of strength stronger even than the number of votes. As the discussions of those days showed, the movement faced dangers. There was the danger that it might seem to be too much in the interest of the national banks. But Missouri was one of the states in which state banks were most numerous and most efficiently managed. To commit Missouri to this movement for elastic currency meant much from the state banks' point of view. Then there was the danger that the movement might appear to be too largely in the interest of the East, and that the West migh be antagonistic. This was relieved by Missouri's extraordinary representation on the commission both in numbers and in character. Mr. Swinney stood representative for the western part of the state and for the entire Missouri valley. Moreover, he had been a member of the standing committee of the association on currency reform and had made, personally, an exhaustive study of the subject. Mr. Huttig, as president of one of the largest institutions in the Mississippi valley, represented the national banks. Mr. Wade brought into the movement the trust companies without which influence successful results at Washington could hardly have been achieved. As it was, after the foundation was so wisely laid at St. Louis in 1906, six years passed before the structure of elastic currency was finished and occupied. And that was only two years before the World war came to bring the crucial test of the builders' wisdom. Without the Federal Reserve system where would the United States have been financially from 1914 to 1918?

Two months had not passed, after the meeting of the American Bankers' Association in St. Louis until the commission was at Washington working on the plan to be submitted to Congress at the coming session. Wade, Swinney and Huttig were there, giving their time unsparingly to the study and discussion of details. Differences of opinion developed early. From a Missourian, Mr. Wade, came the motion that was adopted providing that a two-thirds vote on any part of the plan should be binding on the whole commission. Thus were reached, under the principle of give and take, unanimous conclusions.

That there was to be active opposition became apparent at once. William J. Bryan headed the opposition, endeavoring to give a political turn to the movement.

"It is plain," said Mr. Bryan, "the American people are face to face with a determined effort to force upon them an asset currency."

"The national banks have altogether more power than they should have."

"It will be a sorry day for the American people when they sleep so soundly as to permit these money gamblers to place upon the statute books such a measure as is contemplated by the American Bankers' Association."

With these and innumerable like utterances Mr. Bryan, preparing the way for his third nomination for the Presidency in 1908, fought the elastic currency plan, and at the same time pressed forward his fascinating theory of government guarantee of bank deposits.

Going to New York after the plan had been drafted by the commission at Washington, Festus J. Wade told a great meeting, "Panics similar to that of 1893 will be things of the past, if Congress adopts the suggestions in the plan put forth by the commission appointed by the American Bankers' Association." He explained in detail the provisions.

The fight was on, to be carried through parts of three administrations. Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, in succession urged upon Congress the importance of providing elastic currency. The Aldrich bill in the Senate and the Fowler bill in the House of Representatives consumed seemingly endless talk. Out in the Mississippi Valley went on the crystallization of public sentiment upon which depended the final action by Congress. And Missouri once more was the Center State in a nation-wide issue. Bryan's theory of government guarantee of bank deposits found trial in a few western states. But Missouri turned it down coldly after a thorough canvass of the state banks had been carried out by Mr. Wade. Then came thorough organization of Missouri and other Mississippi Valley states in support of the desired legislation at Washington. When the people make up their minds and insist, Congress will act. The national chamber of commerce, formed on the plan suggested by a Missourian, Charles Nagel, the secretary of commerce and labor in the Taft cabinet, devoted to the cause of elastic currency its earliest activities and spread the propaganda throughout business circles.

But it was in Missouri that the most thorough work was done. From an upper room in the Mercantile Trust building, with George A. Mahan of Hannibal, at the head, and Joseph N. Fining as secretary, was perfected the organization of the entire state for a maximum of influence to bring about action at Washington. Friends of currency reform were wise in conceding to Missouri the important part in the movement. Missouri is said to have a larger number of financial institutions than any other state. There are, by the latest report of the state bank commissioner, 1,428 incorporated banks, ninety-five trust companies, and three private banks in Missouri. This showing does not include 134 national banks. The total resources of these institutions, exclusive of the national banks, in 1920, reached $856,985,073.72, an increase of nearly $80,000,000 in twelve months.

Missouri's senators and representatives were prompted to activity. It is of the record of Senator James A. Reed that nearly sixty modifications in the Federal Reserve act, tending to the perfection of that legislation, were made on his motion. High tribute was paid by President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo to the senator whose course in this most important financial lawmaking harked back to Missouri traditions of sound money. The history of the elastic currency move-

ment, from the appointment of the commission at St. Louis to the passage of the Federal Reserve act, is a long one. It cannot be written without recognition of the vital part Missouri and Missourians had in it.

**Evolution of Henry Shaw's Purpose.**

More than a show place was in the mind of Henry Shaw as he developed the Missouri Botanical Garden. Some years before his death, Mr. Shaw built a white stone structure with the thought that it should be his mausoleum. But he changed his mind and made the structure the setting for a marble statue, "The Triumph of Education," and that is what Shaw's Garden is becoming more and more as the years go by. Thirty years have passed since the death of Mr. Shaw. Every year a sermon on flowers is preached in one of the churches of St. Louis. Every year the trustees of the Garden assemble at dinner with guests to mark the practical advancement in that science for which the Garden stands as a great object lesson. In his will Henry Shaw left endowment funds for the annual sermon on flowers and for the annual banquet to stimulate public interest. To deliver the annual flower sermon in 1920, Bishop Richardson came from New Brunswick. He traced the proofs of divine design in flowers and illustrated the fact that the subject can never become hackneyed. At the most recent annual dinner the 300 guests included the executive council of the American Association for the Advancement of Applied Science, and members of the botany and horticulture sections of the association then in annual convention in St. Louis. Two new vegetables, propagated in the Garden and never before seen on the table, were served. The director general of the Garden, George T. Moore, of national fame as a plant pathologist, explained these novelties on the menu. The "arrachacha" is a type of vegetable somewhat like the potato and having similar food value. In Venezuela this vegetable is known as the "apio" and is used in stews. The other new vegetable was the "dasheen," something like cauliflower. It was served as a side dish prepared like creamed potato. Fresh baked the dasheen tasted like roasted chestnut. Doctor Moore described it as distantly related to the Egyptian "taro."

Mr. Shaw made provision not only for maintenance of the Garden but for development along educational lines. A great School of Botany, surpassing in many features any other institution of that class in the United States has come into existence, bringing students and scientists from all parts of this country. There are lecture rooms and laboratories, a botanical library of 70,000 volumes, an herbarium of 750,000 specimens. There is no other similar collection of old botanical works in the United States, going back as it does more than 200 years to the period before the birth of Linnaeus.

But the trustees have not ignored the plans of Mr. Shaw to make the institution of practical value to the non-scientific public. A monthly Bulletin abounds in suggestions to the amateur gardener and forester. From time to time complete information is printed on native plants suitable for the gardens of Missouri and adjoining states; on the treatment of lawns; on aquariums; on hedges; on shade trees. Model gardens, showing backyard possibilities to the city dweller are prepared and carried through the season. The Garden is open to the public without charge every day in the year with the four exceptions of Christmas, New Years,

D. S. BROWN IN HIS ORCHID HOUSE AT KIRKWOOD
This famous collection was presented to the Missouri Botanical Garden shortly before Mr. Brown's death

Fourth of July and Labor Day. If Henry Shaw could come back he would find the Missouri Botanical Garden conferring benefits upon humanity far beyond his expectations. The institution, started in a modest way in 1858, has grown into one of Missouri's chief distinctions.

**The Most Famous Orchid Collection.**

About the time of the World's Fair, 1904, a St. Louis newspaper man turning over the pages of Baedeker's United States made a discovery. He read that the most notable collection of orchids in this country was in Missouri; that it was located within a dozen miles of St. Louis and that it was well worth a visit from any traveler. The collection represented thirty years and more of intelligent upbuilding. A private fortune had been expended by D. S. Brown in bringing together the collection of rare plants which filled his greenhouses at Kirkwood. Baedeker's estimate was not overdrawn. Botanists of international renown, who came to St. Louis to attend the Exposition, made pilgrimages to Kirkwood to see Mr. Brown's collection which they conceded to be one of the finest of its kind in the world. A quiet, retiring Missourian developed this distinction for his state. Not long before he died, Mr. Brown made a gift of the major part of his plants to the Missouri Botanical Garden, thereby giving the public a better opportunity to enjoy the collection. This gift included 691 species of orchids, palms, cycads and other rare plants. Among the palms was the Kentia Brownii, the only one of its kind in existence. A sago palm 300 years old brought to the United States from Japan for the Buffalo Pan-American exposition was a notable feature of the gift. The Missouri Botanical Garden had, previous to this act of Mr. Brown, the most complete exhibit of cycads in the United States and the additions thus received added still greater fame to the Garden.

**The Veiled Prophets.**

The morning of March 21, 1878, a St. Louis paper published this item of news:

"THE EXPOSITION OPENING

"PLANS UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR AN IMPOSING PAGEANT

"Quite a well attended meeting was held at the Lindell last evening in response to the following circular:

Confidential.

St. Louis, March 18, 1878.

Dear sir:—You are cordially invited to attend a meeting of prominent gentlemen on the 20th inst. at 8 p. m., sharp, parlor 22, Lindell Hotel. The object is one that will promote the interests of St. Louis, and will be fully explained at the meeting.

By presenting this invitation at the door it will admit you.

Yours, respectfully,

John B. Maude,
John A. Scudder,
George Bain,
John G. Priest,
D. P. Rowland.

"Among those present besides the committee, were Charles E. Slayback, George H. Morgan, Leigh O. Knapp, Henry Paschall, H. T. Kent, W. H. H. Russell, J. C. Normile, Dr. Preetorius, A. W. Slayback and others.

"The object was stated by Mr. Bain to be the consideration of what kind of a demonstration the Exposition should be inaugurated with this year. It had been thought that there might be substituted for the Trade Procession a pageant somewhat on the order of those of southern cities on the occasion of the Mardi Gras.

"Most of the gentlemen present favored the idea.

"Mr. Charles E. Slayback gave some interesting information as to how these affairs are conducted successfully in New Orleans, and said he had received offers from the Mystic Krewe of assistance, if desired, in the way of costumes and paraphernalia.

"Several committees were appointed, and the meeting adjourned, with the prospect of developing something decidedly interesting from the plans proposed."

This was the first and only report of a Veiled Prophet meeting ever published in the newspapers. Before the next meeting those who had launched the movement and realized how much depended upon secrecy had convinced their associates, and there were no more leaks. Mystery as to preparations greatly enhances public interest. But this was only a minor part of what secrecy contributed to the marvelous success of the Veiled Prophet organization. If publicity had been given to personalities and to the internal business of the order, the Veiled Prophets would have passed long before they reached their fortieth year. The promise taken from the initiate was vital to the continuance of the order. It meant that the membership must be moved by altruistic motives in giving their fellow Missourians this annual pageant; that no public limelight could be focused on the doers.

**Two Crises in the History of the Order.**

The order of the Veiled Prophet passed through two crises. One was a crisis in finances. The other was a crisis of criticism. The first came early in the history of the organization. Five or six pageants had been given when the burden of cost weighed on the one hundred men who formed the membership. It was a hard year in the early eighties. Money was tight. The program and design committee was ready to begin the construction of the floats. The treasury was empty. Two members of the finance committee took a hack and went from store to store, from office to office. They said to business and professional men, "Shall we drop the V. P. business?" They came back at the end of the day with all the money that was needed. For several successive years the grand oracle was in the habit of going to the angel and reporting the deficit between the membership dues and the cost of the pageant. And the angel went out on the street and came back with the difference.

But the more serious crisis came after nearly a score of pageants had been given. The membership had increased. The public had come to look upon the annual October pageant as the city's greatest entertainment. Then the knocker arose. He said St. Louis had outgrown the Veiled Prophets; that the mystery was puerile; that the pageants were not artistic. The knocker, like the poor, St. Louisans have had always with them. But in the nineties the knocker was especially numerous and perniciously active in criticism of the Veiled Prophets. Those who had stood by the order faithfully for almost a score of years said, "Let us have a referendum." In a semi-official way the information went out that it was proposed to abandon the Veiled Prophet pageant. There was a sur-

plus in the treasury. To celebrate fittingly the conclusion of the long series of pageants it was planned, so the news went out, to erect with the surplus a work of art in Forest park, or in the triangle at Lindell and Vandeventer, or in some other suitable place. It was even intimated that the history of the order might be commemorated by an heroic figure representing the grand oracle in his official robes. The "rise" of the St. Louis public on the suggestion to abandon the pageant was quick and strong. It was for continuance, by such an overwhelming show of public sentiment that criticism was buried.

Since that time the order has gone on with growing popularity,—now entering its fifth decade. It has entertained two generations of St. Louisans, and their sisters, their cousins and their aunts of the country roundabout. It has expended in round figures $1,500,000. Practically this sum has been contributed by the membership. A grand oracle of the order once said:

"The heart of the Veiled Prophet organization is the great thing about it. The heart of it is that, without any appeal to the public for aid, without any publicity of persons, the pleasure of the pageant is given annually to this entire community. The public is not called upon for financial support. The public does not know who pays the bills. The public only knows that the spectacle is provided by a body of men who defray the entire cost and who remain unknown. The spirit in which the work of the Veiled Prophet is done is the great and fine thing about it."

**Essentials of Success.**

This long series of mystic pageants constitute an extraordinary test of the temperament of the city. Before the war, eighty years or more ago, Mobile originated this kind of entertainment. New Orleans followed. St. Louis came next. Memphis and Baltimore experimented in the field of mysterious organizations, masked paraders and tableaux on wheels. But both Memphians and Orioles were short lived. Kansas City and Omaha imported the idea at later dates with the Priests of Pallas and Knights of Aksarben.

Two conditions seem vital to success—secrecy of organization, charm of spectacle. But coupled with these must be a third essential, as necessary as the others, and that is favoring temperament of the community. The Mystic Krewe of New Orleans and the Veiled Prophet of St. Louis have been eminently and continuously successful through long series of years, because they met the two primary conditions and because they found in these two cities the distinctive temperament of population. The Cowbellion de Rakin of Mobile chose New Year's eve as the calendar opportunity for its efforts to amuse. Comus, Momus, Nereus and the Revelers of New Orleans discovered in the Mardi Gras period an encouraging public sentiment. The Veiled Prophet selected as the time of his annual coming the second night of what had been to St. Louisans for a generation "fair week." Here the test of temperament was instantaneously promising. The Veiled Prophet missed no year until the World war, when the parade and ball were postponed in the spirit set forth by this proclamation to the order:

"To the Members of the Order:

"The United States is now an active combatant in the World war, having been forced into this struggle by our enemy, after every means to preserve peace had been exhausted and the patience of our Government and our people brought to an end. The business of the United States from now on is to win this war for democracy and humanity. Every other

consideration must be put aside and the whole energies of our people, those who bear arms and those who serve in other ways (and each one must serve in some capacity), be bent toward winning the war.

"Conservation of human energy, food, supplies and the curtailment of unnecessary expenses, are absolutely necessary if the war is to be won in the near and not in the distant future.

"The President of the United States, who is the Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy, has called upon the people to live well but frugally, and to avoid those expenditures which directly or indirectly are intended for pleasurable objects or for the gratification of the senses and do not tend toward substantial production of those things which the country needs and uses.

"When news of dead and wounded American soldiers and sailors, who have fought our fight, may come to us at any moment, it is no time for pageants, parades or balls.

"This organization is one of pure altruism; not one of its members derives any personal profit or benefit from any of its activities, which are solely in the interest of all the people of our city.

"Your officers, after most serious and sober consideration and consultation with those who in the past built up and maintained the Order, have decided that it is the wise and prudent, and above all the patriotic thing, not to have the usual street parade and ball this year. The organization will continue, and when there is a righteous peace, which will come the more quickly if we all bend our energies to the work of winning the war and utilize the funds of the Order, save those necessary for its frugal maintenance, in the work of mercy for our stricken defenders and their families, then with an increased and enthusiastic membership we shall celebrate with a proper pageant and ball, that peace which will insure that government 'of the people, by the people, for the people' is safely established on the earth.

"We think that this decision to postpone the parade and ball will meet with the hearty approval of our members, for they as loyal Americans will put patriotism above pleasure.

"Attest: Very truly,

"W. D. HERALD, GRAND ORACLE."

"Secretary."

**Membership and Etiquette.**

The Veiled Prophets, to the humblest member, are shrouded in mystery. No member may reveal to those outside his own or another's connection. In New Orleans, membership in the Mystic Krewe is reached through membership in a well known social club as a preliminary step. In St. Louis the Veiled Prophet receives the individual directly into his following, rather than through another organization. This membership is limited in number. Candidates are passed upon by a secret committee with rigid scrutiny from two points of view. The personal quality and the business or professional standing are seriously considered. One so fortunate as to find himself duly enrolled is surprised to discover that, no matter what his calling or his associations, as a follower of the Veiled Prophet he is in the midst of his friends.

This policy of careful selection of members contributed not a little to the powerful and enduring character of the organization. Followers of the Veiled Prophet seldom resign. Membership passes from father to son. Vacancies on the list are few from year to year and quickly filled. There is no organized body of public purpose, membership in which is so highly prized. Neither politics nor religion cuts any figure in the availability of the candidate. To be accepted is no ordinary tribute to a man's standing in the community. A measure of success in his calling, undoubted respectability, a degree of public spirit—these are qualifications without which none enters.

Assigned to duty on the night of the pageant, the follower of the Veiled Prophet sheds his personality with his raiment. He becomes a number. As such he receives his costume. His instructions are given to him by his number. His place in the pageant is indicated by number. His belongings are stored in a locker which bears the corresponding number. His name is not spoken until the service of the night is finished. The founders of the order builded well. And they had the saving grace of good humor. They wrote into the constitution this qualification for membership:

"To qualify any person for membership, he must be a citizen of St. Louis, at least twenty-five years of age, of good character and willing to discharge any duty which may be assigned him, and able and willing to prophesy as to any event already transpired."

The issue of invitations to the Veiled Prophet ball is a matter of careful detail. A policy as purposeful as that which hedges about the membership is applied. The good of the order dominates in the discrimination which is exercised in the secret censorship of the invitation list. The Veiled Prophet has the memory of an Indian. And this applies to good or ill. The families of those who have been loyal followers of the Veiled Prophet in their lifetimes are remembered with the gratifying courtesy of the annual invitation.

Each member submits a limited list of friends for whom he desires invitations. He enters the names and addresses upon a blank form. This form in no way indicates to the uninitiated the purpose for which it is intended. It indicates a quota of names. By the briefly worded direction it is to be sent to a numbered postoffice box. Later, although he may have sent in his full list, the member may receive notice that his quota permits one or more additional nominations. This may mean that the member has duplicated a nomination sent in previously by another member. It may mean that his list contained a nomination decided by the secret censorship to be ineligible for an invitation to the ball. No explanation is asked or offered. The Veiled Prophet's following is established upon mutual confidence and loyalty. No decision of the secret tribunal on invitations is questioned.

To the list of invitations no society test, in the common use of the term, is applied. But the elect of the Veiled Prophet must be of good character. The list from year to year shows a wide representation of the social life of the city. It represents all good elements of society. It is rigidly exclusive of those who are not in good repute. No business or professoinal circle dominates the membership. No social set dictates the annual distribution of invitations and souvenirs. The guests are representatives of the city in the best sense.

Until custom had firmly established the etiquette of the Veiled Prophet balls, the printed rules were not only explicit but they were rigidly enforced. One of the rules in the early years was this:

"Guests will bear in mind that tickets are not transferable and must be presented by the person to whom issued. Should any one be found in the hall, who nas not been invited and whose name is not on the list furnished this committee, they will be required to leave by persons designated for that purpose."

Not only was the "list of men honored with invitations" in the hands of the committee on police, but it was made public before the ball. It filled several columns in the newspapers. The rule of dress, likewise, was rigidly enforced. There was no tucking in the tails of a prince albert to deceive the committee. The rule read:

"Gentlemen will be required to attend in full dress and, that there may be no misunderstanding, we designate what may be considered full dress: Black coat, swallow-tail; black vest, low cut; white tie; light gloves."

The rule was enforced without fear as well as without favor. It is tradition that many years ago the rule was applied to a locally well-known character, commonly called on the sporting pages of the newspapers, the Belfast Chicken. The Chicken had the reputation of being handy with bare knuckles or light gloves. Somebody, with mischief aforethought, slipped a ticket to the Belfast Chicken, to try out the nerve of the committee on police. The Chicken presented himself at the door of the Merchants Exchange, where the balls were held in that day. He was wearing a black, bob-tailed coat, very short, a vest that was cut low but of a sporty pattern, and the regulation "pants." He offered his pasteboard with a confident air. The chairman of the committee had his nerve. The Chicken retired.

**The Pageants.**

When it is stated that each year the twenty or more floats presented by the Veiled Prophet, together with the ball which follows, cost nearly $50,000, an impression of the elaborate character of the event is received. During the forty years the subjects chosen for illustration have varied widely. The first year the Creation was pictured in moving illuminated tableaux. Then came The Progress of Civilization, The Four Seasons, A Day Dream of Woodland Life, Around the World, Fairyland, The Return of Shakespeare, Arabian Nights, American History, History of the Bible.

It will be observed that the underlying motive of these themes was something more than passing delight to the vision.

The Most Popular Authors, The History of the Louisiana Territory, The Holidays, The Flight of Time, Visions of Childhood, Rulers of Nations, Lyric Opera, Humor, Fairy Tales—these have been among the subjects illustrated.

The construction of the floats has been a matter of elaborate detail. Work upon the floats began early in the year and continued without interruption up to the night of the parade. In the beginning it was necessary to import the costumes from Paris. Later all of the construction work, not only upon the floats but upon the costumes, was done in St. Louis. The grand oracle's robes were of heavy satin, trimmed with gold, and lined with silk. Every article he wore was the finest procurable and every article was made new each year.

The stranger, satiated with the sights of the world, marvels at the popular hold of the Veiled Prophet. He sees the population of a great city densely massed along a route of five miles. He hears but few loud shouts of applause. The long line of floats passes through hedges of humanity almost as mute as the costumed figures in the tableaux.

THE VEILED PROPHET

The multitudes come. They wait patiently. They greet decorously the Veiled Prophet at the head of his retinue. They stand absorbed until the last float has passed. They melt away. Twelve months later they are back again, with their cousins from out of town, to gaze on the mystic spectacle. No diminution of the people's interest in the Veiled Prophet is discernible. On the contrary the throngs on the streets grow with the years. The urgency of requests for invitations increases.

The actual money cost of these pageants in St. Louis, from 1878 to 1921, has been considerably more than $1,500,000. But dollars do not tell of the time and thought given in the months of preparation each year. The Veiled Prophet is not a repeater. Most certainly he is not a fakir in romance or history. He exacts originality. He insists upon high ideals. A general theme must be selected. The subject of each of the twenty or more tableaux must be determined. It must be a consistent chapter in the general theme. Then each tableau becomes a topic of concern, as to detail, personal as well as sentimental. And finally the living characters, as well as the inanimate figures, the architecture and the decorations must be fitting.

In every detail of costume and movement historical accuracy must be observed. The Veiled Prophet is critical in the extreme. As the years go by, as the viewing multitudes become experienced, the Veiled Prophet grows more exacting. One year poetic license was given scope. History was sacrificed. The theme was "The Old-Time Songs." In the illustration of "Comin' Thro' the Rye," the Veiled Prophet sanctioned the common misinterpretation and presented a field of rye, instead of the Scottish stream named Rye. The comment of erudite critics upon the historical lapse grieved the Veiled Prophet sorely. No liberties with history have been taken since that year.

Flaring oil torches, with tin reflectors, illuminated the floats in the pioneer days of the Veiled Prophets. These were supplemented with the continuous use of roman candles. Enterprising merchants along the route helped out the illumination by burning greek fire while the pageant was passing their places of business. But, though the early efforts were crude compared with latter day improvements, those pageants of the late seventies and early eighties were wonders. The fascination of them spread far beyond the borders of the city. In 1880, for the third pageant, 595 coaches were required to bring the people into union station on Veiled Prophet day. In 1881 the number of out-of-town people arriving at union station was given as 64,500.

**The V. P. in the Life of St. Louis.**

The original members, the founders of the order, were, with few exceptions, the young business and professional men in that generation of St. Louisans. They were in their thirties. They were the men who through two decades did the big things in the community. The government census for 1880 was bitterly disappointing. On the face of the count the city had gained only 40,000 in ten years. For the first time in three-quarters of a century, St. Louis had been passed by another city in population gain—Chicago. The fact was that the St. Louis census of 1870 had been padded with many thousands of fictitious

names, as investigation showed. It was said that many of these names had been copied from records of cemeteries.

Then it was that the Veiled Prophet order became the vital, progressive force of St. Louis. Encouraged by four suggessive pageants, the order, in 1882, raised $20,000 in addition to what was required for the pageant and inaugurated street illumination on a scale never before attempted in this country. Visitors testified that the illumination eclipsed similar displays in Europe. An official of the Crystal Palace, London, gave St. Louis the credit of having done something which set a new world record in street illumination. The 23,000 globes of light wrought wonderful transformation in forty-four blocks of St. Louis streets. There was downtown life in St. Louis those nights. Thousands walked the streets and lingered long under the arches. Several years the Veiled Prophet order maintained this street illumination, the fame of which spread throughout the United States. From year to year new features were added until the lights numbered 70,000, half gas and half electric.

"The Veiled Prophets have lifted St. Louis out of the rut," a gratified community said. But the order did not weary in well-doing. In 1884, these young men, most of them under forty years of age, sponsored the movement to build a downtown exposition. They raised and spent $750,000 on a model exposition building at Fourteenth and Olive streets where the central library stands. In ten years this exposition had 6,000,000 paid admissions. It was carried on eighteen years and only given up when St. Louis began the preparations for the World Fair.

In 1891, these men of the order, for whom nothing was now too big, grown a a little older, and full of aggressive public spirit, raised $600,000 to be expended in "advertising St. Louis" and in drawing people to the city for autumnal festivities. Of this amount $100,000 was secured the first week.

It was about this time that St. Louis sent a delegation to Washington to ask for the location of the World's Columbian Exposition. The committee carried a guaranteed subscription, one contribution to which was $50,000 by a former grand oracle of the Veiled Prophets. A subscription of $100,000 to insure the building of a hotel to cost $1,000,000,—the new Planters',—was only one of the notable activities of this decade 1890-1900, in which the influence of the Veiled Prophet order was felt. Another movement fostered by the order was the organization of the Business Men's League,—now the Chamber of Commerce,—which started with a contribution of $2,000 by the order.

Then, in the beginning of 1899, came the movement to hold the World's Fair of 1904, commemorating the centennial of the acquisition of Louisiana territory. It resulted in the raising of $5,000,000 by popular subscription. The committee of two hundred which raised that fund read like a roll call of the Veiled Prophets in those strenuous years.

**Forty-two Years of Development.**

St. Louis was a city of horse cars, of gas lamps, of 330,000 population, when the Veiled Prophet bumped and creaked his first journey over a mile and a half of macadamized and wooden paved streets. The route was from Lucas Market place to the chamber of commerce. In 1920 the distance traversed was four times

as great. The floats roll along asphalt streets which had neither pavement nor sidewalks in those early days. The electric current from the trolley is the illuminant. It has taken the place of the oil lamps, the flambeaux and the roman candles which lighted the pageant for twenty years. The Veiled Prophet has kept pace with the city's growth and improvement.

The wheels of the floats are now iron and flanged like the street cars. They roll smoothly on the tracks. The application of the trolley was the solution of a difficult electrical problem; first, to insure personal safety of the Veiled Prophet and his retinue from dangerous shock; second, to guard against destruction of floats from short circuiting. From year to year the electrical application has been improved upon, until now the system includes an arrangement of shades and reflectors which prevents the light from dazzling spectators and concentrates it upon the tableaux.

The temperament of the community! Without that favoring, the organization and the preparation would be powerless to compel success. The Veiled Prophet is not more popular with one element than with another among the people of St. Louis. Wide-eyed and wondering, the ranks of faces of every hue and nation which enter into the population of the city are raised with like degree of interest when the Veiled Prophet passes. The mystic pageant temperament pervades all St. Louis. It is lacking in most other cities of approximate latitude. It does not exist to any degree on the Atlantic coast or on the Great Lakes. It is unknown beyond the Rocky Mountains. But here, in the heart of the country, with the most thoroughly composite population, the most typical Americans, the Veiled Prophet is at home.

**The Salvation Army in Missouri.**

More than 300 delegates, representing 101 counties of Missouri, attended the convention of the Salvation Army Home Bureau. Their presence and their reports established the distinction that "Missouri is more perfectly organized than any of the twenty-six states having advisory boards" of the Salvation Army. The holding of this first annual convention in 1920 deserves place among the observances of Missouri's centennial. It marks the entry of the Salvation Army into the rural field. Before the World war the Salvation Army activities were limited, in the main, to cities. Now Missouri has a state advisory board and county advisory boards covering almost the entire state. The state board was organized in 1920, and the work of establishing county boards proceeded so energetically that more than 100 counties were covered before the end of the year. Rescue homes for girls and children constitute one of the principal new fields of Salvation Army work. The results already seen prompted many Missourians to give financial and moral encouragement to the Salvation Army organization.

**The German Evangelical Synod a Missouri Product.**

A religious denomination which has grown to nearly half a million membership, with its educational and publishing institutions, had its beginning at a little community variously known as Mehlville and the Gravois Settlement, a few miles southwest of St. Louis. Six ministers, four of them Missourians and two from Illinois, met at Mehlville in 1840 and started what is now "the German

Evangelical Synod of North America." These six ministers with vision were Edward Louis Nollau of the Gravois Settlement; Herman Garlichs of Femme Osage; Philip Jacob Heyer of St. Charles; George W. Hall of St. Louis; Karl Louis Daubert of Quincy; and John Jacob Riess of Centerville, the last two of Illinois. When the synod celebrated its diamond jubilee in 1915, it represented more than 300,000 communicants and more than 1,000 churches. The ministers, with the exception of Pastor Daubert, had been preaching to German congregations chiefly in Missouri for several years. They went from place to place in Warren, St. Charles and other counties where German immigrants were numerous. They had belonged to the Evangelical Church of Germany, but the time had come when both ministers and laymen felt that they wanted their own denominational organization in their adopted country. And so it was that the six faithful fathers came together in Gravois Settlement and organized the German Evangelical Synod of North America.

**Indian Thoroughfares in Missouri.**

Not only were Indians numerous in Missouri before the white people came but those red skinned residents had established a network of roads or trails as they were better known. Early explorers found those trails well-defined. And when countless moons later the engineers looked for the best routes on which to locate railroads they discovered that those Indian trails had followed lines of least resistance. The Osages were pathfinders. They had a well worn trail which crossed the state from the Indian villages on the Missouri river southward over the Ozarks and into Arkansas. A railroad has not followed this trail because of the roughness of part of it, but when the trolley system for country service was in its popular era, there were surveys and projects, several of them, to build along the great Osage road and utilize the Ozarks water power for energy.

The Shawnee road extended from Arkansas northward to St. Louis. Sections of it became better known under Spanish domination as "King's Highway." Along this Shawnee road the engineers found the easiest route for the Iron Mountain railroad. Another Indian thoroughfare followed the north bank of the Missouri river. To a considerable portion of this main traveled road of the Indians the early French geographers gave the name of "Bourgmont's Trail." Originally it was the Trail of the Missouris; it led from the Mississippi near the site of Alton to the villages of the Missouri Indians. Bourgmont followed this trail when he went west in 1724, forty years before St. Louis was settled by Laclede and Chouteau. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad adopted this route as far as Boonville. The Daughters of the American Revolution placed granite monuments along the eastern portion of this old highway of the Missouris, in preservation of the memories of the Old Santa Fe Trail. Thus the route has had three christenings, Indian, French and American.

Not only did the Osages have a road southward from the Missouri, but they are thought to have originated a road which led northward from Montgomery county through Northeast Missouri into Iowa, and which is known as Smith's Trail. It was the route taken by the war parties from the Osages going north and by the hostile tribes of Iowa coming south. A rather notable fact is that many more of these Indian trails are found south than north of the Missouri

river. Across the state from the Mississippi river to the Kansas line can be traced the Virginia Warriors' Trail. This was followed by early immigration over the plateau of the Ozarks and later much of it was taken for the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis railroad, now the Frisco. When Louis Houck built his system in the southwest corner of Missouri, to become the Frisco's most profitable division, he found his routes laid out for him in pre-historic times by Indians and buffaloes. St. Michael's trail, named for a settlement of French Canadians, Natchitoches Trail, DeSoto's Trail, Indian Warriors' Trail traversed the region which was opened up by Houck and which has become the scene of Missouri's most recent agricultural development through the drainage movement.

Some of these Indian trails which cross and criss cross Missouri were made for war purposes, some for reaching salt springs or for hunting trips, but one was political in its purpose. It was through North Missouri into the vicinity of St. Joseph, where, on what was known as Council Hill, the representatives of tribes met to negotiate treaties. "Great Trail" this is marked on some of the early maps.

Road building in Missouri began in Missouri before statehood. Under the Spanish regime King's Highway was made an official road, connecting New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis and St. Charles. The territorial legislature of Missouri attempted some improvement of the highway.

**The Missouri Road Drag.**

Nearly a century later a Missourian, a farmer, D. Ward King, of Maitland, who died in 1920, demonstrated the possibilities of the road drag. "The King road drag" was the name given to a simple contrivance which engineers and good roads experts hailed as the most practical and the cheapest method of maintaining good roads. King didn't patent his drag, but he devoted twenty years to showing Missourians and others how to maintain good roads at the minimum of labor and expense. He took logs nine feet long, split them, and with the split sides to the fore held them by strong wooden pins. This frame was drawn at various angles according to the point of hitch of the doubletrees. It not only smoothed the ruts and clods, filling the mudholes after rainfall, but it preserved the crown and slopes after a road was once graded. There had been road dragging before Farmer King entered upon his crusade. There had been occasional dragging to level clods and fill ruts, but King was the first one to impress his theory of "smoothing the dirt road with a drag after each rain." He was so convinced that this theory was the most practical way to maintain dirt roads that for two or three years he dragged the road lying nearest his farm after every rainfall. In this way he convinced his neighbors, and then he gave his time to spreading the idea, going to various parts of Missouri to address road organizations and to show by actual demonstrations what could be accomplished by this plan of methodical dragging. The fame of the King drag spread beyond the boundaries of Missouri. The Santa Fe railroad put King and his drag on a special train and sent him through Kansas to show the people of that state what could be done in such a simple manner.

**Some Missouri Marvels.**

A state in which ice can be harvested and cotton can be picked on the same day! Missouri was thus described by way of illustration of its geographical possibilities. There are January days in some seasons when cotton is picked in Pemiscot county and ice is cut along the Iowa line. Diversity is Missouri's great characteristic. From north to south across Missouri the distance is 285 miles and from east to west it is a little more.

A Missouri nursery, now the largest on earth, has celebrated its centennial. Judge James Stark established the fruit-tree nursery in Pike county four years before Missouri became a state. Three generations of the Stark family carried on and developed the business until they were sending out from the city of Louisiana 573 car loads of young trees in a single year. The postage bill in twelve months was $20,000. Shipments of these Missouri-grown fruit trees have been made to nearly all foreign lands,—to such far-off countries as Australia, New Zealand, Korea, Japan and China. A consignment to India was four months on the way but arrived in perfect condition.

"The first state in the Union to supply free fish to public waters" was a distinction Missouri obtained a good many years ago. For more than thirty years the fish hatchery in Forest Park distributed in the rivers and lakes of Missouri an average of 1,000,000 fish annually. In the pioneer days and some time later men took seines into the streams of the Ozarks and hauled out fish large and small by the wagonload. Then came the use of dynamite for wholesale destruction. Missourians awoke to the depreciation of one of the most valuable natural assets of the state. Protective legislation and fish hatching followed until the streams were restocked and there was the old time encouragement for the rod and line. Missouri has stringent laws against seining, dynamiting or shooting fish. From half a dozen hatcheries the cans of bass, crappie, cat, perch and other species are sent to streams in all parts of the state. Not infrequently a car loaded with these cans is attached to a train. A stop is made on a bridge, a hose with a large funnel at the upper end is let down from the fish car to within a foot or two of the water. Into this funnel and down the hose are poured the "fingerling" fish, from one to two inches long. In three minutes 4,000 of the small fry bass are turned loose in the river and the train moves on. The Missouri system is carried out so carefully that it is estimated half of the small fish survive and reach food size. The most recent work of the fish commission of Missouri has been the stocking of the many miles of drainage canals in Southeast Missouri with these game fish. At twelve months the bass planted in Missouri waters weigh a pound. In two years they double this.

Champ Clark is sufficient historical authority for the statement that "Missouri is the only state whose area was increased after her admission to the Union." He added:

"Originally the western line ran due north and south through the mouth of the Kaw river, but in 1836, fifteen years after she became a state, Congress changed her western boundary so far as to follow the Missouri river from the mouth of the Kaw, in a northwesterly direction, thereby adding to her area a triangular piece of land richer than the Valley of the Ganges, or the Delta of the Nile, since carved into six great counties, con-

tributing an entire Congressional district with St. Joseph as its metropolis. That was a remarkable performance when we remember that by the first Missouri Compromise all the territory lying west and north of Missouri was solemnly dedicated to freedom. The fight over that controversy came near to precipitating civil war, but, fifteen years later, a plot of ground larger than Delaware or Rhode Island was without much contention subtracted from free territory and given to a slave state."

Champ Clark once credited Claiborne F. Jackson with being "the only governor of a state to command an army during a battle in the Civil war,—which he did at the battle variously named 'the Battle of the Cowskin' and 'the Battle of Carthage,' and what is more, he achieved a brilliant victory."

The census of 1920 removed St. Louis from the fourth place among the cities of the United States, a place held for half a century. It gave St. Louis 773,000, an increase of 85,971, or 12.5 per cent since 1910. St. Louis had not increased the area since 1875, when separation of the city from St. Louis county took place. Detroit, more than doubling the population in ten years, passed St. Louis with a census of 993,739, an increase of 527,973, or 113.4 per cent. This was with an area of 79.62 square miles, nearly one-third greater than the St. Louis area. Cleveland passed St. Louis with a count of 796,834, an increase of 236,173, or 42.1 per cent, the area of Cleveland being 56.6 square miles, slightly smaller than that of St. Louis.

The explanation of St. Louis' apparently smaller growth was found in the expansion of population and industries beyond the restricted city boundaries. St. Louis county, receiving the overflow of St. Louis city, showed in 1920 a population of 100,737. For industrial census purposes, the government groups with St. Louis two counties across the Mississippi river and two Missouri counties adjacent. These counties with the city showed in 1920, by the census, 1,125,443 population. These four counties are served by the metropolitan facilities of the City of St. Louis.

IN MISSOURI

The sunshine is the brightest,—in Missouri;
Life's burdens are the lightest,—in Missouri;
The summer skies are bluest,
Disappointments are the fewest,
And the friendships are the truest,
In Missouri.

The cornstalks grow the tallest,—in Missouri;
Crop troubles are the smallest,—in Missouri;
The landscapes are the fairest,
While the products are the rarest,
And the people are the squarest,
In Missouri.

The span of life is longest,—in Missouri;
The love of right is strongest,—in Missouri;
The minds of men are keenest,
Where the grass is always greenest,
And the living is serenest,
In Missouri.

The larks can sing the sweetest,—in Missouri;
Contentment is completest,—in Missouri;
The damsels are the dearest,
And their smiles are the sincerest,
So that Heaven seems the nearest,
In Missouri.

LeRoy Huron Kelsey,
Kansas City, Missouri.

Dec. 12, 1918.

## CHAPTER LI

## MISSOURI, STATE OF OPPORTUNITY

*Roads to Success Traveled by Missourians—The Commercial Club of St. Louis—An Assay of Membership—Two Industrial Marvels—A Declaration of Independence in Business Rules—The Creed to Govern—Leaders of the State's Thought—Missourians Who Have Done Much for the World—Marvin, the Bishop, and Bingham, the Artist—A Supreme Court Judge's Autobiography—Thomas Allen's Twenty Dollar Start—When James B. Eads Sold Apples—The Controversy with Jefferson Davis—Great River Problems Solved—When Missouri Lawyers Walked—Henry Lamm's Professional Debut—James S. Rollins, Useful Missourian—The Corn King and His Kingdom—Opportunities in Missouri Soil—Leduc's Twenty Offices—The Crisis of 1877—When Champ Clark Learned to Read the Bible—Missourians in the Public Eye, 1850-60—Abiel Leonard's Plea for the Union—A Visit with John B. Clark—Old Bustamente's Recollections—General Shields and Irish Nationality—Land of Steady Habits—Ninety Years in Sunday School—Edward F. Swinney's Guide Post to Success—From Ranks to Captains of Industry—The First Trade Catalogue—Evolution of Cupples Station—Bricklayer and Bishop—Records in Railroad Management—From Flatboatman to Bank President—Judge John W. Henry's Retort—Professor See's Discoveries—Radio Telegraphy Accounted For—John B. Henderson's Gift of Speech—Father of Street Transportation—Grand Old Missourians of 1895—A Virginia Triumvirate—Author of the Jackson Resolutions—Benton's Deathbed Plea for the Union—Secret Marriage of Fremont and Jessie Benton—Three Cousins Who Became Missourians—Vest, Newspaperman, Hunter, Lawyer, Statesman—Bland, the Missouri Commoner—Tragedy of James S. Green's Career—Missouri's Junior Movement.*

I would like to live a few years longer. There are some things I would like to do for Missouri.—*Thomas Allen in his last illness.*

In 1881 sixty men of St. Louis organized "for the purpose of advancing by social intercourse, and by a friendly interchange of views, the commercial prosperity and growth of the City of St. Louis." So read the constitution of The Commercial Club of St. Louis. The club is still in active existence. In its forty years it has had 150 members, vacancies in the sixty being filled as gaps have occurred.

"In the admission of members," the articles of association further say, "due regard shall be had, so far as practicable, to the branch of business in which they are engaged, so that the various commercial interests of the city shall be fairly represented in the club." How well the spirit of this article has been observed may be judged from an analysis of the membership as shown by a comparatively recent roll of the members. This roll included ten bankers, three insurance men, two dealers in grain and stocks, two lawyers, one engineer, one editor, one judge, and four railroad officials. There were ten manufacturers, representing stoves, woodenware, shoes, lead, chemicals, candy, ranges and ice. Of the merchants there were

members engaged in wholesale and retail drygoods, drugs and other lines. But this analysis of the vocations of the Commercial Club of St. Louis is chiefly significant in relation to an assay of the membership. Election to the Commercial Club has come to be regarded as one of the highest forms in recognition of useful citizenship. Not only is the honor conferred after the candidate has fully proven himself in the judgment of the great majority, but the constitution provides for weeding out if it shall develop that there has been misjudgment. Five votes in the secret ballot negatives an election. The constitution further provides: "Whenever in the judgment of a majority of the members of this club, determined by a vote at any regular meeting, any member shall be deemed to have disgraced himself, or it shall be held that his further continued membership would disgrace the club, it shall be competent for the club, by a majority vote of all the members, to terminate such membership; provided such person be given opportunity to appear at the next meeting before final action is taken."

**An Assay of Success.**

"A State of Opportunity" Missouri has been to most of the men who make up this jealously guarded membership. That is one of the significant revelations of the assay. Examination of a list of members, not that of the current year, however, shows that the first man on the alphabetical roll began business life as a messenger boy in a telegraph office of a town in Northern Illinois. He learned the Morse alphabet between trips to deliver messages. He was by successive steps a telegraph operator, a clerk, a ticket agent, a train dispatcher, a trainmaster, a superintendent, a general manager, and then president of a great railroad system before he went abroad to help win the war.

The second on this list of members of the club did manual work in the junk and fuel yard of iron works at $1.50 a day to break his way into the metal industry and to lay the foundation to become president of a manufacturing concern in the St. Louis district.

The third was an errand boy in a retail clothing store in this city. He was shipping clerk and was tried out in half a dozen minor vocations in the fourteen years before he began as a partner in building up one of St. Louis' largest industries.

The fourth was baggage smasher on a fourteen hours' run down in Texas before he made himself indispensable in manufacturing and became known the country over in art and letters.

The sixth served his apprenticeship as shipping clerk and traveling salesman for years before he was advanced to the responsibility of management in the great works which his family had founded. The surprise of the St. Louis Fair of 1842 was a St. Louis made stove turned out by Hudson E. Bridge and his brother who had established a small plant up town. In that early day stoves were brought to Missouri from Albany and other stove manufacturing centers in the East. They were shipped by canal, transported down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. At a later date they were sent in knocked down form and were put together in St. Louis. When the Bridge brothers actually cast the plates, put them together and turned out a stove that would heat and cook, St. Louis marveled and Albany smiled. It was enterprise but even local pride was not unmixed with skepticism. But in

Given Campbell

Warwick Hough

John H. Overall

Elias Michael

THEY FOUND MISSOURI A STATE OF OPPORTUNITY

ten years the Bridges were melting ten tons of iron in a day and turning out 11,000 stoves a year. Then Missourians became enthusiastic. A brand new industry had arrived. It grew until St. Louis was manufacturing twice as many stoves and ranges as any other center in the United States, more than a million a year. There is fact more fascinating than fiction in the industrial and commercial evolution of St. Louis, associated with the family names on the membership lists, past and present of the Commercial Club of St. Louis.

The seventh on the membership list under analysis was a clerk and owed his earlier advancement to his initiative as one of the pioneer commercial travelers of the West. And when his mental activity turned to civic betterment as has been the case with almost the entire membership of the club, it led to the placing of a great library on a solid financial basis and then to the upbuilding of a great university.

**An Industrial Marvel.**

The eighth,—there is another industrial marvel of Missouri life. In the late seventies a police sergeant and a newspaper reporter were friendly. When assignments were light the reporter sometimes joined the sergeant after dark in a walk through his precinct. They met on several occasions a young man of about their ages, a traveling salesman for a wholesale shoe house. And the three walked from beat to beat through the business district of Fourth and Fifth streets as the sergeant rapped with his locust calling up the patrolmen. The reporter listened to an argument between the salesman and the sergeant on the possibilities of shoe manufacturing in St. Louis. The city had no industry of that kind then. There were individual boot and shoe makers, but not the beginning of a factory. The only concern St. Louis had in the shoe business was the wholesale trade. The sergeant had saved a few hundred dollars out of his pay and was ambitious to be something more than a policeman. The salesman could match the sergeant's bank account and knew the business of selling shoes. He had a little credit. Those two men pooled what they had saved and borrowed what more they could. They started the manufacture of shoes in a loft on $12,000 capital. Later on the reporter, as traveling correspondent for his paper, crossed the tracks of these two men in towns of Missouri and adjacent trade territory. They were carrying sample cases of their own goods, the first St. Louis made shoes. Country merchants were doubtful but they were giving small orders because they liked the grit of the young fellows. That was the beginning of thirty shoe factories in Missouri, of more than 100,000 Missouri made shoes a day, and of more than $25,000,000 a year in the productive commerce of the state.

The ninth on the roll of this club, president of one of the greatest railroad systems, was a rodman for a civil engineer, when he began his vocation.

The tenth went up from an everyday solicitor of insurance to president of an insurance company.

The eleventh was a printer's devil. After he had worked five years in a printing office he got a place at twenty-five dollars a month in a wholesale house, advancing to a foremost place in that business with his name on the plate glass windows as not only that of the president, but of the corporation as well.

The twelfth began as an entry clerk and filled every successive subordinate

position up to the management of the nation-wide concern with which he was identified.

The thirteenth taught a country school in winter and farmed in summer by way of preparation for a highly successful business life.

The fourteenth was clerk at a very modest salary in a drygoods store while he was learning the business.

Then follow on the roll the names of several men who were not spoiled by being born fortunate in respect to this world's goods, but who tracked worthy sires.

The twentieth name on the list is that of a man who worked for sixty dollars a month, tramping the St. Louis levee in all kinds of weather, noting the manifests of arriving steamboats in the days of booming river transportation, carried lunch in a paper parcel, paid off a debt incurred in getting an education, and became president of the Merchants' Exchange, mayor of St. Louis, governor of his state, a member of the cabinet at Washington and ambassador to a foreign country.

Halfway down the roll appears the name of the president of one of the chief utilities of St. Louis. One whose birthday comes on the Fourth of July might be expected to have a clear conception of the principle that all men are born free and equal,—and to practice it. A newspaper man sat in the ante-room of the office of this president marked "private." Several workmen were waiting to see the president. Some well dressed business men came a little later and sent in their cards. The messenger came back and ushered in the laboring men first. The president had sent out word that he would see the one who had been waiting longest and the others in the order of their coming. Such was the rule of the office and it would not be waived on business considerations. The time of the laboring man was probably as important to him as that of the business men was to them. This president of the utility was from Kansas. He had started in a Kansas company's land office, advanced to a place with a street railway and later had been in the bond and mortgage business. He thought this had given experience sufficient to justify acceptance of the management of a Topeka newspaper. Then followed some mining experience and a period in the financial department of the Santa Fe railroad. But Missouri brought the opportunities which led to the presidency and management of the great utility.

**Guide Posts on Ways to Success.**

Some of the earlier members of the club, whose names now appear on the "In Memoriam" roll, and whose personalities helped to give the club its high character, have left guide-posts along the roads which led to satisfaction and success in their lives:

Edward C. Simmons.—"I have made it my practice for forty years to sit down in the evening, close my eyes and give ten or fifteen minutes to thought on the day's events. I consider that to be one of the most valuable habits I have formed. I would say to all young men, 'Acquire the habit of sitting down every evening and thinking over what you have done during the day to see how you could have been a more efficient, a fairer, a better man.' Any one who does this will find himself looking forward and waiting for the regular hour of the evening

to have his ten minutes of reflection. I had a good friend in J. H. Beach, of Bridge, Beach & Company, who taught me this, 'Keep your black cats in the cellar.' I have been an optimist ever since."

Samuel Cupples.—"The first thing for a young man to do is to pick himself out. What I mean by that is he must decide within himself what he wants to be and is determined to be, and will be if it is within his power. The first and most important quality the young man must have, as the whole foundation upon which he can build successfully, is honesty, truthfulness, absolute truthfulness. He must have that trait so well established that when he makes a statement his employer, his teacher, his customer will know that it is true."

Adolphus Busch.—"The best advice I can give a young man just starting in business life is to work faithfully and loyally and with untiring energy for his employer,—to give his employer double what he is paid for. I am where I am today because I was willing to work double the time I was paid for."

Charles H. Huttig.—"Without honesty of act and purpose a man can have no enduring success. Business is essentially a thing that requires the public's confidence. Confidence in one's self, which is only to be obtained by a study and close knowledge of the work in hand is all important, but egotism and an air of 'knowing it all' must not be mistaken for self-confidence. Enthusiasm is part of a young man's capital. Though business methods have changed with the years, there are the same old requirements on the part of the man who would succeed. But, first of all, I would say, be your own manager. Know yourself."

Elias Michael.—"Never shirk or do slovenly work. The value of a man is judged by the value of his work. Avoid bad company. Be obliging. Be dependable. Never make a promise you are not sure you can keep. Be as correctly informed as possible. Read the newspapers. Keep posted about what is going on, and particularly so about what pertains to the occupation in which you are engaged. If you are in the dry goods business a knowledge of the best horse, of the fastest runner, of the highest jumper, of the relative merits of baseball players is not essential. Success means sacrifices but not to the extent of loss of self respect or health. No success can come without good health. Hard, intelligent work is not killing. Save something. Take an interest in the general welfare of the community. Do your share in civic effort, more than your share when needed."

**A Missourian's Creed in Fellowship.**

A Missourian of the finest type, a model business man, one whose sense of personal integrity was keyed high, mentioned in conversation his ideas of a creed to govern in relations with other men. He told of the rules of conduct by which he had aimed to direct his career, which had been strikingly successful in a business sense and which had carried him through difficult positions of public duty with the admiration of his fellow Missourians. It was suggested to him that these rules were too good to be kept in confidence; that they ought to be printed for the benefit of younger Missourians. With some reluctance consent was given, it being stipulated that the giver was "not to be mentioned by name, or in any way indicated." Here is the creed:

"First—Every wise man regrets a quarrel, and never begins one.

"Second—No man is ever old enough to be rude to a younger man, and no man ever gets old enough to justify him not resenting an affront.

"Third—Every man should be sure that in his association with another, he is treating the other with exact justice, that he is giving him all that is due him, and once satisfied upon this point, see to it that he, on his part, is getting what is due him, or never again have but the most formal, though not constrained, relations with the offending party.

"Fourth—Assume that every man is, for the ordinary intimacies, trustworthy and agreeable, until the reverse is proven; then, in the absence of an affront, or some great injury, recognize the unworthiness of the former friend without making proclamation of it and without any expressions of confidence which would be hypocritical; and treat him in the future as a man to speak to, but not one to seek. The old saying that, 'the first time a man fools you, it is his fault, and the second time, yours,' is and always has been true.

"Fifth—The man who goes through life determined to feel kindly to no man, to feel drawn to no man not thoroughly tried will miss a great deal of enjoyment and soon become very self-centered. He overlooks the fact that the world will not come to him with its credentials.

"Sixth—In the absence of a very decided affront, never stop speaking to anyone.

"Seventh—The state punishes its criminals, and while we should avoid any intimacy with its disreputable people, we do more harm than good by declining the hand of the lowest creature offered in friendly greeting.

"Eighth—If on a jury, indict or convict the most eminent citizens of crime, but speak kindly to criminals of high or low degree when spoken to.

"Ninth—Civility does not imply indorsement as much as it does encouragement to do better things.

"Tenth—If forced into a quarrel, avoid talking about it, and especially of boasting of it if the result has been to your advantage; and if the offence is one of temper or manner only, and the party acknowledges his fault and expresses regret, be quite sure that his discomfiture is lessened by your cordial acceptance of his apologies. The fellow who wins and is then surly is a poor man."

**Some Missourians Who Found Great Opportunities.**

In 1903, the year before the World's Fair, four hundred Missourians, representative of all parts of the state, were asked "to name the leaders of the state's thought, the men who had done the most for Missouri and through Missourians for the world." The living were not included in this state-wide estimate. Walter Williams, of the University of Missouri, canvassed and classified the returns. The majority vote of the four hundred established this roll of fame:

Statesmen—Thomas H. Benton, Frank P. Blair, John S. Phelps, B. Gratz Brown, Richard Parks Bland, Hamilton R. Gamble, James S. Green and Edward Bates.
Father of the State University—James S. Rollins.
Soldiers—Sterling Price, A. W. Doniphan.
Engineer—James B. Eads.
Preacher—Enoch Mather Marvin.
Poet—Eugene Field.
Artist—George C. Bingham.

The proof of the devotion to the memory of Enoch Mather Marvin was shown in the erection of the Marvin church of St. Louis. The building fund received contributions from namesakes of Bishop Marvin in all parts of the United States. Missouri led with the number of Marvins and Texas was next. Bishop Marvin's father and mother were New Englanders and were married in

Massachusetts. The grandmother of the bishop was Catherine Mather of the same Mather family which numbered Cotton Mather, the theologian who wrote learnedly on witchcraft.

Bishop Marvin was a very plain-spoken, matter-of-fact man, whose manner combined in a rare degree geniality and bluntness. He detested unnecessary apologies and often rebuked them. This was told of him by a Missouri woman: "When I was quite young my father one day brought this celebrated preacher home to dinner, unexpectedly to my mother, who was not prepared for the proper reception and entertainment of so distinguished a guest. Upon preparing the repast she discovered at the last moment that her supply of butter had run short, there being only the smallest possible slice to place upon the table. Perceiving this, the bishop delicately refused to take any, although it was passed to him several times. The hostess at length pressed him urgently, saying, 'Don't be afraid of the butter, bishop.' 'Never fear, madam,' retorted the divine, 'there isn't enough of it to scare anybody.' "

While Bingham was serving his months of preparation to become "the Missouri artist," he slept in an attic with a chunk of wood for a pillow. For his portraits the claim that they were "true to life" was well sustained by popular approval. One critic said that the portrait of a well known Missourian was so lifelike he was prompted to make what he considered an unfailing test to determine that the canvas was inanimate. He said: "Well sir, I mixed a toddy and passed it up. The hand did not go out. Then at last I knew it wasn't Jimmy Birch."

**Bingham's Historic Painting.**

"Order No. 11" was issued by General Thomas Ewing of the Eleventh Kansas Infantry Volunteers. After the war General Ewing was a democratic member of Congress from Ohio. He also ran for governor of that state. During his campaign a painting by George C. Bingham, entitled "Order No. 11," was reproduced in lithographs and circulated against Ewing. Perhaps no proclamation or order issued in Missouri during the war aroused more resentment than this one issued by General Ewing. It applied to "All persons living in Cass, Jackson and Bates counties and part of Vernon except those in the cities and larger towns." It ordered them to "remove from their present residences within fifteen days." It confiscated grain and hay of those who were not loyal. The produce of the loyal was to be removed to military stations and account made of the seizures.

This order was issued on the 25th of August, 1863. It was in retaliation for the killing of one hundred and forty people at Lawrence, Kansas, on August 13th by Quantrell and his band, Ewing maintaining that the guerrillas were harbored in these counties and that depopulation was a necessary war measure to stop the border raids.

Controversy as to the justification for the order continued after the war. General Schofield who commanded the department of Missouri at the time defended the order. George C. Bingham was a Union man and was living in Jackson county at the time the order was issued. On the 21st of February, 1877, General Schofield's version of the conditions and his approval of the order appeared in the St. Louis Republican. Five days later Mr. Bingham gave the other side in the same paper. He was in Kansas City when the order went into force and

told from personal observation what happened. He said that defenseless men were shot down and their property seized. He could see columns of smoke rising in every direction where buildings and hay and grain were being destroyed. Wagon trains occupied the roads for miles carrying the farmers and their household goods beyond the border of the district. Mr. Bingham saw women and children barefooted and bareheaded tramping in the dust. The inhabitants of the district had been disarmed previously. In the opinion of Mr. Bingham, he could find no real defense for Ewing's action. Based upon his personal experiences he painted the picture of the devastation.

**A Supreme Judge's Autobiography.**

Henry M. Vories who rose in the profession of law to be a judge of the supreme court of Missouri moved from Kentucky to Indiana and was a storekeeper in a small way. He traded in hogs at the Cincinnati market, when that city was commonly known as Porkopolis, and was so unsuccessful that, as he afterwards told the story, he "broke three times in one week." At an old settlers meeting of Platte Purchase pioneers, Judge Vories told of his coming to Missouri the year of the Big Flood, and of his early experiences:

"I started with nothing and arrived here with less, with my family sick into the bargain. Sometime before leaving Indiana, on examining the map of the Platte country, I placed my finger on the spot in the bend of the Missouri where St. Joseph was marked down, and where she now stands, and said, 'That shall be my home.'

"I started for the new land of my hopes and arrived at last in Clinton county. There I became sick from the fatigue and labors of the journey, and could proceed no further. I was without money and almost entirely destitute. An early settler of that country, many of you know him, Mr. Bagley, took me and my family into his house, giving us the best quarters he possessed, and took care of us while I was sick, his wife waiting on me as tenderly as my own mother could have done. It was there, while lying sick, before having reached my journey's end, that I first saw the face of my friend, Judge James S. Birch, now before you. Dr. Essig had come to wait on me. I told him I had no money, and that I did not know when, if ever, I could pay him for his professional services, and that unless he felt able to give his services to me without certainty of ever getting any pay, he had better not spend his time with me. He said he would do the best for me he could. The next morning who should come to my bedside but Judge Birch. I was in a dilapidated condition, which he could not help observing as he looked at me, and he said to me, 'You are a stranger here, and in straightened circumstances, which I fully appreciate; permit me to loan you some money.' That was my first introduction to Judge Birch. I finally got into a cabin with my family I could throw a dog through the cracks of the door. One of my children was sick, and one morning a blue-coated boy of the neighborhood who had become acquainted with her, came to see her. That boy now is the Hon. Willard P. Hall. In a few days the Hon. James B. Gardenhire called to see me and I made his acquaintance.

"After awhile the time for court to sit came round. I wanted to go but had no money. I owed a girl, a servant in the house, fifty cents and she wanted to leave, and I was determined not to let her go unpaid. One day old Bob Duncan came to me and asked if I was going to court. I told him no, that my family was sick and I didn't want to leave them. I wanted to go but I had no money; but I didn't want to tell him any more. He suspected the real trouble and said, 'Now, Vories, don't you need a little money? Take this and go to court,' and he handed me several good sized coins. I did go to court.

"The first fee I got was a horse, which I sold for $50. The next day I took the money and went to Plattsburg to pay my friend Birch. I met Bela Hughes and told him my mission. He said, 'Don't look so downhearted.' My hat was old and very dilapidated for a member of

the legal profession, and he said, 'Hold your head up; there are good people here, and the man who rides forty miles to pay a debt will succeed.' Here I met many of these old men and got acquainted with them. Afterwards I was for a brief moment captivated with the stories of California and made a visit there. But I could not stay. On my return I met the question on all sides, 'What makes you come back?' And I said to them, 'The men I meet here, when I speak to them, stand about six inches closer to me than they do out there.' I said to my partner, in California, before leaving there, that if I knew I could live only two years longer, and it would take me eighteen months to get back to Missouri, I would spend that eighteen months in getting home just to live the other six months among the people of Missouri. And now, all I ask is that when it is all over, my grave may be made among the graves of my old benefactors."

**Thomas Allen's Convincing Railroad Argument.**

"Tom, I'll give you twenty dollars and you can go and make your fortune," a man said to his son at the old home in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He had given him a good education. The young man went to New York and became a journalist, while preparing to practice law. His magazine and newspaper work attracted attention. At Washington, a democratic coterie, hostile to Martin Van Buren, started a paper—the Madisonian. The "conservatives," as those democrats called themselves, wanted an editor to fight Van Buren's financial policy. The young magazine writer was called from New York to Washington. That was in 1837. Two years later the editor of the Madisonian was the most talked of newspaper man in the country. He had created in the capital an anti-administration paper which was quoted everywhere by the whig press. When the young men's national convention was held in Baltimore, May, 1840, there was great curiosity to see the man who had made the Madisonian. And so, from the same platform upon which appeared Daniel Webster and William C. Preston, the young editor spoke. He was no inconsiderable factor in the downfall of Van Buren. After the death of President Harrison and the organization of the Tyler administration, Thomas Allen gave up the Madisonian and came west to enter upon his forty years of usefulness in building up Missouri.

Nine years later, then a St. Louis member of the Missouri legislature, Mr. Allen fathered an act incorporating the "Pacific railroad," the first legislation in that direction. The following year he traveled on horseback west of St. Louis from settlement to settlement, along what is now the line of the Missouri Pacific, telling the farmers what his railroad act meant. He stood under the locust trees in front of North's store at Gray's Summit facing farmers who had come twenty-five miles to hear him. He told them that when the railroad was built they would neither drive, even though they owned horses, nor walk to St. Louis. The use of the team for the time required to drive would be worth more than the railroad fare. Mr. Allen said that if a man's wages were only seventy-five cents a day it would be cheaper for him to ride on the cars, than to lose the time, wear out his shoes and pay for food while walking to St. Louis. With such homely illustrations Thomas Allen reconciled the farmers of St. Louis and Franklin counties to the railroad.

Soon after the war, when he had retired as he thought from active life, Thomas Allen took up the building of the Iron Mountain railroad, then but eighty miles long.

"I can't stand it," he said; "I must have occupation for all my energies, and I shall find it in extending the railroad."

**When James B. Eads Sold Apples on the Street.**

A thirteen-year-old boy, James B. Eads, sold apples on the streets of St. Louis. He did it so well that Barrett Williams, the merchant, gave him a place in his store. The employer discovered a bent in the young clerk for mechanics and turned him loose during leisure hours in a good scientific library. Before he was of age Eads knew what the books of that day could teach him of engineering. He went on the river as steamboat clerk. That was the promising vocation of 1835-40. River commerce boomed. The disasters were terrifying. Case & Nelson, the leading shipbuilders of St. Louis, organized in 1842 a wrecking company to raise sunken boats, to recover cargoes. Eads joined in the enterprise. His natural engineering talent found exercise in the field of salvage. He invented machinery and appliances for the new industry with such effect that the profits of the business in ten years were half a million dollars, a great fortune in 1850. All of the time the born engineer was studying the great river, its character and eccentricities. In 1855 he had devised a plan to clear the Mississippi of all obstructions and to keep it open a period of years. The House passed the bill to put the plan in operation. Jefferson Davis blocked the legislation in the Senate. Four years afterward the Lincoln administration called Eads to Washington. The engineer told what kind of armored gunboats he could build to operate on the Mississippi and its tributaries. He came back to St. Louis with a commission to build seven ironclads in sixty-five days. On the forty-fifth day the first of the fleet went down the ways at Carondelet. Six others followed. The DeKalb, Carondelet, Cincinnati, Louisville, Mound City, Cairo and Pittsburgh were ready when the river campaign opened and the advance was made on Island No. 10.

**The Controversy with Jefferson Davis.**

Jefferson Davis was secretary of war when he wrote rather tartly to Luther M. Kennett, who was in Congress from St. Louis, what he thought of the Eads theory of river improvement. He said:

"Unless the improvement of western rivers is to be conducted under a general system, supported by adequate means for many consecutive years, only partial benefits can be expected to result."

The home of Mr. Davis, at that time, was on a plantation with a Mississippi river frontage, below Vicksburg. Mr. Davis added: "I cannot hope that this can be obtained by partial and occasional appropriations, even when expended by the most competent engineers, according to the best digested plans, but there is still less hope of its being attained by contracts to be executed according to the conceptions of men whose previous pursuits give no assurance of ability to solve a problem in civil engineering—than which none is more difficult—a problem which involves the control of mighty rivers flowing through alluvial valleys—the volume of whose waters varies irregularly with every year and every season."

This view of the necessity of continuous effort Mr. Davis reiterated when he addressed the commercial convention in New Orleans twenty-two years later in 1878. What prompted Secretary Davis to write a letter to Congressman Kennett

Hudson E. Bridge

Eads Bridge in Course of Construction

Samuel Gaty

Giles F. Filley

USEFUL CITIZENS OF MISSOURI

was the proposition already mentioned from the firm of Eads and Nelson to keep the Mississippi river clear of snags for a period of years by contract. Mr. Davis had the regular army idea of the civilian engineer of that day. He thought it would be a waste of government money to enter into the arrangement which James B. Eads and William S. Nelson proposed. At that time Eads and Nelson had been for a decade engaged successfully in raising sunken steamboats and in recovering cargoes when the boats could not be raised. They had established at St. Louis a large wrecking plant with boats and machinery constructed for the special purpose. Many of the devices were fruits of Captain Eads' ingenuity and study of the Mississippi river problems. The proposition of Eads and Nelson was kept from consideration in the Senate largely through the course of Judah P. Benjamin, then a senator from Louisiana, who took the view of it that Mr. Davis did.

**The Eads Bridge.**

When the war was over St. Louis saw the railroads crossing the upper Mississippi and pushing westward across the continent. Military necessity was helping the northern development. The first route to the Pacific should have been by way of St. Louis. It would have been but for the war's diverting influence. It would have been in spite of the war, but for legal legerdemain. But what would a transcontinental line be with a mile break at the crossing of a river? Eads began to plan the bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis. Sinking piers in the shifting sands of the Mississippi channel was a new problem. Its solution was found. So, also, were discovered the devices which brought together the gigantic steel arches, controlling artificially contraction and expansion, until the tubes from the east met tubes from the west and the splendid creation was perfected. In the literature of the engineering profession the story of the Eads bridge told by Calvin M. Woodward is one of the great books.

At the mouth of the Mississippi was a problem of increasing difficulty. Ships were being built of greater draft. The silt-laden water flowed out through the delta with depth growing less year by year. Government engineers wrestled over canal routes from New Orleans to deep water in the gulf. Eads said jetties. He was derided. His plan was met with scoffing. Congress remembered the plan to make the channel safe, the ironclads and their record of service, the bridge which stood like the foundations of the city. To Eads was given the South Pass to experiment with, the compensation to be measured by the success. The jetties solved the problem.

While the army engineers were arrayed almost solidly against the jetties, Mr. Eads wrote, in 1874, to the Senate: "That they will ultimately be resorted to is as certain as that commerce or agriculture will increase in the valley." A year later the bill passed and Mr. Eads was given authority to go ahead on South Pass, the mouth where his expected failure in the opinion of the army engineers would do the least harm. Largely contributing, if not vital to the success of this legislation, was the fact that the city of St. Louis was represented in the House of Representatives at the time by three strong business men, one of the ablest trios of Congressmen the city has sent to Washington. E. O. Stanard, Erastus Wells and W. H. Stone made it their business to get through the House the jetty legislation, and they were successful.

**A Missourian's Solution of River Problems.**

The Missourian studied the Mississippi as no other man ever did. He began with the alphabet of river knowledge—machinery to raise the snagged boats. He solved the great problem of the opening of a channel through the shoaling delta. Addressing a gathering of citizens of St. Louis who had faith in him, Mr. Eads, following the passage of the jetties bill by Congress, said: "Every atom that moves onward in the river, from the moment it leaves its home amid the crystal springs or mountain snows, throughout the fifteen hundred leagues of its devious pathway, until it is finally lost in the gulf, is controlled by laws as fixed and certain as those which direct the majestic march of the heavenly spheres. Every phenomenon and apparent eccentricity of the river—its scouring and depositing action, its caving banks, the formation of the bars at its mouth, the effect of the waves and tides of the sea upon its currents and deposits—is controlled by laws as immutable as the Creator; and the engineer needs only to be assured that he does not ignore the existence of any of these laws, to feel positively certain of the ends he aims at. I, therefore, undertake the work with a faith based upon the ever-constant ordinances of God Himself; and, so certain as He will spare my life and faculties, I will give to the Mississippi river, through His grace and by the application of His laws, a deep, open, safe and permanent outlet to the sea."

When the boy who had peddled apples on the streets of St. Louis visited London in 1881 the greatest scientists of the United Kingdom showered honors upon him. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir John Lubbock presiding, invited Capt. James B. Eads to attend the sessions, elected him a member and called upon him for an address. By a vote of the association, Captain Eads' explanation of the jetty treatment of the mouth of the Mississippi and his description of the proposed Tehuantepec ship railway were incorporated in the proceedings of the association. He was given prominence as one of the great civil engineers of his generation and was the guest of honor at a series of entertainments by the most distinguished scientists of Great Britain. When the news of the remarkable reception given Captain Eads in England reached St. Louis it inspired a movement to erect a memorial at the entrance to the great bridge. Unfortunately the movement did not progress beyond the newspaper columns.

The Missourian who solved more Mississippi river problems than any other man was James B. Eads. He failed on none of them. His theories stood the test of trial. This is to be borne in mind when the message of suggestion to the national commercial convention at New Orleans, many years ago, is read. To that body, Mr. Eads said:

"I beg respectfully to call the attention of the convention to the importance of iron barges and iron steamers on the Mississippi river. As these vessels are being used in all parts of the world except in America, I would suggest that inquiry be set on foot by the convention to discover why the grain growers and planters of this valley are not enjoying the advantages afforded by the introduction of such boats and barges upon the Mississippi. They are used on all the chief rivers in Europe and Asia, several streams of which countries are far more rapid and dangerous than the Mississippi. Numbers of them are being constructed in Great Britain for the rivers of India, for the Nile and the Danube, and, indeed, for

streams in almost every quarter of the globe, save America. These vessels will carry from twelve to fifteen per cent more cargo than wooden hulls of equal size, strength and draft, and never have their carrying capacity lessened by being water-soaked. They cannot be destroyed by fire, are made with water-tight compartments and are almost absolutely proof against sinking."

Mr. Eads had built iron gunboats at St. Louis and had seen their successful navigation of the Mississippi.

The convention resolved "that the building and employing of iron barges and steamboats in transporting produce and freights generally on the Mississippi river and its tributaries is highly recommended as a sure means of lessening the cost of freights and insurance, and increasing the amount of transportation on our rivers."

**When Missouri Lawyers Walked.**

The members of the legal profession in the Platte Purchase went through, perhaps, rather more rigorous pioneering than their brethren in parts of Missouri which were settled with less of a rush. Judge W. H. Roney recalled:

"In those early days the lawyers followed the judge, afoot or on horseback, according to their circumstances, on his circuit around and through the district; or sometimes on their long and weary journey from county to county, through a sparsely settled country, they rode in tic,—that is, the one who had been riding for awhile would dismount and let his pedestrian companion ride, while he, the previous rider, would walk along beside and relate or listen to amusing anecdotes that raised peals of laughter as to wake the echoes of silent forests and drive away fatigue and hunger. But they rarely suffered from hunger. When ready to start from one county to another, they managed to store away in their carpetbags enough good, honest corn-bread and strength-giving spare-ribs or fried bacon to last them until the next county town was reached; and many a merry picnic those journeying, peripatetic attorneys had with their luncheons spread on a log or friendly stone by the wayside. It was often amusing to see them arriving at the county seat. At the spring terms, the infantry line would usually reach town with their shoes and pants and other wearing apparel sorely bespattered with mud, and sometimes they would even be dripping wet to a point above the knees, caused, doubtless, by misplaced confidence in trusting not wisely but too well to the thickness and strength of the ice for a bridge across some treacherous stream. But after all they were a good-natured, humorous 'guild.' As soon as one brave footman arrived safely and was dry, he was ready to laugh heartily at the others as they came trudging in. Frequently the greeting was heard from those already in, 'How is the walking?' 'How did your phial hold out?' 'Where is your bedding?'"

Littleberry Hendricks was one of the early members of the Missouri bar who was too poor to ride. After his discovery, in Central Missouri, that there were more lawyers than the business justified, he put a small bundle of clothing at the end of a stick, and with this over his shoulder he walked from Boonville over the prairies and through the Ozarks to Springfield. The latter place was then, in 1833, a small village. Hendricks went to the tavern and asked the landlord if there was a lawyer in Springfield. He was told there was none. He decided to make Springfield his home. He became the nominee of his party for lieutenant-governor in 1844, and during the Civil war was appointed by Governor Gamble a circuit judge. Although a native of Virginia, Judge Hendricks was a strong Union man in the war period.

**Modest Beginnings in the Legal Profession.**

In his memorial address upon Peter H. Sangree, Judge Henry Lamm drew a picture of what the beginning of professional life in Missouri has meant to many who have risen to the foremost rank of the bar in Missouri:

"In 1874, Sangree and Lamm became partners. We started well enough it seemed to us then. We wore tall hats, as became professional men of that age, (plugs or stovepipes, I believe they were called). We had a set of the General Statutes of 1865 and 1870 and Wagner's of 1872 and some session acts. Each of us had a set of Greenleaf, Blackstone, Kent and Parsons; he the owner of a Story's Equity and Whittelsey's Practice, some volumes of one Joseph Chitty and a set of Missouri Reports, then numbered up to forty-eight, I believe, and I of Byles on Bills. We had, besides debts, a nest of unpainted pine board book shelves, three or four hard-bottomed chairs, two pine tables, carefully covered with black oilcloth, an old coal stove and a store of gumption, hope and grit. I remember the pipe of the stove, made up of joints of different sizes, had a knack of falling down. I paid Sangree three hundred and fifty dollars (all I had) to get an interest in his business, and the first year we took in the, to us, munificent sum of fifteen hundred dollars, divided half and half. The bar of Pettis was a strong one to face in those days: Philips, Hicks & Vest, Crandall & Sinnett, Snoddy & Bridges, Heard & Son (John T., the 'son'), Foster P. Wright, Wilkerson, Montgomery, Cochran, Sampson & Brother, Bothwell, Botsford, Jackson. So, the fighting spirit of the Civil war, not yet laid, bred unrest, strife and litigation on all sides. When thirty years later I left the firm for the bench ours was the oldest law partnership we knew of in the state, bar one possibly in California and one at Carthage, and by the flux of time the personnel of the Pettis bar had almost entirely changed."

One of the best known and most highly esteemed circuit judges of Missouri in the years following the Civil war, earned his living for two years chopping wood on the bank of the Mississippi. He obtained the rudiments of education "in a small log house, with the earth for floor and split poles on four pegs driven into auger holes for seats." Sixty-five miles from a law office he began the study of law with borrowed books by the light of pine knots in the fireplace. For years he carried on his studies with his wife, a highly educated Tennessee woman, for teacher. With such preparation John R. Woodside was admitted to the bar in 1845.

**Opportunity in Politics.**

Of Missouri, as "a State of Opportunity," in the political sense, Rollin J. Britton has given some striking examples in his "Missourians in Review." He tells this story of Joshua W. Alexander, written, however, before Mr. Alexander was called into the cabinet of President Wilson, to become secretary of commerce:

"A young man was admitted to the Gallatin bar in 1875. He broke into office by the public administrator route in 1876; has served as an elder in one of Gallatin's churches for thirty-nine years; was a member of its school board twenty-one years; served in Missouri's general assembly for the terms commencing 1882, 1884, and 1886, and as speaker of the last term; was twice mayor of Gallatin; served on the board of state hospital No. 2; was judge of our circuit court from 1901 until he resigned to enter Congress in 1907. He has been elected five times to that body, and, despite the fact that he was born and reared in the very heart of North America, a thousand miles from any sea, he has made for the nation a most remarkable investigation and report on 'Steamship Agreements and Affiliations in the American Foreign and Domestic Trade,' in four volumes, that will be recognized as the authority for many years to come."

Of another Missourian, James S. Rollins, who "loved and lived for his fellow men," Mr. Britton traces the career,—a record of wonderful service in public life:

"In 1838, when Rollins was twenty-six years old, he was elected to the Missouri legislature, and immediately made known the fact that Mssouri had been granted land for the endowment of a state university by Congress some twenty years before, and that it was a duty to locate and establish the institution. So he introduced a measure providing for the location of the university in one of the six central counties in Missouri, and giving the institution to the county which would provide the biggest building fund. Then he went to work to raise the fund for his own county of Boone, and under his entreaties, and by reason of his own lavish gifts, Boone county won with a building fund of $117,900, an immense sum of money then.

"He went back to the legislature in 1840, and to the state senate in 1846, and there devoted himself to the building of railways and to aid in river improvement, finding time also to bring about the establishment of the insane asylum at Fulton. He was a whig in politics; was twice defeated for governor of Missouri, once by Austin A. King and once by Robert M. Stewart. In 1860, he went to Congress on the Bell and Everett ticket, defeating John B. Henderson; was reelected in 1862; stood for the suppression of the Rebellion; advocated the measure for government aid to transcontinental railway and telegraph lines, the legislation that culminated in the Union Pacific, Central Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads. He labored for the measure that gave 330,000 acres of land to found an agricultural college in connection with the University of Missouri.

"Then he came back to Missouri, loyal to the Union, despite the fact that he had become the owner of more slaves than any other man in Boone county. He found time to go to the legislature and the senate a few more times that there might be normal schools at Kirksville and Warrensburg, and another asylum, this time at St. Joseph. Then, too, he brought much aid to Lincoln Institute. Long will the memory of that grand old Presbyterian be called blessed."

Another career, Mr. Britton traced, showing that even outside of the almost continuously dominant political party, Missouri was a "State of Opportunity" for public life.

"In 1816, Edward Bates was prosecuting attorney in St. Louis. In 1820 he was a delegate to Missouri's first constitutional convention, and served the state as its first attorney general; served in the legislature awhile; went to Congress as an anti-democrat in 1826; served some more in the legislature; declined to be Fillmore's secretary of war in 1850; served as judge of the St. Louis land court; was chairman of the Baltimore whig convention in 1856; was opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; belonged to the Free Labor party; opposed the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution; was an anti-slavery advocate, and in 1859 was talked of for the presidency. He received forty-eight votes, but the nomination of Lincoln was so certain that he withdrew his name. And then he served as attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet,—a remarkable and able career."

**The Corn King and His Kingdom.**

"The Corn King" was the title bestowed by common consent upon a Missourian. When David Rankin died a few years ago "The Rankin farms," the name by which his great estate was incorporated, included nearly 25,000 Missouri acres in the northwest corner of the state. He had it subdivided into fourteen "ranches" as he called them, each under a foreman. When he was over eighty years old "Uncle Dave" was still the active manager. He was two inches over six feet, vith broad shoulders and unbent back. He had grown as much as 19,000 acres

of corn in a single season. He had owned 12,000 cattle and 25,000 hogs at one time, and prepared them for market on his own corn crop. Looking southeast from Tarkio the people of that city could see Rankin cornfields each of 1,000 acres and more. There were years when David Rankin raised a corn crop of over 1,000,000 bushels on these Missouri acres.

The corn king, of Scotch descent, was the son of a poor farmer in Illinois. He lived in a cabin where the light came in through windows of greased paper. He went barefoot summers until he was twenty-eight years old. His school days ended when he was eleven years old, but when he had become the Missouri corn king he gave several hundred thousand dollars to endow Tarkio college.

To help the family when the constable was about to eject them from the cabin because of a store debt the father had run, young Rankin rented a piece of prairie, broke it with a wooden moldboard plow which he had to clean every twenty rods with a wooden paddle. He raised a corn crop, fed it to hogs, dressed the hogs and hauled them forty miles to a market where they brought a dollar a hundred.

When David Rankin began farming for himself at the age of twenty-one, he had one ox. He bought another for eight dollars. He made himself a wooden plow and went in debt for an iron plowpoint. He went in debt for eighty acres with a shanty on it. Then he got married and gave the preacher five dollars, the only money he had. When he became the corn king he was farming with fifty corn binders, 300 wagons, thirty mowers, 1,000 sets of harness and other equipment in proportion. He spent $1,000,000 for farm machinery. He figured that he was saving the wages of 100 men by using the latest kinds of farm machinery.

Having decided to be a grower of corn and a feeder of livestock, Rankin chose Atchison county as offering the opportunity for his kind of farming. When he began buying the rich Missouri bottoms, he got the land for from five to ten dollars an acre. He lived to see it worth $100 and the price has since advanced to more than $200. In one year he grew on a field of fifty acres corn which measured 118 bushels to the acre. His average was from forty to sixty bushels to the acre and his system was to feed all of it on the farms. When he marketed the cattle and hogs fattened on his corn he took the money to buy more land, and borrowed money to farm the new purchase.

**David Rankin's System.**

To Donald Angus, brother Scot in the blood, a writer for the Country Gentleman, David Rankin some years ago dictated this explanation of the system which had made him the Missouri corn king:

"I never grow corn on land long enough to let it run down; maybe four or five years of corn, and then I sow it to clover and timothy, and pasture and feed on it from three to five years, and then it is ready to grow corn again.

"Keep the land rich. Feed cattle and hogs on it, and use the manure spreaders. A manure spreader on a farm is next thing to a mint. It grinds out money. I always watch the weak spots in my pastures and cornfields and use the manure spreader on them.

"I plow deep and turn the ground clear over, leaving no skips. I pulverize the ground thoroughly by harrowing or disking and plant the corn evenly at uniform depth.

"The selection of seed corn is of the utmost importance. I don't grow my own seed,

but buy from experts who make a business of selecting and testing it. I use from 4,000 to 6,000 bushels of seed corn a year, and I consider good seed corn is cheap at five times the price of ordinary corn.

"I harrow the corn at least once before the corn comes up, and twice if I have time.

"I get into it and cultivate as soon as it is up, and cultivate it never fewer than four or five times. Corn ought to be cultivated once a week; the oftener the better.

"In August I go over the cornfield and pull up every cockle burr and other weed that has escaped the cultivator. You never see weeds in my corn. I am not going to all this trouble and expense to grow weeds where I plant corn. If I couldn't keep the weeds out of the corn I wouldn't plant it.

"I have no advantage over the farmer on 160 acres. The same rules that apply to me apply to him. He can make just the same profit in proportion that I can. But he must be modern, use tools, think and plan, watch his land, not let it run down, rotate crops, never sell a bushel of corn, buy cattle and feed them, and hogs."

"You have been farming seventy years; what is the greatest farming lesson you have learned?"

"The lesson that good farming pays better than any other business in the world; pays not only in money, but in health and contentment of mind. It is one business in which a man can live the Golden Rule every day, in all his dealings; and the longer he lives the more his satisfaction with it grows; and at the sunset of life he can look back over the years without a single regret, knowing that they have been well spent and that he has contributed his best to the sum of human happiness and lived closest to the Scriptural injunction as to how a man should live."

**Twenty $10,000 Farm Houses in Nodaway County.**

Pursuing an investigation to find the answer to the question, "Does Farming Pay in Missouri?" the Globe-Democrat, in 1910, found "twenty farm homes in one Missouri county that cost over $10,000 each." The inquiry revealed some especially noteworthy cases in which Missouri had proven a "State of Opportunity."

Charles Caldwell was living in a mansion which cost $25,000 in the center of a farm of 2,000 acres. His home was said to be the finest farm house in the United States, leaving out of consideration the show places of some amateur farmers who had made their fortunes in the cities. Caldwell was a shirt sleeves farmer, rated to be worth several hundred thousand dollars, all made from farming and stock raising.

Of Thomas E. Fleming it was tradition that when he took a farm in Nodaway his wife and he sat on cracker boxes and ate their meals from the top of a drygoods box. His original piece of Missouri soil had grown to 1385 acres and he owned land in Kansas and Texas. He was finishing a new home at a cost of $20,000. Every dollar of his fortune of $250,000 had been made farming. Fleming's message to young Missourians was: "Get a piece of good land and stick to it and work it. Get a farm, even if you have to pack a kit on your back and tramp a thousand miles to find it. Farming is the only sure and safe road to independence and wealth."

When the Civil war ended, William T. Garrett was living in Indiana, having not a dollar. He saw in the Missouri Democrat, predecessor of the Globe-Democrat, the advertisement of a farm in Nodaway. He came and bought it. Specializing on the breeding of Poland-China hogs, Garrett acquired $100,000 and was living in a house that cost him $10,000. "If I was a workman in the city," he said, "no matter what wages I was getting, I'd pack up and go out and find a piece of land."

When Michael Callahan quit as blacksmith in a railroad grading gang on the Burlington and went in debt for 160 acres of Nodaway land, he lived for a time in a dugout on the side of a hill. He was living in a house that cost $11,000 and owned 1,000 acres. His barns covered more than an acre of ground. His bin contained 5,000 bushels of wheat and his corn cribs 57,000 bushels of corn. The year preceding he had taken the sweepstakes and five other prizes on Polled Angus cattle at the St. Joseph Livestock Exhibition. Callahan's house, eight miles from the county seat, had hot and cold water on both floors, a bathroom, acetylene lights, an elevator and wide porches with tiled floors.

From peddling schoolbooks in Virginia, Charles D. Bellows became one of the largest breeders of Shorthorn cattle in the United States, the commissioner of agriculture of Canada coming to him for fine stock year after year. The wall of one room of his $10,000 farm house was covered with the prize ribbons awarded his cattle at fairs in all parts of the country.

John S. Bilby, owning 14,000 acres in Nodaway and accounted the second largest farmer in the country, made the greater part of his estate buying and feeding cattle in Nodaway.

W. G. Wilson came out of the Confederate army with his life and that was all. He bought his first land on credit and accumulated 1,400 acres in Missouri, nine sections in Texas and 1,000 acres in Oklahoma.

Two of these successful farmers of Nodaway were women. Mrs. Eva Reaksecker was left with four small children, a farm of 700 acres with a debt of $15,000 on it. She cleared the debt in five years and bought a $3,000 automobile.

Mrs. Maud M. Hamelen managed 500 acres in Nodaway and 1500 acres in the adjoining county, Worth, accumulating a fortune of $150,000.

When A. C. Snyder came to Nodaway he was too poor to own a horse and carried ladders on his back to do painting jobs. He acquired ownership of 360 acres of land and of one of the largest general stores of the county.

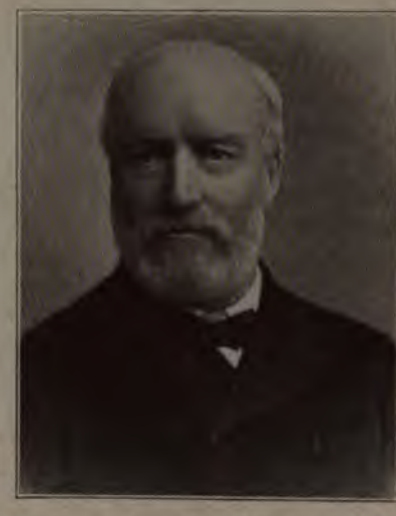
From water boy for graders on the Burlington railroad to leading banker at Maryville was the opportunity which W. C. Pierce found.

At the time of this survey of farming conditions in Nodaway, the county included Missourians of historical interest. John Stundon was said to be the only survivor of Fremont's expedition which went from Westport to California in 1843. Dr. Alexander Lafayette, ninety-eight years old, was a member of the General Lafayette family. G. B. Holmes, of like age, enjoyed the distinction of having been the only man in Clay county, a stronghold of slavery, who voted for Lincoln. When a boy he had worked on the farm of Henry Clay in Kentucky. John Denmark, a venerable charge on the county, was the equerry of Sir Colin Campbell in the Sikh war in India and rode with Campbell to the relief of Lucknow, killing twelve Hindoos with his sabre, he told.

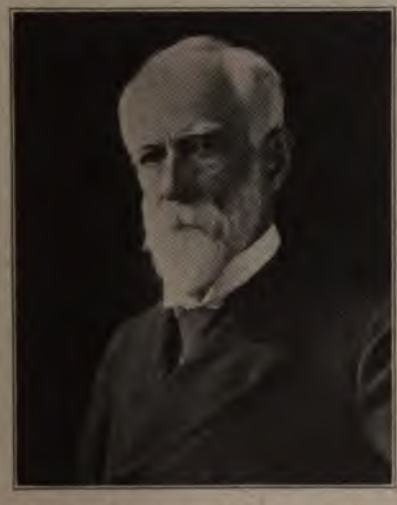
**The Remarkable Record of Leduc.**

Marie Phillippe Leduc, probably, made the record of officeholding in Missouri. When he retired to private life, on account of failing health, he had been an officeholder thirty-seven of the forty-one years of his life in Missouri. He had given faithful public service in twenty different offices during the period from Spanish authority to complete American organization of municipal and state gov-

James Ranken, Jr., who gave his fortune to found and endow the Ranken Trades School



R. P. Tansey, long identified with the transportation interests of St. Louis



Richard M. Scruggs, fifty-three years merchant and philanthropist of St. Louis

W. M. Senter, father of the Cotton Exchange and promoter of the cotton trade of St. Louis after the Civil war.

UPBUILDERS OF ST. LOUIS

ernment. At one time Leduc filled six offices. The last Spanish governor, Delassus, made Leduc his secretary. When the American captain, Stoddard, raised the United States flag at St. Louis in March, 1804, one of his first official acts was the appointment of Leduc to be syndic. This gave the young lawyer supervision of the lands used in common. It also put him in charge of streets and public places. In effect Leduc became acting mayor of the new American community. When William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana territory, came over to organize government for Upper Louisiana, he appointed Leduc judge of probate, recorder and notary public. When the board of land commissioners was formed to adjust titles, Leduc was deemed the most fitting man to be translator. With the organization of the territorial government, Acting Governor Bates made Leduc justice of the peace and notary. Later Leduc was chosen as the official to administer oaths and two years afterwards he was holding the offices of justice of the peace, judge of probate, notary public, recorder and register of boatmen. Then he became clerk of the court of common pleas and after that he was made clerk of the circuit court. When Leduc resigned the judge gave him a letter expressing "the great satisfaction with which the duties of the office had been discharged." With such varied experiences, Leduc entered upon a career of law making. He served in both territorial and state legislatures. He retired again but was called from private life to be successfully judge of probate and presiding judge of the county court, holding this last mentioned office until his failing health forced permanent retirement.

Soon after settling in St. Louis Leduc married Marguerite Papin, granddaughter of Madame Chouteau, the mother of St. Louis. The wife, three children, the mother and two brothers died, and for twenty years Marie Phillippe was the last of the Leducs in St. Louis.

**How Missourians Dealt with a Great Crisis.**

A committee of public safety dealt with the railroad strike of July, 1877. It was composed of Gen. A. J. Smith, Judge Thomas T. Gantt, Gen. John S. Marmaduke, Gen. John S. Cavender, Gen. John D. Stevenson and Gen. John W. Noble. Here were men who had faced each other on opposite sides in the Civil war of the previous decade, men of northern and men of southern birth. They were named by the mayor. The situation was put in their hands. The committee announced recruiting offices in various localities and called for volunteers. Within twenty-four hours five regiments were organized and the distribution of arms from the state government followed. The force was called a posse comitatus. The second day found these volunteers on guard duty at all public buildings and central points. Without uniforms, with cartridge belts strapped around their waists and with guns on their shoulders, these citizen soldiers went on duty like minute men. The civilian army of law and order was 5,000 strong. Business was suspended. In the doorways of stores stood or sat squads of men with guns. The rioters marched through the streets two days, compelling industries to shut down. At Schuler's hall on Broadway and Biddle street an executive committee of the strikers sat in continuous session issuing proclamations and orders "in the name of all workingmen's associations." This revolutionary junta addressed the governor of the state, John S. Phelps,

calling for a special session of the legislature to pass the eight-hour law and provide for its stringent enforcement:

"Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that a prompt compliance with this, our reasonable demand, and that living wages be paid to the railroad men, will at once bring peace and prosperity such as we have not seen for the last fifteen years. Nothing short of a compliance to the above just demand, made purely in the interest of our national welfare, will arrest this tidal wave of industrial revolution. Threats or organized armies will not turn the toilers of this nation from their earnest purpose, but rather serve to inflame the passions of the multitude and tend to acts of vandalism."

**Industrial Revolution.**

To Mayor Overstolz "we, the authorized representatives of the industrial population of St. Louis," addressed a request for "cooperation in devising means to procure food." Then followed the declaration: "All offers of work during this national strike cannot be considered by us as a remedy under the present circumstances, for we are fully determined to hold out until the principles we are contending for are carried."

"The stringency of food," the address continued, "is already being felt; therefore, to avoid plunder, arson or violence by persons made desperate by destitution, we are ready to concur with your honor in taking timely measures to supply the immediate wants of the foodless."

Another of the announcements of the "executive committee" notified physicians and surgeons, members of the medical profession, that they would be "professionally regarded during the present strike by wearing a white badge four inches long and two inches broad, encircling the left upper arm, bearing a red cross, the bars of which to be one inch wide by three inches long, crossing each other at right angles, allowing the bars to extend one inch each way."

The day before the appeal for food a mob broke into the Dozier, Weyl & Company bakery where the Globe-Democrat building stands on Sixth and Pine streets and appropriated the bread and cakes. At Ninth street and Franklin avenue a store was gutted and the dry goods, soap and other stock were thrown into the street "so that the poor people might pick them up." At the Atlantic mills, the proprietor, George Bain, with sturdy Scotch determination, protested against mob dictation to close. He was assaulted by a negro who attempted to brain him with a hatchet.

The day after the issuing of the pronunciamentos the police and a large force of the citizen soldiery marched to Schuler's hall, dispersed the crowd assembled there, made some arrests and raided the offices of "the executive committee." Members of the committee escaped over the roof and through adjacent buildings. The industrial revolution was ended. The citizens' military organization continued under arms until the 31st, paraded through the business section of the city and disbanded. This show of law and order strength was impressive. St. Louis passed through the crisis without the loss of a life and with very little loss of property. It suffered far less than most of the other large railroad centers of the country. The quickness of the preparation to meet the exigency was wonderful. The cool courage and perfect plan of the cam-

paign were admirable. Out of the test the city came with added evidence that self-government had reached its best development.

**Missouri Eloquence.**

Many persons who read the eulogy which Senator Vest delivered on Richard P. Bland in the senate chamber commented upon its finished character. In thought and diction the speech suggested careful and deliberate preparation. There were some sentences which the reader could not but feel must have been written again and again until the polish was perfect. Then, too, the aptness of the quotations from the Scriptures would indicate that the senator might have sat with a concordance at his elbow. The eulogy was taken as the Senate heard it by the official reporter, talked into the phonograph and transcribed with the typewriter. That was the first copy of the senator's words. By way of preparation the senator sat in his home and thought of "the great commoner," as he had known him. Passages of Scripture dimly remembered came into the senator's mind. Turning to Mrs. Vest, from time to time, he asked how this and that quotation ran. And Mrs. Vest, who was such a Bible scholar that she knew many whole chapters by heart, gave the senator the correct language. Thus the senator made ready to deliver the eulogy which went into the classics of the United States Senate.

Obituary orations in Congress are proverbially punctilious and prosy affairs. Vest once drew and held attention when he began his tribute to a dead senator with Job's "If a man die, shall he live again?" He frequently quoted Scripture. His father had been an elder in the Presbyterian church at Frankfort. Vest had attended the first Sunday school organized west of the Alleghany mountains. He utilized the Scriptures sometimes in his court practice. His fellow townsman and warm admirer, Henry Lamm, told this: "Once there was a bitter, pugnacious man, no friend of Mr. Vest, who had the habit of muttering to himself and shaking his head as he walked along the streets of Sedalia. Vest had occasion to allude to this man in a speech to a jury in a case where the head-shaking and muttering one had been a hostile witness, and he boldly offered a daring explanation of the said peculiarities. To the surprise of the court, jury and bar, he quoted verbatim the thirty-first and thirty-second verses of the twelfth chapter of St. Matthew, and then said that his theory of the origin of these head-shakings and mutterings was that the witness at some time in his life had committed the 'unpardonable sin' and was subject to the dreadful maledictions set forth in the quoted verses."

**Champ Clark on the Scriptures.**

Another eloquent Missourian has made frequent use of the Bible in speeches. Champ Clark once told how he came by his intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures:

"When I was a boy, my father wanted me to study the Bible, and I would not do it very much. So he ran across a small book, a sort of vestpocket volume, containing the Declaration of Independence, the old Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, and Washington's Farewell Address, which he gave me with these words: 'My son, as you will not read your Bible, here is the next best book; study it.'

"I followed his advice. 'You can lead a horse to the branch, but you can't make him drink.' So while my father could make me go to church, he could not force me to study theology. We attended Sunday worship at a log meeting-house called Glen's creek, in Washington county, Kentucky. Near the center was a huge, square post to hold up the roof. When the sermon did not interest me, I would curl myself up behind that post, get out my political Bible, and go to work on it. I kept that up until I knew by heart the Declaration of Independence, the old Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, and Washington's Farewell Address—not an unhealthy mental exercise, by any manner of means.

"I am not certain that I would ever have studied the Bible except for a sort of accident. My father was bitterly opposed to my reading novels. He kept me from it as long as he could control me. That I made up for lost time in that regard, goes without saying. He was always buying and borrowing histories and biographies for me to read, and thus formed in me a habit which abides to this day. Once, however, he came across the most fascinating romance ever written. It was published in the guise of a biography, and was entitled, 'William Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.' Neither Walter Scott nor Rider Haggard ever drew on their imagination more than did William Wirt in the preparation of that book. Father brought it home and I read it as Old Harper, of Kentucky, ran his horses, 'from eend to eend.' It contained Patrick's great lyric speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses, precipitating the Revolution, which still stirs the heart like strains of martial music. Of course it completely fascinated me, but the sentence which took most thorough possession of my mind was this: 'The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' I pondered that paradox wondering in my heart. I told my father what a great speech it was and what a magnificent sentence it was. He took my breath away by saying: 'My son, King Solomon, and not Patrick Henry, wrote that sentence which you admire so much. Read your Bible as eagerly as you do histories and biographies and you will find hundreds of others fully as magnificent.' I was much surprised, but took him at his word, and have been reading the Bible ever since, with constantly increasing profit and delight. To say nothing of its religious value, it is the best book in the world to quote from. Whatever knowledge I have dates from the day that my father placed 'William Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry' in my hands."

## Missourians in the Public Eye, 1850-60.

In 1892 William Hyde sketched for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat pen pictures of Missourians who were much in the public eye during the decade 1850-60. He told how they impressed him as a newspaper man:

"Among the stateliest and most splendid men taking part in the politics of those days was Gen. Alexander Doniphan. In form and action he was a magnificent specimen of the physical man. More than 6 feet in height, straight and commanding, he was not in appearance entirely unlike Henry Clay. In manners and contact with others he was superb, and socially one of the most charming of men. It was a great compliment to Green that he was elected to the United States Senate with an eligible man in Missouri like Alexander Doniphan, himself then a member of the legislature. The general, by his famous march through New Mexico, and his achievements which helped so much to give Texas to the Union, had made for himself a national fame that would have elevated Missouri in the United States Senate. He was not alone a brave and gallant soldier, he was a cultivated and polished gentleman, a speaker of more than ordinary gifts; yet, though courageous in all other things, timid to advance himself in politics. It may be stated here that Doniphan and Willard P. Hall wrote the constitution and laws of New Mexico, under the direction of General Kearny.

"Benj. F. Stringfellow, once attorney general of the state, was a man of great prominence, especially during the 'border troubles.' He was intensely pro-slavery. So far from being the 'ruffian' he was depicted in some of the northern newspapers, he was a man of genial nature and humane sensibilities. Moreover, he possessed fine ability, was quick as a flash in resource, and demanded all the time of any antagonist to circumvent him in argument.

"The real whig leader of Missouri was Abiel Leonard. No other on that side possessed more than a moiety of the skill, commanding power, strength of conviction and downright all-around ability of this learned, polished and adroit disciple of Henry Clay. He was in the front rank of Missouri's ablest lawyers, a ripe scholar and a discreet and eloquent advocate. His decisions on the bench of the supreme court attest his learning and acumen.

"Phelps was not brilliant, nor was he by any means a captivating speaker. He was earnest, laborious, faithful and honest; in his later years easily beguiled by flattery, but never cajoled into an official act reflecting discredit on his party or himself. He was sixteen years in Congress, and came to be a 'boss,' in a way, over democracy in Southwest Missouri, as he was perennially a candidate and kept the 'hickory nut brigade' continually working for him. He made a good, conservative governor, and upon the whole was a useful man to the state.

"Thomas L. Anderson took a prominent part in the campaigns of Missouri as a democrat. He was elected to the legislature as far back as 1840, and was a presidential elector in 1844, 1848, 1852 and 1856. In 1845 he was a member of the constitutional convention. He served in the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses. He was a fine speaker, and, perhaps, his last appearance in a political way was in placing John W. Henry in nomination for the supreme court in 1876. His speech on that occasion was a masterpiece."

## Abiel Leonard's Plea for the Union.

A revelation of the intense devotion to the Union held by a giant of those days of 1861 is a letter written by Abiel Leonard. It is preserved by a grandson, A. Leonard Guitar of St. Joseph:

Fayette, May 13, 1861.

Odon Guitar, Esq., Columbia:

My dear Sir:—Allow me to thank you with all my heart for your remarks at the recent Union meeting in your county which I have just read in the Missouri Republican. They are noble sentiments expressed in noble words, and if you live a hundred years you can never do or say anything that will do your head and heart more honor. They ought to be written in letters of gold, and hung up in every house in the state of Missouri; and allow me to say that if we had only just one such man in every county of the state, our glorious government could not be harmed here in Missouri by the men who are laboring for they know not what.

I read the other day in one of the letters of Russell, the English correspondent of the London Times, the words: "the great republic is gone," and my heart sank within me; but it rose at once when I read Mr. Seward's recent letter of instructions to the American minister at Paris, the noble and patriotic assurance to be given to the French Government:

"There will be here only one nation and one government, and there will be the same republic and the same constitutional Union that have already survived a dozen national changes of government in almost every other country. These will stand hereafter, as they now are, objects of human wonder and human affection," and I felt with you "that if our glorious old Ship of State must founder and sink amid the waves of anarchy, it would be glory enough for me to go down with the wreck."

Our national government is undergoing a great struggle now, for its own existence, and if it be sustained, as I believe it will be, it will come out of the conflict the admiration of the world, and the noblest object of human affection, and all those who have contributed to sustain it will entitle themselves to the thanks of civilized man for generations to come.

You know that the state of my health confines me to my house; if I had but the strength to stand up, I would range myself under your leadership, and go through the state uttering the noble sentiments that you proclaimed in Columbia last Monday; but this honor is denied me, and I am compelled by a physical necessity to remain in my house, and to leave to stronger men the glorious duty of aiding with all their might in upholding the best government the world ever saw, and upon which the hopes of civilized man rest. You

see I am quite an enthusiast upon this subject, and my feelings perhaps carry me far beyond what the cold phlegmatic feel.

Your obliged friend,

A. LEONARD.

**A Visit with John B. Clark.**

"Old Bustamente" was the name Gen. James Craig gave John B. Clark when they were members of Congress from Missouri before the war. Bustamente was a famous soldier and statesman of Mexico. He was in every war from 1808 to 1848. He held many offices from president down. The striking personality and the long and versatile public activities of General Clark suggested to Craig the name which he gave admiringly and which stuck to Clark for the rest of his life.

"At sixty-five," said General Craig, "Old Bustamente hadn't a gray streak in his black hair. At seventy-five he was still practicing his profession, and a power he was before a jury, for I tell you he could beat the woman that invented crying."

General Clark was fourscore and past when he talked of the Missouri, part of which he had been through three generations. Fully dressed, even to his shoes, he lay stretched out on the bed with the evidences of filial care about him. His home was with his youngest son, Robert, the prosecuting attorney of Howard county, to whom, when he found himself failing physically, he transferred his practice and library, asking only to be taken care of the rest of his days. He was born almost at the beginning of the century. In the early '80s it seemed as if the hale old man might live to round out a hundred years. But an affection of the eyes came upon him. One failed and then the other. He lay sightless and enfeebled, waiting patiently for the end.

"It has been a year the 1st of April since I left this room," he said to the writer, after he had extended his hand and bade welcome. He told of the treatment he was trying but with little expression of hope as to the result. He passed his hand over the bandage as he spoke of the terrible days and nights of darkness and pain. But neither age nor suffering had weakened his mind. Once started on his recollections of the past, he told in measured words and unimpassioned tones of the events of forty years before as if they were of the days just passed. Dates came to him with scarce a moment's hesitation. Fragments of speeches and of conversations were remembered and repeated. There was no change in the calm voice, but as interest increased the frame straightened, and the veteran arose from his reclining posture and sat on the edge of the bed. The erect figure, six feet and one inch, the high forehead, the long, serious face, the snowy beard extending half way to the waist were features which told of the impressive appearance John B. Clark must have made in his prime.

**Born into Missouri's Public Life.**

It might almost be said that John B. Clark, the elder, was born into the public life of Missouri. His father was one of the commissioners appointed by the President to receive the archives when Upper Louisiana was turned over to the United States. His father was a member of the first legislature when Missouri became a state and was subsequently elected to the state senate, but resigned on

the death of his wife and never re-entered public life. The mantle descended upon the son who had just attained his majority.

The name of John B. Clark had political significance in Missouri as early as 1824. From that year until after the Civil war there were few political campaigns or notable occasions with which John B. Clark was not to some extent associated. As he took his father's place in political activity, so his son, John B. Clark, Jr., succeeded to the family prestige. In fact, the careers of John B. Clark, the elder, and John B. Clark, the younger, overlapped. While the father was a Confederate senator at Richmond, John B. Clark, Jr., was a brigadier general in the Confederate army. After the war, while the father was still a power at the Missouri bar, his son was for several terms a member of Congress from the Fayette district, and subsequently clerk of the House of Representatives at Washington. This Clark family was of the sturdiest Kentucky stock. John B. Clark, Jr., late in life, underwent one of the most extraordinary surgical operations and amazed the profession by regaining a fair degree of health and going about his business.

John B. Clark, the elder, affiliated with the whig party for some time before the war. He headed the whig ticket for governor in Missouri, but was defeated by Reynolds. At that time the democratic majority was about 20,000. John B. Clark's personality enabled him to reduce it considerably.

"My father," said General Clark, "was in the legislature and put Benton in nomination for his first term in the United States Senate. They were always friends. After I took sides against Benton, when he came to Fayette, he'd go out and stop at father's. I wouldn't go out home while Benton was here. I was register of the land office here for a good many years. Old Harrison appointed me. I resigned it, finally, because it interrupted my law business. When my nomination to the place was sent to the Senate, Benton opposed me and got it laid over for some time. Quite a long time before that he had written me a letter in which he had said some pleasant things about me and suggested that I run for Congress. I had kept that letter, and when Benton opposed my confirmation I sent it to Senator Hunter, of Virginia, and asked him to have it read in the Senate when my nomination came up again, and let Benton reply if he could. Hunter did so. Benton never said a word and I was confirmed.

**The Break with Benton.**

"What I was going to say, though, when I commenced about Benton's visits here was this: After I resigned the place of register, Benton got a man named McDair appointed. McDair's office was next to where I lived, and Benton usually went there when he came to Fayette. One day I was standing out in front of my place when the stage drove up, and he got out just opposite me. He wanted to go to McDair's, as I knew. He came towards me, and I stood and looked at him. When he got pretty near I stepped back into the house and closed the door in his face. That day he made a speech in the college chapel, and afterwards he went out to father's, as usual, to pass the night. Father asked him if he had seen me. 'Yes,' said Benton, 'John acted the rascal.' 'How?' asked father, and then Benton went on and told him about what had occurred. Father said to him: 'Tom, you know you did wrong. You did'—so and so, telling how Benton had given me offense before. 'Well,' said Benton, 'that's past; John oughtn't to have shut the door on me.'"

"Benton was really an abolitionist. In other words, he favored the prohibition of slavery in the territories. I nominated Geyer in the legislature in 1850, and we succeeded in defeating Benton at last. At the time I ran for the legislature then it was as an anti-Benton candidate. They had nominated me for Congress, but I declined, saying I thought

I could do more for my county in the legislature. My real reason, however, was that I didn't think I could be elected to Congress at that time. Afterwards I ran for Congress and was elected three times, leaving at the outbreak of the war to join the South.

"When I came back from Washington in 1860, Douglas and Breckinridge were the candidates between whom the party was divided. I went all over Missouri for Douglas, and if I am not mistaken this was the only state he carried. The reason I was for Douglas was this: I was for the South, but was opposed to secession and war. My plan was to insist on the maintenance of the law, to enforce the fugitive slave law and to punish the northern people if they disobeyed it. If they took a stand against it we could force them into the position of being rebels. If war was inevitable, I wanted it to come in such shape that we southern people would be fighting under the old flag for the supremacy of the United States government. We should have held to the flag, the law and the Union. That was Douglas' idea. No doubt it would have succeeded. But the southern states went off by themselves and they had to fight the whole world. Success was impossible."

**General James Shields and the Fenians.**

Although General Shields was a hero of two wars and was intensely patriotic on the subject of freedom for Ireland, he did not join the Fenians. When asked about his position he said:

"I will tell you my own experience about secret movements against England. Some time after the Mexican war I was yet in commission in military service, and stationed at St. Louis. The adherents of the Young Ireland party of '48, in the North, brought pressure upon the war department to grant me a leave of absence. I visited New York, and, after a conference with the leaders, with their assistance, I selected two men, each unknown to the other. I kept them in different quarters of the Astor House for some days, training them verbally upon what I wanted them to do for me in Ireland, giving each a different section. I desired to know what were the military equipments and arms in the hands of the patriots organized in clubs and other bodies, and the warlike resources attainable in the country. They returned and reported. There was no means at all sufficient with which to begin a war.

"On my way back I stopped at Washington to visit the war department. I received a friendly invitation one day from the British minister, Napier, an Irishman, you know—with whom I was on friendly personal terms before I went to Mexico—to take tea with him the same evening. I accepted. After supper he took me into his library, and, patting the stars of a major-general on my shoulders, he said: 'Jim, no Irishman in the world felt prouder of your winning those stars than I; but it is fortunate for you the kind of man that in my person represents the British government in this country. I want you to continue to wear in honor the uniform that has covered you in your glorious deeds in Mexico; but, my dear fellow, at any time within the past few weeks, I could have had your stars razed, and the uniform pulled off your back, had I raised my finger in protest against your conspiracy.'

"Well, I was astonished, but was entirely confounded when he told me of my whole proceedings in New York; and told me of everywhere my two sworn men went in Ireland. He had everything as accurate as their reports to me."

**Missouri Land of Steady Habits.**

Missouri as a land of steady habits furnished some marvelous illustrations when the St. Louis Republic conducted a state-wide contest for continuous Sunday school attendance. Judges were appointed and rules announced. Absences on account of sickness or accident were not to be accepted as excuses. Records were certified by the superintendent of the school where the candidate was then attending. Two classes of candidates were opened. One was of persons under

twenty years, the other of persons over twenty. In the first class the judges found that Roy J. Nelson, twenty years of age, had a record of attending Bowman Methodist church Sunday school in St. Louis fifteen years without missing a single Sunday. For the class over twenty it developed that the record was held by William McClung Paxton of Platte City. Mr. Paxton was ninety-four years old. He had been going to Sunday school ninety years and for sixty-four years he had not missed a Sunday, being either superintendent or teacher. He had lived in Platte City since 1850 and had established the first Sunday school there in 1848. He had made his home in Platte county in the late thirties. The contest brought out the record of little Miss Helen Dale of Freeman, who at the age of twelve had attended Sunday school ten years without missing.

When a prize was offered by the state superintendent of the American Sunday School Union, Rev. J. W. McKean, for the best record of attendance it appeared that John W. Mounce of Hannibal had, since May 16, 1852, when he joined a class at Paris, missed Sunday school only nineteen times. In sixty years of active church work Mr. Mounce had served forty-four years as deacon, thirty years as church treasurer and thirty-three years as Sunday school treasurer.

Mexico, Missouri, offered an example of Sunday school attendance in the person of David Owen, who in twenty-five years had not missed a single session of the school. Mr. Owen also had made the record of contributing a dollar every Sunday to the Mexico Methodist church. When the influenza of 1918-19 closed the church for a brief period, Mr. Owen sent in his dollar regularly during the interim. In the opinion of his fellow citizens this steady Sunday habit of Mr. Owen did not disqualify him from political office. Mr. Owen was a member of the city council of Mexico.

When Mrs. Rose A. Tucker, a native of St. Louis, died at the age of seventy-four, she had taught in the public schools of the city fifty-three years—thirty-three years in one school, the Blair.

The first county clerk of Boone county was Warren Woodson. He held the office continuously forty years.

**Edward F. Swinney's Creed.**

Edward F. Swinney found Missouri the state of opportunity. He began as delivery boy on a salary of twenty dollars a month in a grocery store at Fayette and became president of the First National bank of Kansas City. His election to the presidency of the American Bankers' Association was recognition of his reputation in the banking business far beyond the borders of Missouri. When he had arrived, Mr. Swinney was asked for his secret of success:

> "To the young man who wants to succeed I would only give this brief little creed: Show to his employer that he has his interests at heart in everything. No man is so hard that he does not become interested in a young fellow whom he knows is interested in him. Make a little and save a little, and you will soon have a capital to start on, though it may be small."

**They Heard Opportunity Knock.**

Henry C. Brockmeyer prepared himself to take a leading part in the making of Missouri's model constitution in 1875 by living with his books three years in an

abandoned cabin in Warren county, where he made his clothes and shoes, cooking his meals which consisted chiefly of the game he killed. He worked in John How's tannery, Filley's foundry and for Bridge, Beach & Co. at intervals to get money to carry on the studies which enabled him to enter on the practice of law and to write books on philosophy.

As a deputy sheriff, Aylett H. Buckner earned the means to study law. He became one of the most successful of political leaders, delivering speeches on banking and currency which attracted national attention during successive terms in Congress.

As a tanner's apprentice and afterwards while following his trade, Rezin A. DeBolt found time to study law which led to the bench and to a seat in Congress where a reputation for oratory was gained.

George Deigel, who became a successful merchant, and made a notable record as the register of lands in securing for Missouri a large amount of money from swamp lands, started as a carpenter's apprentice.

From hard work on a Missouri farm and brief winter schooling, David Rea advanced to a seat in Congress.

The champion ox-driver in his youth, with a record of handling six yokes at breaking prairie, Samuel A. Richardson took to books in his early manhood and became one of the most widely known circuit judges of Northwest Missouri.

George Rappeen Smith, who paid thirteen dollars an acre for 1,100 acres, divided it into building lots and started the city of Sedalia, who secured $400,000 in subscriptions to the Missouri Pacific railroad and diverted the route from the river as originally planned, began his career as a deputy sheriff.

George Smith, one of the small group of men who brought about the building of the first railroad across the state, the old Hannibal & St. Joe., completed in 1859, came into Missouri following 1,200 sheep from Ohio. He had been a clerk in a country store and had captained a flatboat loaded with flour to New Orleans. He became lieutenant-governor of Missouri with Fletcher as governor and narrowly missed the nomination for governor when McClurg was chosen.

Learning his trade as a printer's apprentice in Lexington, Kentucky, Lucian Johnson Eastin had a remarkable career as a pioneer in Missouri journalism. He was editor and proprietor of the Marion Journal at Palmyra as early as 1835. He founded the Missouri Sentinel, the first paper published in Monroe county, and later the Glasgow Journal at Glasgow. In the course of his career, he was editor of the Jefferson City Enquirer, the St. Joseph Gazette, the Chillicothe Chronicle. To this versatile Missouri editor belonged the distinction of publishing the first newspaper printed in Kansas. That was in 1854. The printing office was under an elm tree at the corner of Cherokee street and the levee in Leavenworth. In 1875 the Missouri Press association recognized this extraordinary record by making Mr. Eastin president.

John Evens floated down the Ohio in a skiff to Shawneetown and walked across Illinois to Ste. Genevieve, in 1822, to become at Hopewell one of the earliest and most successful lead smelters in Missouri.

Completing his education while doing duty in a small clerkship, Thomas C. Fletcher became a brigadier general in the Union army and war governor of the state.

Jacob S. Merrell

Oliver A. Hart

Odon Guitar

Gerard B. Allen

USEFUL CITIZENS OF MISSOURI

Russell Hicks split rails and cut cordwood in Saline county before he read law and became one of the most prosperous citizens of Jackson county.

**From the Ranks to Captains of Industry.**

James T. Drummond taught school, traveled for his father-in-law, James Tatum, put his first savings into a small tobacco factory and founded a business of immense proportions.

Sam Gaty, an orphan at eleven years, left the people with whom he had been placed, bound himself as apprentice in a foundry, discovered how to turn a steamboat shaft in a day and a half, started a foundry in St. Louis and became one of the captains of industry before the war. A steamboat was given his name, which was the evidence in those days that a man had arrived in the estimation of his fellow citizens.

After laying many thousands of brick in the first ten years of his life in St. Louis, Ellis N. Leeds, son of a New Jersey farmer, became a director in a bank and in a variety of industries, and retired a "capitalist."

Nicholas Schaeffer and his three brothers walked over the Alleghany mountains on their way to St. Louis. He worked in a tannery at fifteen dollars a month, mixed mortar at seventy-five cents a day, was steward in a hotel and tried flatboating before he struck the gait which produced the largest soap and candle manufactory in the West.

Without a penny in his pocket August Gast landed in St. Louis. Leopold Gast brought with him a press and a small lithographic outfit. That was the beginning of a great industry.

The first of the Jaccards, for generations leading jewelers, worked as a journeyman at nine dollars a week when he came to St. Louis.

Jacob Spencer Merrell, founder of the Merrell Drug company, with a record of more than sixty years of progressive success, started westward at the age of fifteen, working his way along the Erie canal. He took deck passage on a Lake Erie boat and cut cordwood on the site of Toledo. He worked in a grocery for ten dollars a month, traveled through the country buying furs and saved enough to start in a small way the drug business in St. Louis in 1853. When the American Medical college was projected, Mr. Merrell was one of the founders.

The second evening Robert M. Funkhouser was in St. Louis, he went into an auction store, a popular place of evening amusement in 1840. The auctioneer was selling looking glasses "dead cheap." Young Funkhouser bought four dozen. The next day he started out to retail them. His taking way of salesmanship attracted the attention of a merchant, T. R. Selms, who gave him employment at $250 a year and board thrown in. Funkhouser became a merchant on his own account, a bank director and president of the chamber of commerce.

**Evolution in Trade.**

Isaac Wyman Morton created the first elaborate and illustrated trade catalogue issued by a St. Louis house. Eighteen months—days, evenings and holidays—he devoted to the work. There was no model to copy, for Mr. Morton was entering a comparatively new field. Mr. Morton prepared the huge volume in detail—the descriptions, the classification, the indexing and the paging. He superintended the

engraving of the pictures. In those days, thirty years ago, the making of cuts had not reached the present standards. This illustrated hardware catalogue came out in 1880. It was a revolution in selling methods. The cost, $30,000, staggered some of the other stockholders of the Simmons Hardware Company. But that first year the catalogue was in use the sales of the house increased over $1,000,000.

Cupples Station was an evolution. At Seventh and Poplar streets the city had a market house which had outlived its usefulness. The property was for sale. The house of Cupples & Co. was on Second street. "We needed a warehouse," said Samuel Cupples. "We thought the market house was in a location convenient to the railroad and would suit our purposes. We bought it. Then we bought another back of it. The idea of having warehouses with railroad tracks beside them grew on the benefits that accrued." That is the history of Cupples Station, which has been worth millions of dollars to St. Louis trade in the heavy lines. The saving in the years of Cupples Station's growth held old and gained new trade territory for St. Louis.

**From Bricklayer to Bishop.**

In the early seventies Robert McIntyre was a bricklayer working on the railroad tunnel along Washington avenue and Eighth street, St. Louis. One evening he went into the First Methodist Church which was near the tunnel. Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Finney was preaching. The bricklayer was converted. He became Bishop McIntyre of Oklahoma, in demand for lectures in all parts of the country.

When Michael K. McGrath arrived in St. Louis in 1856 he had only enough money to pay for a night's lodging. The next day he got employment in the county recorder's office on the strength of good penmanship. For almost a lifetime he held office as clerk of various courts and as secretary of state.

John F. Philips had a year as clerk in a drygoods store at New Bloomfield before he entered upon a career at bar and on bench without parallel in Missouri history.

James L. Stephens, whose benefactions made possible Stephens Female college at Columbia, was a clerk in a drygoods store.

Serving an apprenticeship to a ship-builder at New Albany, John Wilkinson built a small steamer which he called "the Laurel." He made one trip from Louisville to Alton. On the second trip, the Laurel went down at a landing in Perry county. Wilkinson built a shanty with some of the wreckage and went to work cutting cordwood for steamboats. That was in 1835. Having no capital with which to buy a team of horses, Wilkinson trundled his wood in a wheelbarrow to the landing. When snow fell he used a sled and pulled it himself. By constant labor he built up a trade with the boats until he was one of the largest wood dealers on the Mississippi. He went into milling. He ran the first circular saw-mill in Southeast Missouri. He became one of the largest real estate owners in Missouri.

From the little village of Cahokia, a few miles from St. Louis, John J. Anderson came in 1827 to be an errand boy in Edward Ropier's store. The father, Reuben Anderson, had moved west from Delaware during the War of 1812. He had charge of military stores at Fort Bellefontaine, and then took up

his residence at Cahokia. The father's death when the boy was nine years old cut short the education. From errand boy, John J. Anderson advanced to confidential clerk and to partnership. He established the banking house of John J. Anderson & Co., and in 1857 built upon that the Bank of St. Louis. He obtained the charter and was the president. In the fifties John J. Anderson did some things which made him a man much talked about and admired. He was chairman of the ways and means committee of the council when the city appropriated $500,000 for the Missouri Pacific and the same amount for the Ohio and Mississippi railroad. He brought from Vermont the marble and built the first marble building in St. Louis at a cost of $80,000. He was one of the ten men who undertook the building of the old Southern Hotel before the war, to cost $800,000.

A runaway apprentice boy unwilling to stand the ill treatment of a hard master, B. W. Alexander came from Kentucky to St. Louis when he was nineteen. He had learned the trade of a bricklayer and followed it three years. With his savings he started one of the first livery stables in 1831, and followed that business over twenty years. Then he became a commission merchant. After that he was an insurance president, a director of the Missouri Pacific railroad and a director in the Bank of St. Louis, and in the Boatmen's Savings Institution.

**Records in Railroad Management.**

In the evolution of the railroad systems of St. Louis were developed men of talent for managing them. Archibald Alexander Talmage, son of a Presbyterian minister of New Jersey, was a young conductor on the road from East St. Louis to Terre Haute when he began to attract attention. He came to St. Louis in 1871 to be general superintendent of the road running from Pacific to Vinita, now part of the Frisco, and was advanced to general manager of the Missouri Pacific system. It was in Talmage's day that the Missouri Pacific was considered the most valuable railroad property west of the Mississippi.

The first railroad job of Alfred James Davidson, who became president of the Frisco, was station baggage master, at Decatur, in Illinois, where he was born. Between trains the seventeen-year-old boy studied telegraphy. He filled twenty different kinds of railroad positions on his way to the top.

An Ohio boy, with a college education, Charles G. Warner, began business life as a clerk in an Alton dry goods store. He tried farming after he had served in the Civil war, but got a railroad clerkship. After that a natural qualification for railroad business took him by rapid promotion to the vice presidency of the Missouri Pacific.

Warren Samuel McChesney, Jr., was a plain railroad agent in his native Kentucky before he began to advance by a series of promotions toward the head of the great St. Louis Terminal association.

E. B. Pryor studied theory and practice of railroading through the medium of a private secretaryship to prepare himself to be vice president of the Wabash, and later for bank presidency.

Philip W. Coyle, the traffic commissioner and railroad expert of the Chamber of Commerce, was at the age of fifteen a railroad telegraph operator on the Erie in New York state, where he was born.

Sidney Carter Johnson, one of the St. Louis born and bred railroad general officers, began as an office boy for the Iron Mountain auditor.

From telegraph operator to vice president, Carl Raymond Gray, of Arkansas birth and education, advanced in the Frisco service.

From messenger boy in an Illinois railway telegraph office to president and general manager of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway system, Andrew A. Allen passed through the grades of telegraph operator, clerk, ticket agent, train dispatcher, city agent, train master, superintendent and assistant general manager.

**From Flatboatman to Bank President.**

Sullivan Blood had the sense of responsibility for other people's money which made him an ideal bank president. He was a man of nerve. He was of Vermont birth. Left an orphan, he made his way westward when he was under age. Working his way down the Ohio on a flatboat, he came to St. Louis in 1817. The town, it was then, was beginning to put on city airs. Watchmen were deemed necessary to preserve the peace and protect citizens. Sullivan Blood became a watchman and later was promoted to be captain of the watch. He held this place ten years. He was chosen an alderman. The river appealed to him. His boats became very popular because of the confidence Captain Sullivan Blood's personality inspired with all who became acquainted with him. This quality he possessed in extraordinary degree. It was inborn. It showed itself in his service as captain of the watch. When the time came to reorganize the Boatmen's under a new charter, Captain Blood, by common consent of those interested, was picked as the man for president. He held the office twenty-three years. The tribute the public paid to Sullivan Blood's character was shown in an incident of the bank's early history. In 1854 a robber got into the safe before the opening hour and carried away $18,000 in paper money and $1,000 in gold. Page & Bacon, Lucas & Simonds, Loker, Renick & Co., E. W. Clark & Brothers, and J. J. Anderson & Co. offered to advance money, anticipating that the robbery might start a run. The business of the bank went on as if nothing had happened. The help was not needed. The robber was not caught.

Founded in 1876, in the period when the tendency was so strong toward consolidation, the Lafayette not only outlived the banks in its vicinity but grew to be one of the strongest of the institutions not located in the heart of the city. The predecessor of the Lafayette bank was the Lafayette Savings. One of the directors in the original institution was Fred Arendes. Some of the successful bankers of St. Louis have come through other professions and with liberal education. Others have come from the trades and with the memory of long hours and strictest economy. There has been no royal road to the banking that has endured in St. Louis. Fred Arendes came to St. Louis in 1849 and worked as a journeyman tailor. The first fifty dollars he was able to save he sent to Germany to bring his mother to this country. He was the first president of the Lafayette bank and held the position twenty-two years, until his death. Standing beside the body of Fred Arendes, one who had known him most of his lifetime in St. Louis said: "I never heard him speak a profane word. No poor person asked help of him and was refused."

**Judge Henry's Retort Judicial.**

One of the most remarkable judicial careers in the history of the Missouri bench has been that of John W. Henry. When the state established the department of public instruction in 1854, Governor Sterling Price appointed Mr. Henry, the first superintendent of schools. In 1872 Judge Henry was living in Macon City when a vacancy occurred in the judgeship of the district including Macon, Adair, Schuyler and Putnam counties. Judge Henry was appointed by Governor Hardin and was continued on the bench by election.

At a session of court in Lancaster, Schuyler county, a lawyer who had some reputation as a fighter appeared to argue a motion. Judge Henry, having heard the opposite side, announced his decision in favor of the belligerent lawyer without waiting to hear him. This didn't suit. The lawyer had a local reputation to sustain. He was prepared with an argument and he wanted to make it although the decision had been announced in his favor. He began to talk. The judge told him it was entirely unnecessary to say anything more. The lawyer continued to talk until the judge ordered him to take his seat. This he did, but after court adjourned he approached the judge and said in a threatening tone:

"Judge Henry, you insulted me."

The judge made no answer. The lawyer, after a pause, went on:

"You insulted me and I'm going to take it out of you right now."

"Did I insult you?" asked Judge Henry.

"You did."

"Are you sure I did?"

"Of course, I am."

"I am glad that you realize it. I tried hard to but I thought your hide was too thick to feel it."

From his towering six feet of belligerent attitude the lawyer looked down upon the judge sitting in his chair and calmly smoking. He didn't say a word but turned and walked away.

**The Stars Fell When See Said They Would.**

Thomas Jefferson Jackson See, the astronomer, was born in Montgomery county. The people who knew him as a boy tell with broad smiles how Professor See got the best of the other astronomers soon after he went to Washington and became connected with the Naval observatory. The prediction was made that on a certain night the stars would fall. The scientific men got ready to take observations. Professor See had been making his own calculations. He told the other astronomers that the date announced was a year too soon and went to bed early that night. It turned out that See was right. The stars did not shoot until the next year. These are some of Professor See's discoveries and theories:

"Billions of meteors strike the earth every day. Billions of them can be seen entering our atmosphere at nightfall. The earth is continually being bombarded by these celestial projectiles, many of them no larger than a grain of dust. 'Star dust' we might call these particles, and it is with this dust from the stars that the earth is being made to grow. This dark mineral substance has been found on the snows of the Arctic regions and analyzed. At the rate it is falling the earth is growing larger annually by a layer about the depth of a match's thickness. The reaches of space are filled with this 'stellar dust.' We can never escape passing through it, and it sprinkles the earth constantly.

"Life is not an accident. It occurs wherever the conditions of heat, light, atmosphere and climatic conditions will permit. That the existence of life on Mars is doubtful I will admit. Mars is a dead world or fast becoming so. Possibly there are millions of planets in other parts of the universe that have also run their course from creation through life eras and have now become cold dead worlds, mere monuments to the races that once peopled them. It would only be in keeping with known facts of planetary changes, as we have discovered them. The canals of Mars may, or may not, be the traces of the dead occupants. Of all the planets I am certain that Venus is the most certainly peopled. It is very like the earth in many respects, and it is possible that the creatures may be analogous to those living on this planet.

"We have not discovered all even of our own world-family. We can feel the influences of these dark worlds, but as yet our glasses have picked up no trace of them. Undoubtedly dark in color and reflecting nothing of the sun's light it may be years before we ever get a glimpse of them. However, we can feel their pulling influences out there in the dark, and so can the other planets."

## The Cause of Gravitation Discovered.

Professor See's most recent scientific discoveries relate to the cause of gravitation. Sir Isaac Newton two centuries ago, concluded that gravitation was due to impulses in the æther under which the density of that medium increases from the Sun outward. This was considered strange at the time and explanation of the law could not be determined satisfactorily. Little or no progress was made on this problem up to the time that Professor See began to demonstrate in a series of papers published in the Astronomische Nachrichten his discovery. Speaking recently of his work of connecting gravitation with magnetism, the latter also being due to impulses in the æther, Professor See, now a captain and professor of mathematics in the United States Navy, stationed at Mare Island, California, said:

"Many of us will recall that as far back as 1820 the celebrated French physicist Ampére first outlined his ideas of magnetism. Ampére's theory was that elementary currents of electricity circulate about every atom of a magnet, and that the currents about the atoms are made to line up in parallel planes when a piece of steel is magnetized, by the electrodynamic action of a current. In other words, the currents about the atoms are acting together, in perfect concert, in a magnet; whilst in common bodies not magnetized, the elementary currents are tilted about at all kinds of angles, and thus mutually destroying any common effect.

"This is equivalent to saying that there is team work between the atoms in a magnet, the waves from all the atoms pulling together, whereas in gravitational bodies, this is not so, owing to the haphazard arrangement of the equatorial planes of the atoms.

"The first outline of the electrodypamic wave-theory of gravitation was sent to the Royal Society of London, at the end of 1914; but as the World war had meanwhile broken out, the paper could not be adequately studied abroad, and thus in 1917 I published the first volume of "the Electrodynamic Wave-Theory of Physical Forces, Boston, London and Paris."

## Gravitation and Magnetism Connected.

"This work connected gravitation with magnetism, which latter was also shown to be due to waves in the æther.

"As gravitation is due to waves in the aether, the planetary forces are transmitted across space with the velocity of light, and thus take up about eight minutes of time in coming from the Sun to the Earth. Up to 1917 nothing was known as to the velocity of gravitation, but by identifying it with electrodynamic action, I was able to show that the velocity is the same as that of light. Newton had taken the transmission of gravity to be instantaneous, and Laplace thought he had proved that the velocity is at least fifty million times faster than light, so that the identity now shown with the velocity of light and electricity is noteworthy.

"In the work of 1917 I was able to explain the fluctuations of the Moon's mean motion, which Newcomb had established in 1909, after researches in the Lunar Theory extending over 40 years. The Sun's gravitational action on the Moon is diminished when the action has to take place through the solid body of the Earth, and as these disturbances occur in cycles connected with the saros and other eclipse cycles, we have disturbances in the Moon's longitude which recur periodically.

"Accordingly, these two researches, one celestial the other terrestial, not only connect gravitation with magnetism and other physical forces in nature, but also show why there should be correlation of forces and conservation of energy. All physical forces are due to waves in the æther, traveling in free space with the velocity of light, but more slowly in solid masses, which also explains in radio telegraphy the propagation of the wireless waves around the Earth, heretofore an insoluble mystery to the greatest mathematicians.

"Thus perhaps it is not surprising that many investigators look upon the development of the wave-theory of gravitation as the foremost result of our age."

## John B. Henderson's Start in Public Life.

A long distance speech in Pike County, according to Champ Clark, gave John B. Henderson his successful start in public life. Of Henderson's career, Mr. Clark said:

"When the Mexican war began he was about eighteen years old, and was teaching a country school not far from Louisiana, the largest town in the county. They had a lyceum at Louisiana, which afforded opportunity for local orators to train themselves in the art of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Patrick Henry. One Friday night Henderson was there. The subject was, 'Is the Mexican war justifiable?' The democrats affirming and the whigs denying. The rules of the lyceum provided for ten minute speeches. Young Henderson, being both a visitor and an ardent democrat, was, as a matter of courtesy, invited to open the debate, which he did in great shape and with alacrity. He was very kind, and did more. He not only opened the debate but closed it also. As an additional act of courtesy the rules were suspended, and the fuzzy-faced pedagogue was permitted to speak without limit. He evidently didn't know when he'd get another chance to orate, and proposed to speak his mind freely. He began in a halting, stammering sort of way; but, warming with his theme, he harangued the enthusiastic democrats and the bewildered and disgusted whigs for four mortal hours, and gained the verdict for his belligerent party by shutting out his adversaries entirely. The whigs were speechless with rage and the democrats delirious with joy. That exhibition of gall, cheek, and endurance laid the foundation of Henderson's political fortunes. The democrats swore that he was the smartest boy between the two oceans, and would one day be President. They did not compel him to wait at Jericho until his beard was grown, but elected him to the legislature before he was of the age to qualify under the law. When he was to be sworn in, some question was raised as to whether he was old enough. He was asked point-blank:

"'When were you born?'"

"'I have no very clear remembrance of being born at all. If you want to know my age, go and ask the people who elected me,' was the young man's reply.

"They didn't go, and Henderson took his seat and served out his term. He performed many notable acts. He was the only man, living or dead, who ever refused a seat on the supreme court bench of Missouri; he was a Union brigadier general; he served eight years in the Senate of the United States; was the author of the fifteenth amendment, and had the courage, wisdom, patriotism, and self-abnegation to vote for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson, which brought a check to his political career. He was one of the special counsel which prosecuted the whisky ring in St. Louis; presided over the Chicago convention which nominated Harrison, and was president of the Pan-American Congress. But in all his long and busy life he never did any one thing which promoted his own interests so much as that four-hour speech in the Louisiana lyceum. Somebody has said that opportunity is bald behind and has a single fleecy lock in front. Henderson fastened on to that with both

hands and an everlasting grip while delivering that long-drawn-out oration on the banks of the Mississippi."

**The Father of Street Transportation in Missouri.**

A farmer's boy of northern New York went to work in a store at Watertown for eight dollars a month. When he was nineteen, he had saved $140. From the country west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri came tales of prosperity which seemed almost fabulous. The steamboat age was approaching its marvelous development. St. Louis was the focus of migration from the eastern states. The boy with $140 heard of the opportunities. He made his journey, overland, by canal and by river. He was not twenty years old when he climbed the rough river landing and began the search for vocation in St. Louis. The year was 1843 and the month was September. Blood tells. By one line of descent, young Erastus Wells came from the Otis family of Massachusetts, patriots in the Revolution, framers of the organic act of the commonwealth and legislators through several generations. By another line, the family came from Hugh Welles, a Connecticut pioneer and ancestor to many notable citizens of that state. Erastus Wells tried several things after his arrival in St. Louis, while he studied the growing city and looked for the more permanent opportunity. Then occurred a conversation with Calvin Case and the decision to try an omnibus line. For $75 each, young Wells bought two horses, and began. George S. Case, the son of Calvin Case, gave this recollection:

"The running gear which was used for the first omnibus in St. Louis was built in the east for the government to be used in transportation across the plains. This running gear, with others, was shipped to St. Louis via New Orleans, was sunk in the river, was raised by my father's diving-bell boat and stored in his warehouse on Green street, near Main. One morning when I was thirteen years old, Erastus Wells, then a young man, came into my father's office, and after the usual salutation, said: 'Captain, you have started McMurray, William Nelson Dudley and James B. Eads in business; now what can you do for me?' They came out of the office into the warehouse, and while walking there, my father's eyes fell upon the aforesaid running gear, and he said: 'Erastus, you might start an omnibus line, as there are some nice running gears you can buy cheap.' After figuring the cost over, young Wells said: 'Captain, I have not capital enough, but if you will join me I will try it.' The wagonmaker on North Second street was engaged to build the body. It was numbered 1. It was a crude affair, but was the nucleus of our present grand system of street railways."

**When the Omnibus Was Not Genteel.**

According to contemporary records, public opinion required some molding. Erastus Wells found that the community did not respond at once with enthusiasm to his enterprise. There was travel enough between the National hotel and the upper ferry. People did not prefer walking. But, the omnibus was a new proposition for the old St. Louis of 1844. "At first people were a little shy of it," said the newspaper account. "Some did not think it exactly a genteel way of traveling the streets. These scruples have entirely disappeared, and everybody now rides and is glad of the opportunity."

In the pioneer omnibus, which for nine months was the only rolling stock of the firm of Case & Wells, there was no skylight in the top through which to pass the fare. Driver and Conductor Wells got down from his seat and went

around to the rear to collect the fare if the passenger did not tender the bit before he entered. At that time the strap for controlling the back door and for signaling to stop had not been invented.

During the first winter of the operation of the pioneer line from the National hotel to the North Market street ferry, there were half days when Mr. Wells drove over the route without a solitary passenger. While the ferry was the official terminus, the omnibus stopped in front of the "O. K." That was the name of a "coffee house" which stood near the river bank. In this place of refreshment persons waited for either the ferryboat or the omnibus. About a month after the Case & Wells line had been started, the horses, while standing in front of the "O. K.," took fright and ran away. They jumped over some logs. When the team was stopped, the top and several other parts of the omnibus were shattered. The line suspended about three weeks for repairs. Here was where the capitalist of the enterprise, Captain Case, perhaps proved the salvation of it. He encouraged Mr. Wells and footed the bills. The suspension was one of the best things that could have happened. While people did not take enthusiastically to the omnibus line and predicted failure the first few weeks, they missed the convenience while repairs were in progress. When Mr. Wells returned to the route with the restored omnibus, he was pleasantly greeted. Business picked up. The newspapers had something congratulatory to say about the reappearance of the "old reliable."

Erastus Wells developed the omnibus system. In 1859 he built the first street railroad in Missouri, the Olive street line, and drove the first car. After the Civil war he was elected to Congress and proved to be one of the most efficient representatives Missouri had in that generation. Largely through his efforts St. Louis secured the custom house which occupies the block bounded by Eighth, Seventh, Locust and Olive streets. The son of Erastus Wells, Rolla Wells, became mayor of St. Louis in 1901 and held the office eight years. He brought about the lime and iron treatment which gave the city clear water.

**Grand Old Missourians of 1895.**

About 1895, grand old men gave strength of character to St. Louis. They were eighty, but they were active. Their influence in the community was impressive. It was felt in business and in all of the professions. These octogenarians pursued their vocations regularly. The youngest of them had been born as early as 1815. Others could date back their birthdays to 1807 and 1809 and 1812. These men were long time St. Louisans. They had seen the city's evolution. They had not relinquished their interest in or their hold on the affairs of life. They constituted an element such as probably no other city could show and such as St. Louis had not before known. There were other St. Louisans full of years and honors, but they had retired and were enjoying well earned repose from active duties. Life in St. Louis has always encouraged longevity. There has been no better place to grow old. Most men withdraw from cares at three-score and ten. St. Louis has had its full quota of these. But in addition, the citizenship of 1895 included those notable personalities who were to be seen day after day engaged in business or professional work, not as vigor-

ously as in earlier life, perhaps, but still to be accounted as part of the city's active life.

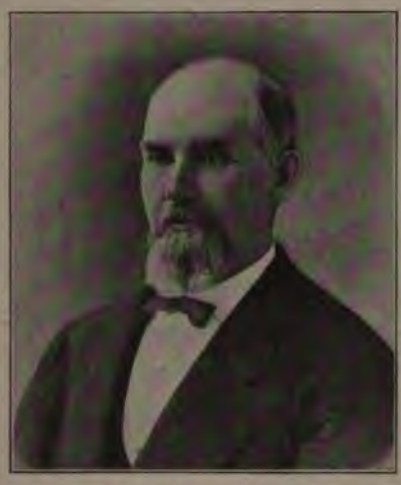
When Augustus F. Shapleigh entered the hardware business steel had not come into use for pens. Daniel R. Garrison, the moving spirit in the construction of the first railroad leading east from St. Louis, was 34 years old before St. Louis thought of such a thing as a railroad, and when the first public meeting was held to agitate on the subject. He was past 40 before the locomotive reached the Mississippi. Carlos S. Greeley established a wholesale grocery at St. Louis when Chicago was simply Fort Dearborn. Dr. S. Gratz Moses was private physician to Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, and eldest brother of Napoleon. While he was a resident of Paris, in this capacity, he enjoyed confidential relations with the Murat family. This was between 1830 and 1840. Two of the moving spirits in the establishment of the first public dispensary west of the Mississippi, in 1841, Drs. Moses and William M. McPheeters, were still in active professional life. Giles F. Filley was on the electoral ticket for Fremont, in Missouri, when Buchanan was elected president. John D. Perry had seen more than sixty years of active business life in St. Louis.

Melvin L. Gray came down to his law office, shed his coat, rolled up the top of a big desk crammed with legal papers and received his clients in July days. He was a classmate of the poet, John G. Saxe. Dr. Louis Bauer emerged from the consultation room of a down-town office with sprightly step and cigar poised between his fingers. Dr. Bauer was a colleague of Bismarck in the Prussian Parliament of 1848. Bismarck and Bauer, with one other, shared the distinction of being the youngest members of that body. Bismarck was then in retirement. Dr. Bauer, eight months and fourteen days older, received his patients, lectured regularly before medical classes and contributed copiously to medical publications. Oliver A. Hart was at one time an architect and a builder in St. Louis. Under his supervision four of the churches of the city were constructed. They were the finest of the period. Mr. Hart lived to see every one of those churches, built to last a century, removed to give place to business blocks, and he was still in active management of varied interests.

**No Silver Spoons in Their Mouths.**

Very few of these Missouri octogenarians of 1895 were born with silver spoons in their mouths. Giles F. Filley as a youth went into a tinner's shop and learned that trade. Melvin L. Gray, a Vermonter, went south to Alabama and taught school before he took up law studies. Augustus F. Shapleigh clerked in a hardware store for $50 a year. He did it against his will, for he wanted to follow the sea, as his father had done before him. Oliver A. Hart served as apprentice in a carpenter shop in Norwich, Conn., and his start in St. Louis was made as a builder. Carlos S. Greeley was clerk in a grocery. Henry L. Clark left his home in Ireland when he was only seventeen years old to become a sailor. Thomas B. Edgar learned carriage making and established a manufactory in the city in 1835. Daniel R. Garrison put in four years of toil in a machine shop.

A good conscience is conducive to longevity. Those octogenarians who still remained upon the active list in 1895 were without exception men of strict



WILLIAM J. LEWIS

JOHN D. PERRY

THE DAVID R. FRANCIS MANSION
Leased at nominal rental for headquarters of the Boy Scouts and Junior Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis

integrity. Among them were some whose lives illustrated a sense of honor that was extraordinary. Take the case of Giles F. Filley. At fifty-two years of age Mr. Filley found himself responsible for a debt of nearly $1,000,000. This had come about solely through the appearance of his name as indorser on another man's commercial paper. It was not a business venture on Mr. Filley's part. It was an act of friendship. Mr. Filley was urged to take advantage of bankruptcy and rid himself of the burden incurred through no moral responsibility. He refused to see it that way. He assumed the paper he had indorsed, not only the principal, but the interest, and at the age of sixty-six paid the last dollar. The interest had added materially to the debt. The actual amount Mr. Filley paid in sustaining this endorsement was $1,300,000. At the same time he carried on and extended his manufacturing business.

**A Virginia Triumvirate.**

Three men from the same part of Virginia had much to do with the development of banking in St. Louis. John D. Perry of Scotch-Irish ancestry, a strain of which has been virile and beneficial to the profession, was one of the founders of the Exchange bank in 1857. This bank won the distinction of redeeming in specie all of the notes issued under the banking law of the state. No matter when the Exchange bank-note came to the counter, in time of depression or war, the hard money was there to be paid out in redemption. One other bank in the country made the like record,—the Chemical of New York. Mr. Perry was president of the Exchange bank several years. A loan was made to John C. Fremont, who at that time, just before the war, was engaged in building a railroad in Missouri. Fremont got the money and pledged rails as collateral. The Exchange bank made the loan at the rate of $100 a ton, about four times what the same weight in rails would be worth in these days. But the market value of rails at that time was $140 a ton. The present generation wonders why railroad building in Missouri was so costly in the pioneer period. Fremont had been a famous explorer when he was in the army. He had headed the republican presidential ticket in 1856. He was a "Pathfinder" in a new country and in politics but he was not a business man. The Exchange bank had to take the rails for the loan.

Soon after the war, John D. Perry, Thomas J. Bartholow and William J. Lewis formed the banking house of Bartholow, Lewis & Co. Mr. Perry and Mr. Lewis were brothers-in-law. They married sisters, daughters of Talton Turner of Howard county. Mr. Perry and General Bartholow were cousins. Mr. Perry's mother was a Bartholow. Through the influence of Mr. Perry General Bartholow came to Missouri some years before the war. At the breaking out of hostilities General Bartholow joined the Union army and served with distinction, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. He took active charge of the banking firm. Mr. Lewis, in 1866, had participated in the formation of the Commercial bank. He became the second president of it serving ten years and refusing salary. Bartholow, Lewis & Co. was a partnership in the beginning. In 1872 the firm was incorporated. General Bartholow was president until 1878. Mr. Perry became president that year. In 1881, Bartholow, Lewis & Co. became the Laclede bank with John D. Perry as president. In 1885 the Valley National

united its fortunes with the Laclede the consolidation forming the Laclede National with Samuel E. Hoffman as president. Mr. Hoffman was president until 1895, in which year the Laclede National united with the Merchants' National forming the Merchants-Laclede National with a board composed of the directors of the two institutions and with William H. Lee as president.

David R. Francis was the largest stockholder of the Laclede National when the consolidation with the Merchants National took place. He began buying stock in Bartholow, Lewis & Co., investing his first savings from his grain business when he was a young man. It was one of the traditions of the banking business that Mr. Francis never sold a share of his stock in the institution and its successors from the day of his first investment. He became vice president of the Laclede before it was a national bank, and held the position through the changes except for intervals, one of which was when he became a member of the cabinet of Mr. Cleveland. The John D. Perry estate remained in trust, the interest in the successive institutions being held intact for the heirs by the trustees.

**Atchison's Impressive Presence.**

William F. Switzler once described Senator Atchison as "a man of imposing presence, six feet two inches high, and straight as an arrow, florid complexion, and would weigh about 200 pounds. He was the soul of honor, a member of the Presbyterian church, a fine conversationalist and possessed a great and exact memory. As a citizen he was plain, jovial and unostentatious and simple in his tastes. He was not an aristocrat in dress, living or life, but a democrat by nature and education, with profound sympathies for what Mr. Lincoln called 'the common people.' He regarded himself as one of the people, and therefore for the people. He was not an orator, and in his speeches to Senate or people did not attempt to reach conclusions by curved lines ornamented with the flowers and festoons of classic diction, but by straight lines that he regarded as most ornamented when ornamented the least. His speeches were not beautifully polished shafts of Corinthian marble, but rugged columns of native granite. He was no orator as Brutus is, but, as all the people knew, a plain, blunt man, who only spoke right on. Atchison county, Missouri, and the city of Atchison, Kansas, were named in honor of him."

**The Author of the Jackson Resolutions.**

A part of William Barclay Napton's preparation for a judicial career, almost unparalleled in Missouri, was journalism. Governor Miller persuaded Napton to take the editorship of the Boone's Lick Gazette at Fayette. His writing was remarkable for clearness and vigor. In 1839 he was appointed to the supreme bench and served until 1851, when, under the constitutional amendment, judges were elected. Judge Napton was elected to the bench, but displaced by the state convention in 1861. In 1873 he was appointed to the bench by Governor Woodson and served until 1881. Out of forty-one years he served twenty-five as judge.

Judge Napton wrote the "Jackson resolutions," according to William Hyde, who said of him:

"This was one of the greatest intellects that ever left its impress upon a state. To the proficient training of a profound lawyer and jurist he added the accomplishments of a ripe scholar in literature and belles lettres. As a writer his style was perspicuous, pure and strong, imparting directly to the readers the thought in his mind. His opinions, delivered from the supreme bench for a long period, are models and exceptions of law literature. Judge Napton was a man of intuitive perception, a kind of legal demonstrator of anatomy, his keen, critical scalpel going through a manual of dissection upon every subject presented to him. Had not his judicial services been so conspicuous and distinguished, there is no doubt he would have attained eminence in the political field. Though his intellect was bright to the last, he was put aside as superannuated. It was an almost pitiable spectacle to see this fine old veteran making his way to the train at Jefferson City, by unfrequented paths, as this writer saw him, the day his term of service ended.

"During the Civil war—Judge Napton's sympathies being in accordance with the Jackson resolutions, of which he was undoubtedly the author—he had an exciting experience at his farm in Saline county with a squad of Federal troops or militia, who on one occasion visited his house to take him out and hang him, which object was frustrated by a member of the company who had long known the judge. Immediately afterwards he removed to St. Louis, where he remained until the close of the war, or until the death of Judge E. B. Ewing, whose vacant term he filled. He died in Saline county at the age of 73."

**Benton's Deathbed Plea for the Union.**

At the dedication of the Benton monument in Lafayette park, Frank Blair told of Benton's dying protest against secession:

"When Colonel Benton was on his deathbed, my father and mother both hastened from the country to be at his side. When they arrived his articulation was almost lost, but his mind was clear and his features gave it expression. After some motion of his lips, he drew my father's face close to his and said, 'Kiss me,' and spoke of their long and unbroken friendship. He then uttered Clay's name and with repeated efforts gave my father to understand that he wished him to get the last of his compilation of 'The Debates of Congress,' which he prepared a few days before—the last effort of his feeble hand. It contained Mr. Clay's pregnant reply to Senator Barnwell, of South Carolina, who had vindicated Mr. Rhett's secession pronunciamento for the South. Mr. Clay, in the passage preserved by Colonel Benton, proclaimed the course which should be taken against the attempt indicated by Mr. Rhett and advocated by Mr. Barnwell, and my father expressed his satisfaction that this was given prominence as the work of his last moments since there were then strong symptoms of the revolutionary movement which culminated in the last war. Colonel Benton's countenance, as he recognized that the sense of the manuscript was understood, evidenced his gratification. The scene was reported to Mr. Crittenden and other Union men who had power to impress it on the public mind. It had its efficacy. In 1858, at the epoch of Mr. Benton's death, the country and its loyal sons were struggling like Laocoon and his offspring with two great serpents crushing them in their fatal coils. Benton, in his dying hour, seemed in his agonies concerned alone for those which he saw awaited the country.

"The page to which he pointed my father's eye contained Mr. Clay's last appeal intended to arouse the people to support the government against contending convulsions. Colonel Benton adopted his life-long rival's last appeal as his own, and made it speak when he could no longer utter the counsel which had healed the bitter enmity between him and his great political opponent. And he left that fact as a dissuasive command to the ambitious factions that would rend the country into hostile sections and submerge its glorious institutions to subserve views of personal aggrandizement or gratify a vindictive hatred. The last labors of this great man's life exhibited its great moral attributes under these most striking circumstances. All the prejudice born of the rivalry of his personal and party ambitions was forgotten. Benton forgot even himself; he almost forgot that he had a soul to save or that he had a suffering body bleeding to death. His bodily pangs at the moment of dissolution seemed to be lost in the thought fixed sadly on the ruin portending

the grand commonwealth to which he gave a homage that was almost worship. He was like a soldier battling earnestly for the cause that tasked all his powers. He does not feel the bullet that carries his life's blood away in its flight. He remembered that his efforts combined with those of his great party antagonist had once contributed to save the Union and he was unwilling to lay down his head in the peace of death until he tried to repel another similar but more appalling danger."

"There never lived a man with more instinctive patriotism than Benton," Blair added. "He was a man of strong, sometimes unruly passions, but his paramount passion was love of country."

**Benton's Last Hours.**

The greatness of Benton was not dimmed in his closing hours. Only three days before his death Mr. Benton sent for President Buchanan to exhort him to preserve the Union. Taking the hand of the President, he said:

"Buchanan, we are friends; we have differed on many points, as you well know, but I always trusted in your integrity of purpose. I supported you in preference to Fremont, because he headed a sectional party, whose success would have been the signal for disunion. I have known you long, and I knew you would honestly endeavor to do right. I have that faith in you now, but you must look to a higher power to support and guide you. We will soon meet in another world; I am going now; you will soon follow. My peace with God is made, my earthly affairs arranged; but I could not go without seeing you and thanking you for your interest in my child."

Death came to the old Roman on the 10th of April, 1858. Almost to the last hour he was engaged in dictating the closing chapter of his great work. Two days before he died Mr. Benton wrote the following note to "Samuel Houston, Esq., senator in Congress from the State of Texas," and "George W. Jones, Esq., representative in Congress from the State of Tennessee," viz.:

"C Street, Washington, April 8, 1858.

"To you, as old Tennessee friends, I address myself, to say that in the event of my death here I desire that there should not be any notice taken of it in Congress. There is no rule of either house that will authorize the announcement of my death, and if there were such a rule I should not wish it to be applied in my case, as being contrary to my feelings and convictions long entertained.

"Your old Tennessee friend,

"THOMAS H. BENTON."

The venerable Horatio King, postmaster general in Buchanan's Cabinet and "the first man in office to deny the right of a state to withdraw from the Union," wrote to the Washington Chronicle this account of Mr. Benton's fatal illness:

"As early as in September, 1857, Colonel Benton had a severe attack of what he supposed to be colic, when Dr. J. F. May, his physician, pronounced his disease (cancer of the bowels) incurable, and so informed him. This Dr. May states in a letter, under date of April 13, 1858, to Mr. William Carey Jones, the son-in-law of Mr. Benton. Dr. May proceeds:

"'Before he was relieved, in the attack just spoken of, he had given up all hope of life. He told me he was satisfied the hour of his dissolution was near at hand—that it was impossible for him to recover—and that his only regrets at parting with the world were in

separating from his children, and in leaving his great work undone; that death had no terrors for him, for he had thought on that subject too long to feel any.'

"In the interval of his visits to him during the last week of his illness Dr. May said he ascertained that he was in the habit of correcting proof-sheets, and 'I recollect one occasion (said he) when I did not suppose he could stand, he suddenly arose from his bed, and, in the face of all remonstrance, walked to his table at some distance off, and corrected and finished the conclusion of another work on which he was engaged. His unconquerable will enabled him to do it, but when done he was so exhausted I had to take the pen from his hand to give it the direction. As soon as he recovered from the immediate danger of this attack he labored, as he had done for years before, constantly at his task, rising at daylight, and writing incessantly, with the exception of the hour he usually devoted to his afternoon ride on his horse, which he seemed to think was a benefit to him, and at this labor he continued from day to day until about a week before his death, when, no longer able to rise from weakness, he wrote in his bed, and when no longer able to do that, dictated his views to others.'

"Thus it may be truly said of him, he literally died in harness, battling steadily, from day to day, with the most formidable malady that afflicts humanity, his intellect unclouded, and his iron will sustaining him in the execution of his great national work to the last moment of his existence."

The Rev. Byron Sunderland conducted the funeral of Mr. Benton held in Washington before the departure for St. Louis. He said:

"During the last week of Colonel Benton's life I had several interviews with him at his own request. Our conversation was mainly on the subject of religion, and in regard to his own views and exercises in the speedy prospect of death. In these conversations he most emphatically and distinctly renounced all self-reliance, and cast himself entirely on the mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of his acceptance with God. His own words were 'God's mercy in Jesus Christ is my sole reliance.'"

He was "Colonel" Benton by right of title. When volunteers were called for in the war of 1812 to descend the rivers to New Orleans and meet the British there, Thomas H. Benton was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment Tennessee Volunteers. He served through the winter of 1812-13. The British did not come at the time expected. The Tennessee Volunteers returned home. Benton went to Washington and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-ninth Regiment United States Infantry and went with the army to Canada. He served until the summer of 1815.

**The Secret Marriage of Jessie Benton.**

Benton did not learn of his daughter's marriage to Lieutenant John Charles Fremont until several weeks after it occurred. Jessie Benton was sixteen years old at the time. She met Lieutenant Fremont a year earlier than that and had become engaged to him. When "the Magisterial," as Senator Benton was called by Washington people, heard about the engagement he was unsparing in his comment. He wanted to know how a girl only fifteen years old could know her mind in such a matter. He said she was no more fit to be engaged than a babe. He blamed the lieutenant, who was at that time twenty-seven years old. He relieved his mind with some shocking language.

Through some influence, said to have been that of the senator himself, Fremont was suddenly ordered by the war department to go out to Iowa and make an engineering report on the river Des Moines. He finished that job,

returned to Washington and secretly married Jessie Benton. The young girl made a devoted wife and for a long time was estranged from her father. After relations became more pleasant and Fremont was outwardly recognized by his father-in-law it came the turn of Mrs. Fremont to show some of the indignant spirit of her father. When Fremont was nominated by the republicans for President in 1856, Jessie urged her father to support her husband. Benton refused to do so and his daughter never fully forgave him. Fremont received the electoral votes of the six New England states, of Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin and New York. Mrs. Fremont always believed that if her husband had been elected in 1856 there would have been no Civil war. Her theory was that if any southern state had attempted to secede at that time her husband would have promptly suppressed the movement. She argued that Buchanan's policy gave the South four years' preparation for war; that Fremont's course would have been the opposite of that pursued by Buchanan. She felt that her father was to some extent responsible for the defeat of her husband. While always loving and admiring her father she resented and deplored his action in 1856. Relations between Mrs. Fremont and her husband were ideal. She loyally referred to him as "My Hero" even in the presence of her father.

**Varied Estimates of Benton.**

One of the strongest tributes paid to Benton was by Judge John W. Henry. In Old Bullion's downfall, Henry had been one of the most active of the younger democrats, but looking backward at the age of seventy, Judge Henry said with emphasis: "He was right and we were wrong. I know it now.– His speeches were prophetic. He predicted what afterward happened just as he had prophesied. He is Missouri's greatest martyr."

Years after the death of Benton Nathaniel Paschall gave his estimate, differing widely from the eulogies. He had opposed Benton in the columns of the Republican and perhaps no one man had done more to overthrow him. William Hyde, afterwards the editor, was a reporter on the Republican at the time of Benton's funeral at St. Louis in April, 1858. In his account of the great demonstration Hyde referred to Benton as "eminent." Mr. Paschall revised the copy. He drew the pen through "eminent" and wrote "distinguished." Several years afterwards Hyde recalled the matter to Mr. Paschall in a way that prompted the editor to explain why he made the change in the copy. Mr. Paschall said:

"Benton was a distinguished, a conspicuous or a noted man, but not an eminent one, towering above men of his station. He was not learned, not eloquent, not profound. He was the embodiment of selfishness and pomposity. In his case the rule was violated of a courageous man being no bully, as he was both a brave man and a braggart. He was a large man in stature, but was irritable and obstinate. From his friends he demanded the most obsequious consideration. It was a constant lament to him that he could not be a Roman instead of an American senator. Even his speech was framed in the language of the forum, and none but ancient orators and gods were thought suitable for his emulation. He could not brook opposition, and difference of opinion found no toleration in him. Befriended by General Jackson in Tennessee, he placed himself forward as Jesse Benton's second in a quarrel involving Jackson, and sent an offensive account of the affair to another brother in Washington. Pursued by Jackson, who had publicly threatened to horsewhip him, Benton fled. Many years afterward, when Jackson was President, they 'made up.' Here

in this state, when he had a newspaper, he used its columns to vituperate people he did not fancy, and was constantly quarreling. He killed Lucas in a duel which could easily have been averted. As a public man he was inconstant and unreliable. He advocated the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state in expectation of thereby making himself senator, which was accomplished only through the influence and persistent effort of David Barton. It was through his jealousy of Calhoun he opposed nullification and espoused the anti-slavery cause. The administration of Pierce received his support until he found he could not control his appointments. He sustained Buchanan until he himself was beaten for governor, when he changed his views as easily as he had formed them, in opposition to the party he claimed he had helped to create. His 'Yonder is the East; there is India,' came with poor grace from a man who for ten years opposed any system of internal improvements. Yes, sir, Benton was a prominent man, a noted man, but not what should be meant when we say eminent."

**Benton's Enemies.**

It is not at all improbable that much admiration and love of Benton was because of the enemies he made. That is an element of success in political life which some public men have understood and applied with marked results. Benton was such a politician. He not only did not placate but he lost no opportunity to pillory his enemies.

"Citizens," he said, "I have been dogged all over the state by such men as Claud Jones and Jim Burch. Pericles was once so dogged. He called a servant, made him light a lamp, and show the man who had dogged him to his gate the way home. But it could not be expected of me, citizens, that I should ask any servant of mine, either white or black, or any free negro, to perform an office of such humiliating degradation as to gallant home such men as Claud Jones and Jim Burch; and that with a lamp, citizens, that passers by might see what kind of company my servants kept."

**Three Cousins Who Became Missourians.**

Descendants of Colonel Nathaniel Gist, the Revolutionary patriot, were mighty in the Civil war period of Missouri. Three of them were Francis P. Blair, B. Gratz Brown and Joseph O. Shelby. In their boyhood days these three cousins were sheltered by the same hospitable roof in Lexington, Kentucky. Colonel Gist moved from Virginia to Kentucky. He had four daughters two of whom married Jesse Bledsoe and Francis Preston Blair, Sr. A daughter of Judge Bledsoe married Mason Brown. Their only son was B. Gratz Brown named for an uncle. One of the daughters of Thomas Boswell married Orville Shelby and their son was Joseph O. Shelby. Benjamin Gratz lost his wife and married her niece, Mrs. Orville Shelby, whose husband had died when Joseph O. Shelby was a child. Gratz was a hemp manufacturer and very hospitable. Blair was at the Gratz home on long visits. Brown was there as a student. Shelby was some years younger. There were ties of kinship other than that through the Gists. The elder Francis P. Blair and Mason Brown who married two of the Gist girls were direct descendants of John Preston of Virginia. Here came in a connection with Thomas H. Benton whose wife was a granddaughter of John Preston.

The younger Blair came to Missouri on the suggestion of Senator Benton. B. Gratz Brown followed his cousin some time later. Shelby came in 1852 and

settled in Lafayette county where he took up the vocation learned at the Gratz home—the manufacture of hemp. When the Civil war began Blair telegraphed Shelby to come to St. Louis. Shelby went and refused a commission in the Union army. He returned to Lafayette county and recruited a company of cavalry to join the Confederacy.

**How Blair Drew Indictments for Treason.**

Frank P. Blair came well by his loyalty and devotion to the Union. Not one of his biographers makes mention that he drew the only indictments for treason against the United States upon which convictions were had and sentences of death were pronounced. Yet that interesting fact was discovered in New Mexican archives by Ralph E. Twichell, when vice president of the bar association of the territory. The fact is interesting for its personal bearing. It is interesting historically, for in all of the cases of treason against the United States, these New Mexican indictments are the only ones which were followed by conviction and the death sentence.

Blair, in 1845, went to the Rocky Mountains for his health. He was there when Kearny and the Missourians captured New Mexico. He joined Bent's command as a private and remained for some time after the authority of the United States was established over the territory. In 1847 some hot-headed Spaniards attempted to stir the native population to revolt against the United States. They assassinated Governor Bent and several other Americans at Taos, but the rebellion never got beyond the place where it started. Antonio Maria Trujillo and several fellow-conspirators were arrested. Frank P. Blair drew the indictments, which were in this form:

"The grand jurors for the District of New Mexico, on the part of the United States of America, on their oaths, present that Antonio Maria Trujillo, of the County of Taos, in the Territory of New Mexico, being a citizen of the United States, but disregarding the duty of his allegiance to the government of the United States, aforesaid, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, duty and obedience which every true and faithful citizen of the said government should and of right ought to bear toward the said government of the United States, on the 20th day of January, in the year 1847, and on divers other days, as well before as after, with force and arms, at the county aforesaid and territory aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors to the jurors aforesaid unknown, did then and there maliciously, wickedly and traitorously levy war against the government of the United States of America, and did then and there maliciously and traitorously endeavor and attempt to subvert the laws and Constitution of the government of the United States aforesaid, in contempt of the laws of said government, to the evil example of all others in like case offending, and against the peace and dignity of the government of the United States.

"F. P. BLAIR,
"United States District Attorney."

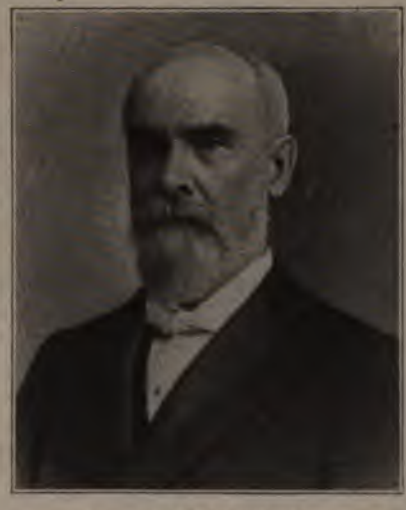
The indictment was returned, the trial followed, and Trujillo was found guilty. Sentence of death was pronounced upon him by Judge Houghton.

"'Antonio Maria Trujillo,' said the court, 'a jury of twelve citizens, after a patient and careful investigation, pending which all of the safeguards of the law, managed by able and indefatigable counsel, have been afforded you, have found you guilty of the high crime of treason. What have you to say why the sentence of death should not be pronounced against you?

J. E. McKeighan

Seneca N. Taylor

J. G. Woerner



Samuel N. Holliday

THEY FOUND MISSOURI A STATE OF OPPORTUNITY

"'Your age and gray hairs have excited the sympathy of both the court and the jury. Yet while each and all were not only willing, but anxious, that you should have every advantage placed at your disposal that their highly responsible duty under the law to their country would permit, yet have you been found guilty of the crime alleged to your charge. It would appear that old age has not brought you wisdom nor purity nor honesty of heart. While holding out the hand of friendship to those whom circumstances have brought to rule over you, you have nourished bitterness and hatred in your heart. You have been found seconding the acts of a band of the most traitorous murderers that ever blackened with the recital of their deeds the annals of history.

"'Not content with the peace and security in which you have lived under the present government, secure in all your personal rights as a citizen, in property, in form, and in your religion, you gave your name and influence to measures intended to effect universal murder and pillage, the overthrow of the government and one widespread scene of bloodshed in the land. For such foul crimes an enlightened and liberal jury have been compelled, from the evidence brought before them, and by a sense of their stern but unmistakable duty, to find you guilty of treason against the government under which you are a citizen. And there only now remains to the court the painful duty of passing upon you the sentence of the law, which is that you be taken from hence to prison, there to remain until Friday, the 16th day of April next, and that at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of that day you be taken thence to the place of execution, and there be hanged by the neck till you are dead! dead! dead! and may the Almighty God have mercy on your soul.'"

Trujillo was not hanged. A reprieve and a subsequent commutation of sentence averted the execution for treason.

**George G. Vest, Editor, Hunter, Lawyer, Statesman.**

The father of Senator Vest was a carpenter. So determined was he that his son should have schooling that on one occasion when he did not have the money for the tuition fee, he took out his watch and left it with the schoolmaster as a pledge. The boy never forgot this. He spoke of it in later years; at the time the incident occurred it stimulated him to make every possible effort to perfect himself in his studies. Young Vest had to leave college and teach a country school for expenses. Then for a time he was Frankfort correspondent of the Louisville Courier-Journal. He worked in the marshal's office to get money to pay for law lectures, finally getting through the law department of Transylvania University when he was twenty-one. Judge Henry Lamm of the Missouri supreme court gave from close personal observation this account of Vest's career:

"With his sheepskin in his pocket, he seems to have coquetted somewhat with literature as a makeshift and started a newspaper at Owensboro, Kentucky, presumably of whig tendencies, as his father was a whig and he leaned that way in his youth. Selling out his newspaper and enamored of California, then the mecca of many adventurous and aspiring spirits, in 1853 he determined to cross the plains aiming at Independence, Missouri, to join one of the freighting caravans outfitting there, and to establish himself on the Pacific coast as a lawyer. Coming up the Missouri river to Independence, tradition has it that he and two traveling companions, friends from Kentucky, fell into financial reverses by some misadventure and Vest was constrained to return home by coach, the water falling below navigation in the river. The coach overturned eighty miles east of Independence in the northern limits of Pettis county, and it is more than likely to this incident is due the casting of his lot with Missouri; for he was certainly on his way to his old Kentucky home at the time, the purpose of his trip abandoned, and there were tender and strong ties of love to draw him homeward. In his college days at Danville he had wooed and won Miss Sallie Sneed of

that place, whom he afterwards married. Crippled in the shoulder by the overturning of the coach, he was entertained on the plantation of Joseph C. Higgins and possibly attended by Dr. Fox of Georgetown. Recovering and meeting Kentucky settlers who had known his father and who were drawn to him by admiration and the ties of kindred tastes, among them John S. Jones, an old time plains freighter, he was taken on a hunting trip in the edge of Saline county, to the Saline springs, now known as McAllister springs. First the buffalo and then the elk had drifted west to escape the rifle of the pioneer frontiersman, but the deer and wild turkey yet lingered in this hunter's paradise. There is no man alive who can now, even in faint outline, draw a recognizable picture of the land young Vest was in, on the western edge of 'the Boone's Lick Country'—a country the fame of whose buffalo, elk, wild honey and wild turkeys, rich grasses, rich soils and genial climate broke through the trackless wilderness on the tongue of rumor thirty or forty years before Vest came, and lured the sons of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas, first as stray hunters, then in groups of daring settlers and finally in streams of immigrants to its borders. Vest was captivated by what he saw on this trip and Missouri won his heart; for he was a born hunter, loving the open air and scenes close to the heart of nature, the sound of running water and the cadences of hounds in chase, active of foot and a dead shot.

"Won to Missouri by the game, the fish, the wilderness of the prairie flowers, and the congenial society of the many Kentuckians here, in 1853 he swung out his shingle and opened a law office at Georgetown and modestly commenced a career which made him 'senator of two republics.' In 1853 he was, say, five feet six inches in height, weighing about 110 pounds, with fiery red hair, a face fair in which boyish freckles still showed, a short neck with an uncommonly large head set unusually well down on his shoulders. His eyes were blue with a tinge of gray which latter color afterwards may have become somewhat accentuated with age and his eyebrows and eyelashes dark and pronounced. He had a form of the singular make-up of being almost as tall when sitting as standing, and the breadth of shoulder and reach of arm of a larger man and indicative of power.

## Vest, the Many-Sided Man.

"Mr. Vest had a mobile countenance, a wise and kindling eye, and a voice in perfect command. It had a resonant tremor, far-reaching and effective, with powers of imitation and personification such as you hear in great actors. These parts, coupled with his abounding wit and excellent fancy, made him a raconteur and conversationalist of high order. Wherever he was, whether in a side room at the courthouse relating reminiscences of early practice and incidents in causes he had been in, to other lawyers, or by a roaring campfire on a fishing trip making the night seem short with story of adventure or recitals of the incidents of the day, or in the cloakroom of the Senate discussing architecture with Morrill, or Shakespeare or international law with Cushman K. Davis, or books and fishing with Quay, or on the hustings tingling the blood of Missouri democrats, or on the floor of the Senate discussing tariff and finance, or before a jury in a box twisting the life out of the other side, or at a banquet table scintillating with humor and repartee, or entertaining at his own fireside, he was the same many-sided, remarkable man. And those of us who had a chance hung about him as the beasts did about Orpheus' lyre or the bees did about the lips of Plato and Sophocles.

"In 1854 he went to Kentucky and married, bringing his wife to Georgetown. Mrs. Vest was less pleased with her husband's surroundings than he. She knew him well and knew he could rise or fall to any environment and needed the spur of inspiration to rise. The situation may be summed up in the language of Vest himself when urged to move: 'Why move? I can shoot enough meat for my family and can always beat ——' (the leading attorney at the Georgetown bar) 'in his cases.' Mrs. Vest felt the character of the small business in the small town and sparsely settled county gave her husband too much time for fishing and hunting; and her neighbors' hunting horns of a Sunday grated sorely on her Presbyterian ears. After a short stay of two years she, aided by the fact that the cholera had almost depopulated Georgetown and by the solicitation of her father and of certain gentlemen of prominence who had heard a speech by Vest in a preliminary hearing in a criminal case at Boonville, succeeded in 1856 in getting him to locate there, where

there was a strong bar, a bar dominated by such attorneys as Adams, Hayden, Draffen, Stephens and Muir. At Boonville, Vest went into partnership with J. W. Draffen and then with Joseph L. Stephens and, until the war clouds rolled up, rode the circuit and, by his fiery courage and flaming eloquence, speedily won a place for himself toward the forefront of the bar of Central Missouri.

"As became a lawyer and a Kentuckian with a liberal education, Mr. Vest held strong views on the stormy questions leading up to the war. It is said at the very outset he took the gloomiest view of what was coming on. In the election of 1860 he ran on the Douglas ticket as an elector, which would indicate that he did not, at least then, belong to the extreme Breckinridge school. Judge John F. Philips, than whom no one can speak with more authority, says that at Warrensburg he heard Vest, in the summer of 1860, 'make the most impassioned appeal for the preservation of the Union that ever fell from human lips.' But being elected to the legislature, from Cooper county, seeing the die was cast and war was on, he went with all his fiery zeal with his own people, stood with them for the integrity of a state's power to secede, speedily found himself separated from wife and child and whirled south, and for years he never laid eyes on them.

**Vest, the Advocate.**

"Such a man as Judge John F. Dillon, after listening on the Federal bench to a jury speech by Vest in a cause wherein a defense was made to an insurance policy on the ground of suicide while sane, and wherein Mr. Vest undertook to show that suicide was conclusive proof of insanity, declared that, though he had spent his life among lawyers and had heard the most brilliant advocates living, yet he never heard such an eloquent plea as Vest made in that case.

"His humble friends held the same view expressed in a homely but none the less effective way. 'George,' said an enthusiastic client whose case Vest had just won at Otterville, 'George, with me to swear and you to plead, we can beat the world.'

"The right to tax an outlying tract of real estate for city purposes—gas light, police protection—was being tried. 'If,' said Mr. Vest, 'my unfortunate client has any gas but the light of the moon, or any police but owls, may God Almighty forgive me for my ignorance.'

"In the case of State v. Warner for killing Nutter, it was shown by Mrs. Nutter, the daughter of Warner, who testified for the defense, that Nutter had prowled around her father's house at the dead hours of night presumably for hostile purposes. 'Did you see him?' asked the prosecutor. 'No.' 'How then did you know it was Nutter?' 'By his footfall on a plank,' said the lady. This testimony was assailed with vehement ridicule as unnatural and unreliable. When Vest replied he triumphantly sustained the lady by a single sentence. 'Not know her husband's footfall!' cried he. 'Why, gentlemen of the jury, my wife not only knows me when my foot strikes the walk to my house of a night, but she knows where I have been and what I have been doing.'

"Once at Jefferson City, of an evening by the fireplace of the old McCarty House, kept by 'McCarty of the McCartys,' he sat and, lying there, he saw a bulldog with a red eye and bloody ear, in a troubled and fitful doze by the fire. Now Vest, who had been all day in an unsuccessful tussle with the United States district court in some bankruptcy cases, was sore and moody as a result. Seeing the dog, he spoke to him sympathetically and soon had him, with nose on knee, wagging his bit of a tail. 'I don't remember to have met you during the day in Krekel's court,' Vest said to the dog, 'but from your appearance you surely had a case there.'"

**Hoar's Estimate of Vest.**

Senator George F. Hoar said of Vest: "No list of the remarkable senators of my time would be complete which did not contain the name of Senator Vest of Missouri. He was not a very frequent speaker and never spoke at great length. But his oratorical powers were of a very high order. On some few

occasions he has made speeches, always speaking without notes; and I suppose without previous preparation so far as expression and style go, which have deeply moved the Senate, though made up of men accustomed to oratory and not easily stirred to emotion. Mr. Vest is a brave, sincere, spirited and straightforward man. He has many of the prejudices of the old southern secessionist. I think these prejudices would have long ago melted away in the sunshine of our day of returning good feeling and affection, but for the fact that his chivalrous nature will not permit him to abandon a cause or an opinion to which he has once adhered, while it is unpopular. These things, however, are not uttered offensively. He is like some old cavalier who supported the Stuarts, who lived down in the day of the House of Hanover, but still toasted the king over the water."

**The Missouri Commoner.**

Richard P. Bland was the great-grandson of Col. Theodoric Bland, a Virginia patriot, who served on the staff of George Washington. Earlier than that Colonel Bland was a leader in a movement which for Virginia was as revolutionary as the Boston Tea Party. The British governor, Lord Dunmore, had hidden in his cellar a lot of ammunition taken from the Virginia Colony arsenal. Theodoric Bland and a party went to the mansion and took the property. A series of letters signed "Cassius" had much to do with the making of sentiment in Virginia for the revolt against Great Britain. The writer of them was this same bold Theodoric Bland. When the first troop of cavalry was raised in Virginia, Theodoric Bland was chosen captain. Later he was lieutenant-colonel of six companies and marched to join the Colonial army. After the war he was elected to Congress.

Theodoric Bland was the grandson of Jane Rolfe, who was the daughter of the only son of Pocahontas, the Indian princess, savior of the life of Capt. John Smith. From such historic lineage came the Missouri commoner. His mother was Margaret Parks Nall of a French Huguenot family.

Richard P. Bland was born in Kentucky. At fourteen he had to make his own way in the world. He taught a country school in the winter and worked on a farm in the summer at a wage of seven dollars a month. Some time before the war the Blands came to Missouri. Richard P. Bland taught school in Missouri. In 1856 he joined the gold seekers in California. He prospected and mined for several years without accumulating much gold, but acquiring an interest in the precious metals which inclined him to service on the coinage committee when he arrived in Congress.

Sturdy and unrelenting as he was in his advocacy of principles, Bland was a most kindly man in personal relations with those from whom he differed, especially younger men. Toward the close of the campaign of 1898 Mr. Bland met for the first time the republican candidate in his district. He had heard of him as a young lawyer, quietly winning his way at the bar in Osage county, but had never made his acquaintance. The introduction occurred a few days before the election. A chance meeting at Tipton brought it about. Mr. Bland greeted Mr. Vosholl courteously and said nothing more for nearly a minute, while he looked at his youthful opponent from head to foot.

"Young man," he said at length, "you are giving me the fight of my life."

Mr. Vosholl replied that he had not been conscious of any unfairness.

"Oh, no," said Mr. Bland, "you have made a straight, clean fight, but you have made me work too hard."

A higher compliment the sturdy old campaigner could not have paid. He did not use words unmeaningly.

On one occasion Mr. Bland was a guest at a dinner given to several Missouri Congressmen by ex-Senator John B. Henderson.

"Bland," said General Henderson, "some Eastern people were discussing you in my presence the other evening. They were wondering whether you were honest in your professions, whether you really believed what you talked about free coinage. They wanted to know what I thought about it."

"What did you tell them?" asked Bland.

"I told them," said General Henderson, "that you believed all you said about free coinage."

"I am much obliged to you," said Mr. Bland.

"I told them," General Henderson went on after a moment's pause, "that you were honest in your silver professions because you didn't know any better."

"I don't know that I am so much obliged to you after all," said Mr. Bland, good humoredly.

Nobody who came in contact with Mr. Bland while he was in Washington ever questioned his sincerity on the coinage question. Opinions as to Mr. Bland's knowledge in that direction differed according to the standpoints of those who held the opinions. And yet Mr. Bland's earnestness of conviction was matched by his readiness of speech on silver. He was never known to be without something to say upon any phase of coinage or in answer to any argument. Of course, his arguments did not seem logical or conclusive to those who differed from him.

**Bland's Intense Sincerity.**

"Bland," said Judge David B. Culberson of Texas, one of the most observant Congressmen of his day, "is the only man I ever saw who doesn't have to get steam up. To me he is in that respect a most interesting study. The moment he gets on his feet he is going at full speed, valves wide open, forty miles an hour. His mind starts right off without any warming up or preliminary prodding. He is into the midst of his subject at the first sentence, and he goes ahead on the full jump until he gets ready to quit. I've watched him for years, and it's always the same way."

Bland was intensely sincere. He was full of his subject when he took the floor. Those who differed from him called him a crank, sometimes ridiculed his conclusions, but never charged him with not believing what he said. Mr. Bland was never inconsistent in his life. When he announced a line of action for himself he followed it. Nothing but the crack of doom could turn him aside. Bland was the ablest bimetallist of his party. His devotion to the principle was more than political in the shallow acceptation of that word. For years Mr. Bland had been in correspondence with the leading bimetallists of Great Britain and France. His fame was greater abroad than it was at home. The

extent to which he was consulted by foreign writers and authorities on the subject was known to very few in this country. Of the general acceptance of the bimetallic standard in the near future Mr. Bland had not the slightest doubt. And he based his expectation upon something more tangible than a sanguine temperament. For several years Mr. Bland had been doing his best to keep his party in line, in order that it might get credit for the general remonetization of the white metal. And when he, with his private sources of information, thought he saw success certain, he found himself standing alone and his party fleeing from the silver issue as if it were a specter.

Champ Clark said of Bland: "Young men ambitious of political preferment and of a noble and enduring fame will do well to pass lightly by the shrewd manipulators and aspiring mountebanks and to study profoundly the far-reaching results of Bland's career. They will discover that his commanding position was due to his intense devotion to principle, to his absorbing love of truth, to his integrity of mind, and to unquailing courage. He stood for conscience in politics and for impartial justice and equal rights to all God's children. Without arrogance of character, he possessed an independence of soul which would not have flattered Neptune for his trident or Jove for his power to thunder. He was what Marc Antony described himself to be, but what Marc most emphatically was not—'a plain blunt man, who loved his friends,' and he died amid the lamentations of the plain people, of whom he was the best type."

**The Tragedy of James S. Green.**

With the shifting of sentiment and policies at Jefferson City in 1861 the legislature was the setting for a political tragedy. The term of James S. Green as United States senator expired on the 3d of March. Senator Green was a candidate for re-election. He had become a national figure. Under normal conditions Senator Green would have been returned to the Senate by an overwhelming vote in the legislature. The senator desired re-election, although he was in favor of Missouri joining the southern states. Under law the two houses of the legislature should have balloted for senator early in January. But when the day came action was postponed on the argument that it was better to await the action of the state on the question of secession. To have elected a senator might have been interpreted as meaning that Missouri expected to remain in the Union. The weeks went by until the 12th of March when it had become evident that the sentiment of the state was against secession. The legislature proceeded to ballot for senator. Green was nominated by the democrats. He desired election. After several days of balloting it was found impossible to get a majority for him. Green was defeated because he was a secessionist. The democrats dropped him and elected Waldo P. Johnson, who had not been outspoken for secession but still believed war might be avoided. Johnson took his seat in the Senate. After the battle of Bull Run he introduced resolutions looking to one more effort at compromise between the North and South. The resolutions failed. Johnson resigned his senatorship and joined the Confederate army and remained with it until the end of the war. Green did not go into the army, but retired to private life. James G. Blaine said of Green:

Corwin H. Spencer

Samuel M. Kennard

Daniel M. Houser

Cyrus P. Walbridge

Seth W. Cobb

Charles H. Huttig

August Gehner

Pierre Chouteau

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ST. LOUIS WORLD'S FAIR,

"No man among his contemporaries had made so profound an impression in so short a time. He was a very strong debater. He had peers, but no master, in the Senate. Mr. Green on the one side and Mr. Fessenden on the other were the senators whom Douglas most disliked to meet, and who were best fitted in readiness and accuracy and in logic to meet him. Douglas rarely had a debate with either in which he did not lose his temper, and to lose one's temper in debate is generally to lose one's cause. Green had done more than any other man in Missouri to break down the power of Thomas H. Benton as a leader of the democracy. His arraignment of Benton before the people of Missouri in 1849, when he was but thirty-two years of age, was one of the most aggressive and successful warfares in our political annals."

William Hyde gave this impression of Green as made upon a newspaper man:

"The ablest of Colonel Benton's opponents was unquestionably James S. Green. He was a Virginian. In 1837, at the age of twenty, he appeared in Missouri with no fortune but a common school education and a great storage of energy, and settled in Lewis county. Admitted to the bar in 1840, he soon fell into a lucrative practice. In 1844 he was a Presidential elector, and in the following year he was a member of the constitutional convention. From 1846 to 1850 he was a member of Congress. President Pierce appointed him minister to Bogota in 1853. Three years later he was elected to Congress on the Buchanan ticket, but before taking his seat was chosen by the legislature to represent Missouri in the United States Senate, succeeding Mr. Geyer. Both in Congress and on the stump he was an adroit and forcible debater. On the stump he was feared as much by Benton as in the Senate by the 'Little Giant' of Illinois. He did not possess the fund of information or the forensic schooling of either, but these drawbacks were supplied by his tremendous power of language, his intuitive qualities and great mental elasticity. For all comers he was ready, and rarely found at fault in thrust or parry. In irony, sarcasm or invective he was not surpassed by the great Benton himself. Once, in Howard county, the coliseum of Missouri politics at that period, so to speak, Uriel Wright, of St. Louis, was pitted against him. Wright was a most captivating performer on the organ of speech. It was an inexpressible delight to listen to the smooth and rhythmical sentences as they rippled and rolled from his impassioned lips. The treasures of ancient and modern learning and literature appeared to be at his tongue's end. All the arts of oratory, ornamented with classical allusions, were completely at his command. But, to use one of his own figures, 'as well undertake to storm Gibraltar with a pocket pistol, or dam Niagara with a walking-stick,' as to compete with such a political slugger as 'Jim' Green. He came down on poor Uriel Wright like a ponderous pile-driver on a frail guitar."

**The Absolutely Neutral Missourian.**

At Monticello, in early May, 1861, Senator Green made a speech urging that Missouri must secede. He concluded: "Armed neutrality is treason, and every Union man, and any man that is willing to live under black republican rule, ought to be kicked out of the state like a dog." This was the report made by the Canton Register. After the speech, John M. Glover walked up to the speaker and said: "Senator, you declared in your speech that every Union man ought to be kicked out of the state. Now I am a Union man willing to live under Lincoln's administration, and I wish you would appoint yourself a committee of one to kick me out of the state." The senator did not respond to the challenge. Some weeks later John M. Palmer, afterwards governor of Illinois and senator from that state, came over from Quincy with his regiment to make prisoners of Green and other secession leaders of Lewis county. Green was at home, but got warning, mounted his horse and started for Monticello. The

horse stumbled, Green was captured and put under parole by Palmer to quit his secession activities. He was true to his pledge and remained passive throughout the war. A brother of the senator, Martin S. Green, became very active in the organization of secessionists of Northeast Missouri. Lieutenant Joseph K. Rickey of Keokuk, the same Colonel Rickey, later of Callaway county and Washington, D. C., came down into Missouri and began recruiting for the Federal army. He was taken prisoner by Green's men and sent to Palmyra, "with liberty to go where he pleases," Colonel Green's letter said. Martin S. Green became a brigadier general in the Confederate army and fell at Vicksburg.

Some of Senator Green's former admiring constituents tried to force him to break his parole. He insisted that he was now "loyal" and would not break his oath. He went so far as to tell the men who compelled him to go with them to Sugar Camp ford, "You had better lay down your arms." Finding it impossible to get the senator to go south with them, the Lewis county secessionists put him under parole from their side by requiring an oath "not to take up arms against the Confederate states during the war." So the senator enjoyed the distinction of being the absolutely neutral Missourian. He went on to Washington and gave President Lincoln an account of his experience, over which the President was much amused. Telling of the effort his friends had made to induce him to go south with them, he said:

"They asked me what I thought of the situation, and I replied that I was like Pat, who when asked what he was thinking about, said: 'I am thinking the same as Mr. Maloney, who kapes the whiskey shop; I owe him a dollar for whiskey and he thinks I'll never pay him, and I think so too.' You fellows think you are going to get a licking before long, and I am of the same opinion."

After returning to his home in Canton, Green urged that Missourians refrain from joining in the secession movement. When Fort Donelson was captured he publicly advised that the Confederates give up further hostilities. When Porter, the Confederate leader in Northeast Missouri, sent a party into Canton on a raid, Green was made a prisoner. He was told that the purpose was to take him into the Confederate camp and make a soldier of him. One of the raiding party said to him, "Come along, Jim, you got us into this scrape and you shall help us out of it," referring to the strong states rights speeches Green had made before the war. His old friends and former admirers held him in camp until they had had a speech from him and then paroled him on his oath not to take up arms against the Confederacy.

**The Missouri Junior Movement.**

Missouri has cared well for the rising generation in respect to home training and social environment. David R. Francis had attained that degree of success in life which marked him a man to be courted by the financial center of the nation. He was offered enlarged opportunities if he would move to New York. "No," he said, "I shall remain where I am. I have six boys. St. Louis is a better place than New York in which to raise sons."

When the Business Men's League had developed into the Chamber of Commerce,—fairly representative of the mature commercial, industrial and professional elements of St. Louis,—the Junior Chamber of Commerce was organized,

largely the idealistic plan of Clarence H. Howard. It grew rapidly into a membership of 4,000, with the youngest bank cashier of the city as president. This movement to educate the youth into the full measure of citizenship had its beginning in St. Louis. The members were from eighteen to thirty years, at which latter age they were expected to enter the Chamber of Commerce. In various ways older men encouraged the Juniors. Frequent talks on many kinds of civic activities were given. Personal experiences were narrated to show the ways to success and the pitfalls to be avoided. Educational in the best sense were the meetings of the Junior Chamber. Toward the close of 1919, the Junior Chamber of St. Louis had reached such strength and confidence that it felt able to launch a national organization. A nation-wide canvass showed that only forty-one of 600 American cities had these organizations of young men. Of these twenty-seven joined in the movement and in January, 1920, sent delegates to St. Louis to help organize the National Junior Chamber of Commerce. Significant interest in this movement was shown when David R. Francis gave the use of his colonial mansion at nominal rental for offices of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and headquarters of the Boy Scouts.

## CHAPTER LII

## MISSOURI IN THE WORLD WAR

*Mobilization of the State—The Coliseum Mass Meeting—"Partisanship Sinks Out of Sight in the Face of a National Danger"—The Voice of Missouri—Governor Gardner's First War Proclamation—The Council of Defense—Systematic Organization—Recruiting the "Army at Home"—County, Township and Community Councils—President Wilson's Good Word—Patriotism without Pay—The Home Guards—Farewells to the Honor Men—The Women's Part—Troop Train Service—First Food Conservation—Camp Community Good Work—The Drive for the Navy—"A Nursery of Greatness"—From Fourteenth to Fifth in Crops—Some Marvelous Results—Ideal Organization Pledges—What Missouri Boys and Girls Did—On the Vocal Firing Line—Missouri First in Food Saving—The Food Administrators—Widely Varied War Services—The Home Institutes—The Motor Corps—Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Activities—The Red Cross—Board of Religious Organizations—The Missouri Mule—Liberty Loan Records Made—The Loyal Lutherans—Patriotic Missourians of German Descent—Practical and Complete Answers to Some Foolish Talk—A Defect in the Suffrage Clauses of the State Constitution—The Voice of the Bar—Missouri's Militant Spirit—The Price of Patriotism—Golden Stars for Every County—The Record of Casualties.*

As we look back upon the record of the nearly two years of the existence of this organization, it becomes more and more apparent that the two great outstanding and immeasurable results of the work initiated by this organization were first, the development of a state-wide organization through which the Council could function; and second, the increased production campaign which resulted in greater percentage and per capita production in Missouri than probably in any other single state in the Union.—*From the final report of the Missouri Council of Defense, March 15, 1919, to Frederick D. Gardner, War Governor of Missouri.*

At the beginning of these councils, I made it understood that every state department was to coordinate with the State Council in the war work, and the result is a defense organization which is not excelled in any state of this country. This is not because we have built up in the counties, in the townships and in the school districts an organization which merely runs beautifully; but, through the organization, we have been able to concentrate the patriotism of the three and one-half million people of Missouri in patriotic effort. Without the defense organization, while the patriotic spirit would have been there, still it would have been quiescent or dissipated, and without channels to express its real effectiveness.—*Frederick D. Gardner, Governor of Missouri.*

True to traditions of readiness in every national emergency, Missouri entered the World war. Congress had been assembled on the 2nd of April, 1917. The President had asked the constitutional authority to declare war with Germany. The resolution was still pending, when Governor Frederick D. Gardner, facing 10,000 Missourians in the coliseum at St. Louis, uttered slowly and impressively this voice of Missouri:

"We stand for the honor of our flag, for the rights of Americans on sea and on land, and in full protection of every one of those rights, and to that end are in favor of immediate and compulsory universal military service and adequate means to secure, when the war shall end, lasting world peace.

"We stand with the President of the United States and his counselors in every effort of his to safeguard our country's honor and to defend the rights of our people.

"Partisanship sinks out of sight in the face of a national danger.

"We have but one country, one flag, one purpose.

"May God defend and keep our beloved United States of America."

And the thundering volume of ayes that went up told that the governor had not mistaken or misrepresented the voice of Missouri. Later, in the night, came the action of Congress and on the next day the President proclaimed that "a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial German Government." But Missouri had already spoken. Then Missouri acted.

**Action Followed Quickly.**

Three days after the secretary of war issued his request for the formation of State Councils of Defense, Governor Gardner's first war proclamation was out, calling a war conference of Missouri cities and organizations. It was the first war proclamation issued by a governor. It followed the first food conference in the United States, which had been held in St. Louis April 9th.

"The crisis confronting our state and nation is the most critical in our history. It is time for every loyal and patriotic Missourian to make some sacrifice." Thus the proclamation ran.

On the 23rd of April, Governor Gardner met 500 Missourians representing every part and interest in the state, assembled in the new capitol, in response to his proclamation.

Recruiting was going on throughout the state. Men were leaving every village and town to join army or navy or marine corps or national guard as choice of service prompted. But here was the first war conference leading the way to something more,—mobilization of "the army at home," organization of the entire state to back up the fighting men with Missouri's resources to the utmost.

"What an opportunity for you and for me and for every man, woman and child in the state to be of some service to the nation!" said the governor as he closed his rapid review of what Missouri's "Millions of acres of the finest farm lands over which the eagle has ever spread his wings" made possible to help win the war. The address to the war conference closed with, "In order that the State of Missouri may render the greatest service to the Federal government and make effective all the activities of the state enlisted in the national service, I recommend the creation of a State Council of National Defense."

Unanimous adoption of the governor's recommendation followed. The talk and the resolutions showed immediate realization "that Missouri's greatest field of assistance to the nation was in increasing her food production." And the proof came when one year later the United States government crop report showed the value of crops in Missouri, exclusive of live stock, had increased from $261,269,000 in 1916 to $546,036,000 in 1917. That mighty stride of production had advanced Missouri from fourteenth place among the states to fifth place.

In his address to the conference the governor had said, "History will repeat itself in showing that the burden of war will be placed on the shoulders of the farmers. If this war is to be won it must be won by the work of the American farmers." And Missouri farmers responded. An incident of the conference was a visit to the

Joseph W. Folk, 1905-1909

H. S. Hadley, 1909-1913

Elliott W. Major, 1913-1917

Frederick D. Gardner, 1917-1921

Arthur M. Hyde, 1921

GOVERNORS OF MISSOURI

backyard of the governor's mansion where Mrs. Gardner, hoe in hand, showed the members a garden planned to supply the family that first war year.

**Missouri's Council of Defense.**

On the 23rd of April the conference met. The next day Missouri had a Council of Defense, one of the first, if not the first, appointed in the country. And in naming the members, Governor Gardner outlined the duties:

"1. To mobilize and conserve all the resources of the state.

"2. To cooperate with the War and Navy Departments, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Council of National Defense.

"3. To assist in a movement to prevent uneconomic speculation in the necessaries of life.

"4. To take the lead in all movements for assisting the farmer, also in exploiting the advantage of municipal and community gardening; shall cooperate with the College of Agriculture, State Board of Agriculture, and the Superintendent of Schools, etc.

"5. In brief this Committee shall be the supreme authority of the commonwealth in relation to the state's duties to the nation during the entire period of the war."

With Governor Frederick D. Gardner as honorary president, Dean F. B. Mumford, of the College of Agriculture at Columbia, as chairman, and William H. Lee as treasurer, the Missouri Council of Defense was constituted as follows:

C. W. Armour, Kansas City.
J. T. Bird, Kansas City.
Rev. Dr. W. C. Bitting, St. Louis.
George Warren Brown, St. Louis.
B. F. Bush, St. Louis.
Mrs. B. F. Bush, St. Louis.
Paul W. Brown, St. Louis.
Thornton Cooke, Kansas City.
James Cowgill, Kansas City.
C. H. Daues, St. Louis.
Walter S. Dickey, Kansas City.
I. B. Dunlap, Kansas City.
G. H. Edwards, Kansas City.
C. F. Enright, Jefferson City.
Fred W. Fleming, Kansas City.
John H. Galeener, Sikeston.
L. C. Hamilton, St. Joseph.
John T. Heard, Sedalia.
Archbishop J. J. Glennon, St. Louis.
W. T. Kemper, Kansas City.
Henry W. Kiel, St. Louis.
William H. Lee, St. Louis.
R. A. Long, Kansas City.
Frank W. McAllister, Jefferson City.
James H. McCord, Jefferson City.
Hugh McIndoe, Joplin.
E. E. E. McJimsey, Springfield.
Elliott Marshall, St. Joseph.
John F. Morton, Richmond.
Joshua Motter, St. Joseph.
E. D. Nims, St. Louis.
R. B. Oliver, Cape Girardeau.
J. F. Osborne, Joplin.
C. O. Raine, Canton.
Walter Robertson, Marshall.
Sidney J. Roy, Hannibal.
S. R. Schmutz, Mayview.
John Scullin, St. Louis.
Lee Shelton, Kennett.
E. W. Solomon, Bernie.
David Sommers, St. Louis.
Cecil W. Thomas, Jefferson City.
Cyrus P. Walbridge, St. Louis.
W. W. Wheeler, St. Joseph.
Edwards Whitaker, St. Louis.
J. C. Whitsell, St. Joseph.
M. L. Wilkinson, St. Louis.
Robert S. Withers, Liberty.
R. T. Wood, Springfield.
Huston Wyeth, St. Joseph.

This was the general staff of Missouri's "army at home." William F. Saunders performed the duties of secretary until October 1, 1918. Frank M. Robinson was secretary until December 15, 1918. Robert A. Glenn, who had been director of publicity and editor of the Council's periodical, aptly titled "Missouri-on-Guard," took up the duties of secretary and held the position until the demobilization of the Council, March 15, 1919.

It was a wonderful organization, varied and comprehensive in its personnel,

amazing in the results it achieved. Every part of the state was represented. Included were bankers and farmers, merchants and professional men, mayors and ex-mayors, editors, ministers, teachers and manufacturers. The names could be scanned in vain for evidences of political purpose or personal interest. Those names meant direct and forceful mediums to reach the pulpits, the press, the agriculture, the industries, the schools, the commerce, the transportation and the finance of Missouri.

Away back, nearly a century and a half, when the American was a colonist, organizing for independence through the war of the Revolution, there were formed "councils for safety." In that form of preparation for supreme effort the Missouri Council of Defense of 1918 found happily its prototype.

The same spirit which had brought it into being prompted the State Council in perfecting organization throughout Missouri. County councils were organized and then township councils and community councils until the roster showed 1169 of these local councils in active work. It was in commendation of this plan of reaching all parts of the state that President Woodrow Wilson wrote:

"Your state, in extending its National Defense organization by the creation of community councils, is in my opinion making an advance of vital significance. It will, I believe, result, when thoroughly carried out, in welding the nation together as no nation of great size has ever been welded before. It will build up from the bottom an understanding and sympathy and unity of purpose and effort, which will no doubt have an immediate and decisive effect upon our great undertaking. You will find, I think, not so much a new task as a unification of existing effort, a fusion of energies now too much scattered and at times somewhat confused into one harmonious and effective power.

"It is only by extending your organization to small communities that every citizen of the state can be reached and touched with the inspiration of the common cause. The school has been suggested as an apt, though not essential, center for your local council. It symbolizes one of the first fruits of such an organization, namely, the spreading of the realization of the great truth that it is each one of us as an individual citizen upon whom rests the ultimate responsibility. Through this great new organization we will express with added emphasis our will to win and our confidence in the utter righteousness of our purpose."

**The County Councils of Defense.**

Adair county—Thomas J. Dockery, Kirksville.
Andrew county—Willis G. Hine, Savannah, chairman; Ida Mae Rae, Savannah, secretary.
Atchison county—S. H. Prather, Tarkio, chairman; Capt. W. R. Little, Tarkio, secretary.
Audrain county—Col. E. Y. Burton, Mexico, chairman; Judge E. F. Elliott, Mexico, secretary.
Barry county—William Martin, Cassville, chairman; L. F. Jones, Cassville, secretary.
Barton county—J. W. Moran, Lamar, chairman; S. L. Douglas, Lamar, secretary.
Bates county—W. G. Dillon, Butler, chairman and secretary.
Benton county—Charles Petts, Warsaw, chairman; C. H. Miles, Warsaw, secretary.
Bollinger county—F. M. Wells, Lutesville, chairman.
Boone county—J. T. Mitchell, Columbia, chairman; Boyle G. Clark, Columbia, secretary.
Buchanan county—J. O. Barkley, St. Joseph, chairman; Harry Krug, Jr., St. Joseph, secretary.
Butler county—H. O. Harriwood, Poplar Bluff, chairman.
Caldwell county—D. N. McClintock, Kingston, chairman.
Callaway county—Gen. F. M. Bell, Fulton, chairman; Fred D. Williams, Fulton, secretary.
Camden county—Dr. T. J. Feaster, Climax Springs, chairman.
Cape Girardeau county—W. S. Dearmont, Cape Girardeau, chairman; Christine Wheeler, Cape Girardeau, secretary.
Carroll county—R. H. Monier, Carrollton, Chairman; R. W. Brown, Carrollton, secretary.
Carter county—J. M. Carnahan, Van Buren, chairman.

Cass county—Judge J. F. Kircher, Harrisonville, chariman; C. A. Burke, Harrisonville, secretary.
Cedar county—J. F. Rhodes, Eldorado Springs, chairman; Ira F. Reed, Eldorado Springs, secretary.
Chariton county—Roy Rucker, Keytesville, chairman; J. O. Richardson, Keytesville, secretary.
Christian county—T. L. Robertson, Ozark, chairman; Charles Reid, Ozark, secretary.
Clark county—T. L. Montgomery, Kahoka, chairman.
Clay county—Robert S. Withers, Liberty, chairman.
Clinton county—A. C. Hartell, Plattsburg, chairman.
Cole county—J. Frank Morris, Jefferson City, chairman.
Cooper county—Dr. Arthur W. Nelson, Bunceton, chairman; J. S. Underwood, Boonville, secretary.
Crawford county—W. D. Towe, Cuba, chairman.
Dade county—J. M. Brickey, Arcola, chairman; Fred L. Shafer, Greenfield, secretary.
Dallas county—Prof. A. G. Wisdom, Urbana, chairman.
Daviess county—F. S. Tuggle, Gallatin, chairman; Dean E. Handy, Gallatin, secretary.
DeKalb county—A. J. Hitt, Maysville, chairman; James B. Mayes, Jr., Pattonsburg, secretary.
Dent county—Lawrence T. McGee, Salem, chairman; A. C. Donnan, Lake Springs, secretary.
Douglas county—M. L. Andrews, Bryant, chairman; C. P. Anderson, Granada, secretary.
Dunklin county—W. F. Shelton, Kennett, chairman.
Franklin county—J. A. Booth, Pacific, chairman; M. B. Lane, Sullivan, secretary.
Gasconade county—F. G. Gaebler, Swiss, chairman; A. O. Mann, Hermann, secretary.
Gentry county—George Ward, King City, chairman; Dale Flowers, Albany, secretary.
Greene county—Harry Cooper, Springfield, chairman.
Grundy county—John Peery, Trenton, chairman.
Harrison county—E. H. Frisby, Bethany, chairman.
Henry county—Rev. A. N. Lindsey, Clinton, chairman; George W. Schweer, Clinton, secretary.
Hickory county—Ross Coon, Hermitage.
Holt county—C. D. Zook, Oregon, chairman; Frank Petree, Oregon, secretary.
Howard county—Dr. A. C. Givens, Fayette, chairman; Richard K. Bridges, Fayette, secretary.
Howell county—Will H. Zorn, West Plains, chairman; W. C. McMillan, West Plains, secretary.
Iron county—W. J. Reese, Ironton, chairman; Mann Ringo, Ironton, secretary.
Jackson county—Julius Davidson, Kansas City, chairman; M. Meller Adamson, Kansas City, secretary.
Jasper county—Cowgill Blair, Oronogo, chairman.
Jefferson county—Paul P. Hinchey, DeSoto.
Johnson county—F. A. Gougler, Warrensburg, chairman; C. W. Fulkerson, Warrensburg, secretary.
Knox county—L. F. Cotty, Edina, chairman; E. W. Underwood, Edina, secretary.
Laclede county—Edward Hooker, Lebanon, chairman; D. O. Vernon, Lebanon, secretary.
Lafayette county—E. M. Taubman, Lexington, chairman.
Lawrence county—L. G. Adams, Hoberg, chairman; Harry Moore, Mount Vernon, secretary.
Lewis county—George Mathews, Ewing, chairman; Andra Thompson, La Belle, secretary.
Lincoln county—H. F. Childers, Troy, chairman.
Linn county—George W. Bailey, Brookfield, chairman.
Livingston county—Andy Prager, Chillicothe, chairman.
McDonald county—J. L. Elliff, Anderson, chairman; A. W. Chenoweth, Pineville, secretary.
Macon county—Senator W. C. Goodson, Macon, chairman; Prof. O. L. Cross, Macon, secretary.
Madison county—C. J. Belken, Mine La Motte, chairman.
Maries county—George E. Cansler, Vienna, chairman.
Marion county—W. B. Pettibone, Hannibal, chairman; H. A. Scheidker, Hannibal, secretary.
Mercer county—Charles I. Mullinax, Princeton, chairman.
Miller county—C. G. Brittingham, Eldon, chairman.
Mississippi county—Max L. Ostner, Diehlstadt, chairman; Clarence Johnson, Charleston, secretary.

Moniteau county—Thomas Groves, Tipton, chairman; S. W. Hurst, Tipton, secretary.
Monroe county—Clarence Evans, Paris, chairman; Anderson Blanton, Paris, secretary.
Montgomery county—Prof. W. F. Hupe, Montgomery City, chairman; M. B. Vaughan, Montgomery City, secretary.
Morgan county—Samuel Daniels, Versailles, chairman.
New Madrid county—D. C. Hunter, New Madrid, chairman.
Newton county—A. W. Duff, Neosho, chairman; L. N. Pannell, Fairview, secretary.
Nodaway county—Paul Sisson, Maryville, chairman; E. M. Claypool, Maryville, secretary.
Oregon county—W. C. Johnson, Alton, chairman; Hosea H. Taylor, Alton, secretary.
Osage county—R. H. Bryan, Linn, chairman; C. F. Weeks, Linn, secretary.
Ozark county—Arthur Hutchinson, Gainesville, chairman.
Pemiscot county—W. D. Byrd, Caruthersville, chairman; S. P. Reynolds, Caruthersville, secretary.
Perry county—Charles E. Kiefner, Perryville, chairman; P. B. Hood, Perryville, secretary.
Pettis county—T. R. Luckett, Sedalia, chairman; W. P. Kimberlin, Sedalia, secretary.
Phelps county—J. A. Spilman, Rolla, chairman; Prof. John F. Hodge, St. James, secretary.
Pike county—Charles E. Porter, Bowling Green, chairman; J. E. Scott, Bowling Green, secretary.
Platte county—D. A. Chestnut, Platte City, chairman.
Polk county—F. M. Stufflebaum, Bolivar, chairman.
Pulaski county—J. W. Armstrong, Richland, chairman; G. W. Lane, Waynesville, secretary.
Putnam county—J. C. McKinley, Unionville, chairman; Byron McKinley, Unionville, secretary.
Ralls county—C. T. Lamb, New London, chairman.
Randolph county—Joe Kirby, Moberly, chairman.
Ray county—James Howell, Richmond, chairman; Russell D. Faris, Richmond, secretary.
Reynolds county—M. Harrison, Redford, chairman.
Ripley county—L. P. Whitwell, Doniphan, chairman; J. W. Beauchamp, Doniphan, secretary.
St. Charles county—J. C. Willbrand, St. Charles, chairman; W. R. Hendrix, St. Charles, secretary.
St. Clair county—Prof. E. C. Higgins, Osceola, chairman.
St. Francois county—Dr. Charles Schuttler, Farmington, chairman; J. Clyde Akers, Farmington, secretary.
Ste. Genevieve county—F. A. Petrequin, Ste. Genevieve, chairman; Harry Gise. Ste. Genevieve, secretary.
St. Louis county—Collins Thompson, St. Louis, chairman.
St. Louis City—M. L. Wilkinson, St. Louis, chairman.
Saline county—Hayden Colbert, Marshall, chairman; R. J. Howat, Marshall, secretary.
Schuyler county—Walter A. Higbee, Lancaster, chairman.
Scotland county—J. E. Luther, Memphis, chairman; J. V. Bumbarger, Memphis, secretary.
Scott county—Wade Anderson, Commerce, chairman; J. W. Ingram, Chaffee, secretary.
Shannon county—H. H. Rhodes, West Eminence, chairman.
Shelby county—W. L. Shouse, Shelbina, chairman.
Stoddard county—C. A. Crain, Dexter, chairman.
Stone county—W. E. Renfro, Galena, chairman.
Sullivan county—Lenny Baldridge, Milan, chairman.
Taney county—R. C. Ford, Forsyth, chairman; J. W. Blankenship, Hollister, secretary.
Texas county—C. P. Patton, Cabool, chairman; Walter E. Jadwin, Cabool, secretary.
Vernon county—Chester H. Gray, Nevada, chairman; Sam A. Cubbin, Nevada, secretary.
Warren county—Henry Hollman, Warrenton, chairman; Frank H. Hollman, Warrenton, secretary.
Washington county—H. C. Bell, Potosi, chairman; James Settle, Potosi, secretary.
Wayne county—G. S. Schalter, Paterson, chairman; A. G. Templeton, Greenville, secretary.
Webster county—D. D. Hamilton, Marshfield, chairman.
Worth county—J. F. Robertson, Grant City, chairman; C. A. Hammer, Allendale, secretary.
Wright county—Rev. G. W. Holmes, Hartsville, chairman; W. A. Black, Mansfield, secretary.

**One of the Brightest Pages in Missouri's History.**

When the work of the Missouri Council of Defense was finished and could be judged in comparison with that of other states, Governor Gardner was fully justified in saying:

"The record of this council, composed of patriotic citizens, forms one of the brightest pages in the history of our great state. Their first meeting was held April 28, and they continued as an organization for twenty-one months. Under their guidance, 1,200 local councils were organized. Only eight states in America ranked in war achievements as 'A,' and in each of these states (other than Missouri) their councils had at their disposal not less than $1,000,000. The Missouri organization spent only $76,086.47."

Patriotism without pay was the principle upon which Missouri was able to make such a showing of service. This was illustrated in many ways. The organization of the Home Guard was one. Speaking of this, the war governor said:

"After the departure of the National Guard, ten thousand citizens were sworn into service, furnishing their own uniform and equipment, and devoting their time to guarding the life and property of the people of the state without any compensation whatever."

Five regiments, five separate battalions and twenty-one separate companies were organized as Home Guards and every part of the state was covered. There were drills and encampments and parades everywhere, recalling the pioneer days when Missouri had universal military training. One regiment, the Second, of Kansas City, reached such a state of efficiency that it was taken into Federal service and became the Seventh National Guard of Missouri. This widespread military organization had reached the stage of doing more than home guard duty. Under the direction of Major Ewing Cockrell, of Warrensburg, it was supplying instructors to give preliminary training to selective service registrants when the armistice was signed.

**The Farewells to the Honor Men.**

Missouri sent to the camps, under the selective service drafts, 100,305 young men. Here was another chapter in the wonderful record made by the Center State. "There is no record of a slacker, a coward or a conscientious objector among them," Governor Gardner commented when the war was over. On the 5th of September, 1917, the first quota from Missouri left for the training camps. The governor had issued a proclamation calling on Missourians to make this date the occasion of a special observance. The Council of Defense sent out the proclamation with this appeal:

"The actual departure of these Honor Men constitutes a date in Missouri and American history that will live as long as the Republic. The Missouri Council of Defense, therefore, believes it especially fitting to observe the day with appropriate exercises, in the spirit of this proclamation, and calls on the county councils of defense to take the lead in arranging for the same.

"These men, under the selective service draft act, are privileged to go first in defense of their country, under a plan standardizing and rendering uniform the conditions of enlistment and service under our flag. They should be honored as they depart to enter the service.

"Moreover, the occasion of their departure should be made a time when every citizen

of the state should be brought to realize that the hour for applied service at home is here; and that with their going every tax levy, bond issue, Red Cross campaign or any war demand should now be the more eagerly accepted and fulfilled."

The request was carried out generally throughout the state. Gradually a regular program was formed and followed for these farewells. The program was more than a wave of enthusiasm, cheers and tears, music, refreshments and waving of flags. Short talks along practical lines were made by a lawyer, a doctor and a military man. Under the inspiration of a committee headed by Attorney General McAllister, volunteer legal committees were formed in more than 100 Missouri counties. The duties of these committees were to explain the selective service law to the drafted men, to give legal advice on war risk insurance and on family allowance, to draft wills and other legal papers, to represent the men in courts if necessary, to arrange for attention to business matters of the drafted men during their absence, and to report to the home service section of the Red Cross, cases calling for relief. And so it was that Colonel J. H. McCord, executive officer of the selective service department of Missouri, saw the 100,305 selected young Missourians sent on their way not only filled with patriotic fervor but freed from worry over business and family affairs.

**Missouri Women's Part.**

The Women's Committee of the Missouri Council of Defense, headed by Mrs. B. F. Bush as chairman, performed no small part in the marvelous success which attended the selected service work. This committee divided the state into eleven districts, each having a vice-chairman of the general committee. The districts were organized by counties, every county but one in the state having its women's committee. Further, there were 710 town organizations of women, 237 township committees and 137 school district committees. In one day, July 28th, 1917, there were registered for work under these organizations 118,496 Missouri women. More registrations followed. These committees of women prepared the dinners for the departing men. They got up grab bags containing toilet necessities, smokes, post cards and other articles of comfort which they distributed to the traveling soldiers at railroad junctions. They got up community sings with community choruses in eighty-eight counties. They helped in the food administration campaign and were credited with having been "invaluable in arousing interest" for that work. They organized a bureau of 83 women speakers to deliver addresses. They prepared outlines for patriotic study by clubs. A pageant, "The Progress of Liberty," was shown in a number of Missouri towns. Courses of instruction were given to prepare young women to take the places of men who had gone to war. Child welfare was one of the most important branches of the war work carried on by these Missouri women. With the help of physicians, twelve lessons on the proper care of children were sent out through 600 newspapers. A lecture on the care of the teeth was sent to every school district. Immediate results of surprising importance were obtained by this thorough organization of the women of Missouri. That the influence will extend far into the future of the state need hardly be suggested. It is already evident.

The troop train service committee, aided by the facilities afforded by the Railroad Y. M. C. A., adjacent to Union station, undertook to make comfortable

the journeying soldiers as they passed through St. Louis. According to the report of the secretary, Mrs. Howard Bailey, this committee of indefatigable ladies serving at all hours furnished refreshments to 650,000 soldiers traveling on 2,005 trains; mailed for these boys 338,857 letters, and enabled 1,200,000 soldiers to get baths. This labor of love was inaugurated in September, 1917, and continued until the return of the troops from overseas.

On the 18th of December, 1918, the demobilization bureau, to help the discharged men find employment, was opened at St. Louis. It found jobs for 29,131 men out of 34,688 applying. When the demobilization was complete, the Red Cross continued the work of the bureau for a considerable period as a laudable public service.

In St. Louis 342,000 women took the Hoover food conservation pledge. The first signer was the wife of Charles Nagel, secretary of commerce and labor in the Taft Cabinet. Missouri had the first food conservation organization formed in the United States. The organization was made effective in the highest degree by conservation normal schools, community canneries, Hoover lunch rooms. The results were seen in the reduction of the garbage of St. Louis by 8,000,000 pounds in the first six months.

At one time 28,000 women were registered to do knitting; 12,000 were at work on surgical dressings, and 5,000 on hospital garments. This branch of the patriotic work made a record of more than 1,000,000 articles sent overseas in one month.

To systematize and make practical in all possible ways the spirit of sympathetic helpfulness toward the man in Uncle Sam's uniform, there was organized the War Camp Community Service Board. This was in December, 1917. John H. Gundlach was made chairman; Mrs. Philip B. Fouke, vice-chairman; H. J. Pattengill, treasurer; Frank E. Slyde, executive secretary. This organization did not take the place of the Y. M. C. A. or the Knights of Columbus, but supplemented their work. Its field was comprehensive, as shown by the special divisions and their heads:

Hospitality, Mrs. Gilbert Fox;
Entertainment, Mrs. W. E. Fischel;
Church Cooperation, Cortland Harris;
Soldiers' Club, Mrs. J. H. Steedman;
Girls' Organization, Dr. Ella Marx;
Soldiers' Relatives, James R. Dunn;
City Recreation, Rodowe Abeken;
Fraternal, Lee Meriwether;
Music and Drama, Robert Hanna.

**The Drive for the Navy.**

A hurry call for 1,200 naval recruits at a critical time prompted an organization under the leadership of Mrs. Jeanette V. Gardner, wife of the governor of Missouri. Mrs. Gardner gave out this stirring appeal:

"To us whose privilege it is to bear men to uphold the liberty and freedom of the world, there can be no greater service than to engage in recruiting men for the United States Navy, who will man our fighting ships and who will assure the safe passage to France of our soldiers now crossing the ocean to avenge the wrongs of outraged womanhood in Belgium.

"I know the women of this state will bend every effort to fill the quota of 1,200 men for whom Secretary of the Navy Daniels has issued his urgent call, and thus maintain the proud record of the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of Missouri in times of national crises."

Patriotic women, one in each of 200 cities and larger towns of Missouri, became recruiting officers. Mrs. Theodore Benoist was chief recruiting officer, with a staff of aids: Misses May Foster, Zoe Schotten, Frances Jones, Eleanor Knapp, Miriam Benoist, Julia Papin, Caroline Tyler, Marie Baker, Louise Francis, Lucille Benoist, Corinne O'Riley.

Sailors, gunners and marines were wanted in this hurry call on Missouri for 1,200 recruits. The government urged that the quota be made up in thirty days. Through the activities of the women's recruiting corps the 1,200 recruits were enlisted in fifteen days, and when the thirty days' limit was reached the number had been doubled.

Ten days after the signing of the armistice Governor Gardner announced that Missouri had given 140,678 men to the army and navy for the war against the Central Powers. The governor said the Missourians were divided in this way:

National Guard Regiments, 14,756;
Selective Service by draft for the National Army, 100,305;
Enlisted in the Regular Army, 3,984;
United States Navy, 7,700;
Reserves, 5,864;
United States Marine Corps, 5,000;
Special Service, 2,669;
In Officers' Training Camps, 400.

Missouri gave of her best blood. This was shown in ways unmistakable. In the School of Mines, the fine technical institution at Rolla, the enrollment dropped because of the war from over 300 students to 42, the war's call drawing 86 per cent. of the student body. And of these students 85 became commissioned officers.

**Missouri Did Not Forget.**

Missouri was quick to act in recognition of the part Missouri troops had taken in the World war. Governor Gardner, summing up the various measures adopted by the general assembly in 1919, said:

"The legislature authorized the publication of a complete history of the war. This history will consist of six volumes and contain a biographical sketch of all Missourians who enlisted. Copies will be furnished all of the libraries in the United States. One wing of our great capitol has been set aside to be known as 'Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall.' Here will be gathered the trophies of Missouri's brave sons. The legislature has set aside a large sum for the purpose of presenting to each man a medal expressing the gratitude of the people for his services. These are now ready for distribution. A large sum of money has been appropriated for the purpose of aiding each of the 114 counties in erecting memorials in the home counties of the boys who enlisted. A large number of the counties have already commenced the erection of these memorials. The legislature has also authorized the erection upon the battlefields of France of a monument constructed of Missouri granite, to honor the memory of those who fell, so that coming generations who visit the battlefields may take cognizance of the fact that Missouri has not forgotten her dead.."

**A Missouri Nursery of Greatness.**

From within a radius of thirty miles at the headwaters of the Grand river, a tributary of the Missouri, came four generals who won distinction in the war of

1917-18. They were Pershing, Crowder, Crozier and Russell. Pershing came from Laclede; Russell, of Pershing's staff, from Breckenridge, sixteen miles west of Chillicothe; Crowder, who planned and executed the selective draft, making it the success which many doubted was possible, from Trenton, twenty miles north of Chillicothe; Crozier, head of the Ordnance Department, from Grundy county, to the north. Paul W. Brown, the editor of "The West at Work," named this thirty miles radius "A Missouri Nursery of Greatness."

"There is nothing more mysterious than the conditions which determine the production of ability. This Grand river region is one of great beauty and attractiveness. In the early days it was a favorite hunting ground of the Indians. The original settlers came from Kentucky and Virginia. They were men of high ideals and of great personal courage. The broken hill country which forms a good part of these counties, with its invitation to outdoor life and sports, may have played its part in keeping alive in the boys of the Grand river valley something of the adventurous traditions of the early days. There is room for much difference of opinion as to causes, but none whatever as to products."

**From Fourteenth to Fifth in Crops.**

Missouri's entrance into the World war took the most practical forms and that at the earliest time. In the midst of the enthusiasm of recruiting and shouting, Governor Gardner called an agricultural conference at the state capital. The Board of Agriculture, the Missouri College of Agriculture and a committee from the Missouri Federation of Clubs composed the conference which met on the 23rd of April, seventeen days after the declaration of war. From these and other existing organizations was formed the Committee of Agriculture and Food Production, a department of the Missouri Council of Defense. Wonders were accomplished. The chairman of this most important committee was the chairman of the Council of Defense, F. B. Mumford, dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri. The committee proceeded "on the theory that its greatest service could be rendered by supporting the agricultural production projects of established institutions and organizations rather than by initiating new and independent lines of effort, which, at best, could only duplicate, and, at worse, might seriously conflict with, established activities." The wisdom of this was shown in the rapidity and magnitude of results. Governor Gardner was justified in this statement:

"In 1916, Missouri ranked fourteenth in the value of crops. In 1917, she jumped to fifth in value of crops. In 1917 our crops, consisting of grain, livestock, poultry, fruit and farm products, reached the value of $1,000,000,000, or one-twentieth of the nation."

In bringing about this result, Dean Mumford brought into harmonious and zealous cooperation the county councils of defense; the College of Agriculture at Columbia, which included county agents, home demonstration agents, and boys' and girls' clubs; the State Board of Agriculture with its institutes; the Poultry Experiment Station at Mountain Grove; the Missouri Fruit Experiment Station at Mountain Grove; the Public School system of the entire state; the Commissioner of Labor.

When, in October, 1917, the organization of the United States Food Administration was launched, Missouri was far on the way to the desired increase and conservation of food supplies. Dean Mumford was appointed Food Admin-

istrator for Missouri. He proceeded at once with the extension of food administration to the counties. County food administrators were appointed, many of them being already at work as chairmen of county councils of defense. This union of the Missouri Council of Defense, the Missouri Division of the United States Food Administration and the Missouri College of Agriculture with its various branches in extension work made up the organization which was equaled by few states and which gave such an account of itself before the armistice was signed as will make one of the brightest pages in the state's history, a proud climax to the century of statehood.

Missouri's war increase on corn was 91 per cent, almost double; on wheat, 41 per cent, almost half more; and on potatoes, 74 per cent, almost three-quarters more; and on other products in like proportions. Went with these amazing increases improvements in farm methods and farm equipment giving a permanent stimulus to production the benefits of which must be felt through the years to come. In 1919, the farms of Missouri recorded production to the value of one and one-half billions of dollars. The World war was over but the impetus given by the war time organization was still manifest.

Agricultural education in Missouri expanded notably following the World war. On the eve of the state's centennial the colloge of agriculture had in operation twenty experimental farms trying our problems of plants and culture and pests. These experimental farms were so distributed as to give to Missouri's several distinct varieties of soil and climate the benefits of the experiments. Two years after the close of the World war, county agents in Missouri were making a twelve months' record which included such activities as these:

Farms visited, 14,211.
Personal calls for information or assistance, 80,000.
Pure bred livestock associations formed, 38.
County campaigns for control of wheat smut, 33.
Demonstrations of the use of lime to correct acidity and improve fertility, 187.
Cooperative lime crushers put in service, 9.
Counties in which poultry culling institutes were held by experts, 41.
Out of 217,000 fowls examined, 126,000 condemned as unprofitable.

The advanced position of the College of Agriculture was recognized in the winter of 1920-21 by the visit of a legislative body from Arkansas to study Missouri's methods of agricultural education.

It would have been wonderful if Missouri had maintained her volume of farm production with so many thousands of young farmers drawn into the military service. That the state increased that production and outstripped other states in the record made is only to be explained and understood when the marvelous organization of the farmers and farmers' families is made plain. Dr. Mumford's committee on agriculture and food production was so complete that it reached every one of the thousands of farms in Missouri. Nearly two hundred different forms of published information were sent to the farmers, ranging through the whole field from "Sam Jordan's Corn Talk" to "Swat the Rooster and Hints on Marketing Eggs." There were sent into the rural districts forty-two county agricultural agents and twenty-seven county home demonstration agents. The committee through its close relation with the College of Agriculture, kept

in the field 118 men and women who "gave their time exclusively to help farmers and housekeepers to meet the needs of the war from a production and conservation standpoint." Sixteen members of the State Board of Agriculture gave most of their time to this work. The poultry experiment station and the fruit experiment station sent members of their staffs into the field.

"In this way," said Dr. Mumford, "every demand of the government from a subject matter standpoint was carried to the field by word of mouth, thus supplementing the printed material as well as the speakers who were sent from other sources."

**The Farm Help Solution.**

With the call of the thousands of young men from the farms to the camps came the problem of farm help. Dean Mumford told of the solution:

"In practically every town of any size, a volunteer movement was developed at harvest time by which town people went to the country to assist in saving the wheat crop. For the most part, the people from the towns confined their activities to shocking, although in a number of cases the same persons were active at threshing time. Altogether, 202 farm help directors were appointed in the state, and served their communities in mobilizing local help to tide over the peak-load periods during the season. From the best evidence available, no crops have been lost because of lack of labor to handle the crops. This is particularly true where farmers utilized the services of their local farm help directors. In all cases, these farm help directors cooperated with the local councils of defense."

The Missouri Council of Defense realized early that the way to place the state quickly at the head of other states in food production was to "place a trained agricultural leader in all of its good agricultural counties." Carrying out this theory the Council encouraged the plan of county agents. When Missouri entered the war, only fifteen counties had these agricultural agents. When the armistice came, more than forty of the counties had these agricultural agents in in the field. And this was one of Missouri's permanent gains in agriculture from the stimulus of the war work. In a single twelve months, acres of corn grown according to the suggestions of these expert county agents jumped from 27,941 to 885,641. Acres planted from tested seed corn increased from 5,190 to 655,948. Hogs vaccinated for cholera on suggestion of county agents were 50,350 as compared with 4,996 the previous year. The attendance at the county agents' meetings in 1918 was 172,582. Acres of wheat grown according to suggestions of these experts increased in a single year from 12,213 to 197,899. Acres planted with wheat treated for smut were 48,802 as compared with none the preceding season. In many ways such as these Missouri's food production was increased in spite of the tremendous drain on her farm workers.

In the summer of 1917 the word came from Washington urging Missouri farmers to increase their wheat acreage five per cent. This would have called for 2,400,000 acres. Missouri that fall actually put in 2,875,000 acres. The result was that the crop following was 52,258,000 bushels, while the previous average for five years had been 31,500,000, not much more than half the 1918 crop which was so much needed to win the war. Again Missouri was called upon to increase her wheat acreage, and the response for the 1919 crop was 4,243,000 acres.

Pork production in Missouri was increased twenty per cent as a response to the call from Washington.

A special poultry culling campaign, carried on to get the flocks rid of non-producing hens, disposed of the "slacker hens" in 7,000 flocks and saved feed to the value of $175,000.

A marketing committee not only put Missouri farmers in touch with the most reliable sources for seed but undertook the supervision of markets in such manner as to assist the producers in getting the best markets for beans, garden and truck products, fruits and other special crops in which there had been much loss for want of this market information.

**The Farm Help Volunteers.**

With the close of the schools in June, 1918, bands of boys left the cities and towns to help on the farms from which men had gone to the front. They went to the fields as Farm Help Volunteers, taking this pledge:

"I do solemnly pledge that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Missouri, and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of Farm Help Volunteer of Missouri to the best of my ability. I will assist in as much as I am capable in helping to grow and harvest the largest crops possible during the present war with Germany.

"I also solemnly pledge that I will not forget to keep my manhood as stainless as it now is, and that I will not form bad habits, and associate with persons whose characters are doubtful. As a representative of our land army I shall obey any reasonable commands or orders of any one appointed to direct me; and as a representative of (name of city or town) I shall do all I can to make it proud of me."

Junior activities were not overlooked. Poultry clubs, pig clubs, canning clubs, sewing clubs, garden clubs, bread baking clubs were organized among the boys and girls of Missouri. Every town in the state was encouraged to form these clubs.

Early in 1917 a canning campaign was started, reaching practically every county with demonstrations showing how to can vegetables by the cold pack method. Then came the campaign teaching the best ways to conserve wheat flour. And still later the conservation of clothing was urged. Altogether 250,000 circulars on food conservation were distributed in the state. Very incomplete records showed 658,633 quarts of vegetables and fruits canned at home as the immediate result of the demonstration work; 37,417 pounds of dried fruits produced; and 10,500 dozens of eggs preserved for winter use.

**The Vocal Firing Line.**

To "speaking activities," the Missouri Council of Defense attributed the tangible results equal to those of any branch of the work. The council had its own speakers' bureau which "performed an indispensable task in conducting our people through the successive stages of education as to why we were at war, and how and why the individual could best serve and contribute to the winning of the final victory." The bureau was formed in August, 1917. The first committee in charge of the bureau consisted of C. F. Enright, Jefferson Ciy; Edwin C. Meservey, Kansas City; E. M. Grossman, St. Louis; W. P. Kimberlin, Sedalia;

Cowgill Blair, Oronogo; Sidney J. Roy, Hannibal. In seventy counties, speakers' bureaus were organized. As the result of this organization 300 speakers filled 2,000 engagements and addressed 1,000,000 Missourians.

Then there were the Four-Minute men. Ten patriotic Missourians advanced $10,000 and the State Council of Defense added financial help. E. M. Grossman organized the Four-Minute men of Missouri and L. L. Leonard sustained the energies and directed the work. When it reached its maximum the Four-Minute organization numbered 4,000 men and women. It had 700 chairmen who directed the short talks and the songs of 3,000 speakers and singers.

**The Food Saving Campaign.**

The appointment of the chairman of the Missouri Council of Defense to be the Federal Food Administrator for Missouri made for efficiency in the highest degree. Dr. Mumford organized for food administration along the same lines that were proving so effective under the Council of Defense. As dean of the College of Agriculture, Dr. Mumford was able to bring the extension workers of that institution into the food administration campaign. Chairmen of the Women's Committee of the Council of Defense were enlisted in the food administration. In this way was constructed a compact organization in which there was no waste of effort, an organization not surpassed by any other state. Miss Louise Stanley, at the head of the department of home economics in the University of Missouri, became the director of home economics for food administration. In two months exhibits to illustrate the possibilities of home economies were under way. They were distributed in the various counties during the winter of 1918. More than 400 of these exhibits were sent out weekly in March. Food administration schools were organized in the spring of 1918. Kansas City had twenty-seven of these schools.

The family food saving pledge was one of the marked features of this campaign. Approximately 1,000,000 Missourians signed this pledge, placing the state first in number of signers in proportion to population. Only one other state exceeded Missouri in the total number of signers.

Then followed the pledging canvass of hotels and restaurants in this food saving until 3,000 hotels and public eating places had promised to save food. Later a campaign was made with retail grocers with like patriotic results. Women food chairmen were appointed in seventy of the counties. They looked after food conservation exhibits at county fairs.

In March, 1918, there were 461 deputies and assistants doing food conservation duties under the chairmen in the counties. Leaflets giving recipes to the number of 600,000 were distributed. County threshing committees were appointed. To these committees 5,000 threshermen pledged themselves to make special effort to avoid waste. In this way 400,000 bushels of wheat was saved. A campaign to encourage the use of potatoes for food with the view of saving in other directions more essential to the food administration was carried on. Sugar was rationed under a certificate plan fixing the maximum to be purchased at one time at twenty-five pounds. By midsummer of 1918, the Missouri food administration was able to show that 1,000,000 pounds of flour had been turned back from domestic use. Reports from seventy-six counties showed that the consumption of flour had been

cut down to one-half of what had been the normal use, while the same number of counties reported that the consumption of sugar had been reduced to two-thirds the usual amounts. Through demonstrations in the use of potatoes, in canning and preserving, in baking without wheat, and by means of much literature these remarkable results in conservation were accomplished. Wholesale grocers adopted the plan of one delivery a day and retail dealers and department stores reduced their delivery service or adopted cooperative delivery or gave customers the benefit if they carried their purchases. "Cash and carry" became a popular custom. Through a regular news service the Council of Defense reached the press of Missouri and found hearty cooperation.

**Food Administrators.**

The food administrators for counties other than those in which this duty was taken by the chairmen of the county councils of defense, were:

| *Counties* | *Food Administrators* | *Residences* |
|---|---|---|
| Andrew | Mrs. Jacob Baum | Savannah |
| Audrain | J. C. Strock | Mexico |
| Barry | Philip Davis | Monett |
| Barton | George W. Schreiner | Lamar |
| Bates | J. B. Owen | Butler |
| Benton | James R. Jones | Warsaw |
| Boone | Frank B. Rollins | Columbia |
| Buchanan | Elliott Marshall | St. Joseph |
| Callaway | R. D. Hale | Fulton |
| Carroll | Newlan Conklin | Carrollton |
| Carter | Joseph L. Huett | Van Buren |
| Cass | Judge J. F. Kircher | Harrisonville |
| Cedar | W. N. Pickard | Eldorado Springs |
| Chariton | S. M. Jordan | Keytesville |
| Christian | H. V. Reid | Ozark |
| Clinton | J. N. Munsell | Cameron |
| Dallas | J. E. Ballard | Buffalo |
| Dent | Rev. S. M. Baker | Salem |
| Dunklin | A. L. Stokes | Malden |
| Franklin | J. L. Bagby | New Haven |
| Gasconade | Clarence Baxter | Owensville |
| Greene | F. A. Leard | Springfield |
| Grundy | F. L. Hudson | Trenton |
| Hickory | S. D. Pope | Hermitage |
| Jackson | James Ketner | Kansas City |
| Jasper | Scott A. Fones | Scotland |
| Jefferson | J. Scott Wolff | Festus |
| Johnson | A. M. Craig | Knobnoster |
| Knox | Fred Wolter, Jr. | Knox City |
| Laclede | A. F. Billings | Lebanon |
| Lawrence | C. C. Plank | Aurora |
| Lewis | J. D. Johnson | Monticello |
| Livingston | W. H. Ellett | Chillicothe |
| McDonald | Harley H. Sherman | Anderson |
| Marion | W. J. A. Meyer | Hannibal |
| Mercer | George T. Mullinax | Princeton |
| Miller | H. M. Atwell | Tuscumbia |
| Mississippi | Prof. George W. Kirk | Charleston |

| *Counties* | *Food Administrators* | *Residences* |
|---|---|---|
| Moniteau | Thomas P. Carpenter | Tipton |
| Monroe | H. D. Craig | Paris |
| Montgomery | Walter S. Gregory | Montgomery City |
| Morgan | Samuel Daniels | Versailles |
| New Madrid | George H. Traylor | New Madrid |
| Newton | B. H. Caruthers | Neosho |
| Nodaway | Fred P. Robinson | Maryville |
| Pemiscot | C. D. Scott | Caruthersville |
| Pettis | J. A. Lamy | Sedalia |
| Pike | Robert A. May | Louisiana |
| Polk | Charles U. Becker | Bolivar |
| Pulaski | George M. Reed | Waynesville |
| Randolph | E. J. Howard | Moberly |
| Ray | W. T. McGough | Richmond |
| Ripley | P. J. Burford | Doniphan |
| Saline | Miss Willey Odell | Marshall |
| Scott | W. E. Hollingsworth | Sikeston |
| Shannon | Walter Webb | Birch Tree |
| St. Charles | Martin L. Comann | St. Charles |
| St. Francois | J. T. Cayce | Farmington |
| Ste. Genevieve | William C. Boverie | Ste. Genevieve |
| St. Louis City | W. F. Gephart | St. Louis |
| St. Louis County | George R. Robinson | Kirkwood |
| Stoddard | J. F. Blankenship | Dexter |
| Stone | W. D. Craig | Galena |
| Sullivan | R. D. Ash | Milan |
| Webster | Seth V. Conrad | Marshfield |
| Worth | W. T. Okey | Grant City |

**Widely Varied War Services.**

The forms of war service by Missourians were almost numberless. In January, 1918, St. Louis found itself in the lead of five other large cities of the country through the development of the St. Louis Home Service institute. This was an organization "for the purpose of instructing volunteers in the duties of caring for dependent families of soldiers and sailors." These volunteer workers took a course of six weeks instruction, twenty-five hours a week, with lectures and textbooks. The instruction was given at the School of Economy. The idea was to train civilian workers sent by local Red Cross chapters. Four other cities had these training institutes. The St. Louis roster showed eight more communities represented in this institute than in any other of the large cities. Dr. George B. Mangold was at the head of the St. Louis institute. Red Cross officers noted the superiority of the St. Louis institute and accorded it high praise.

The Women's Volunteer Motor Corps was formed in St. Louis by Mrs. Harry H. Langenberg, Mrs. R. A. Holland, Jr., and Miss Frances Filley. After six weeks training in the Y. M. C. A. automobile school, the members of the corps gave time every week to Red Cross and other war work.

The Young Men's Christian Association of St. Louis trained 500 auto mechanics. In the suburbs of St. Louis 700 acres of vacant lots and backyards were plowed and devoted to thrift gardens which produced crops in 1917 valued

at $350,000. An aviation division of 1,000 boys was formed. In the spring of 1918 thrift gardening lectures were given in Graham Memorial chapel at Washington University by Director George T. Moore of the Missouri Botanical gardens and by Professor F. W. Shipley. In a School for Plastic Surgery 350 officers were trained.

As the year 1917 neared its close, khaki and sailor uniforms became numerous on the streets. Off duty for a few hours or stopping over between trains, these enlisted men presented the condition which prompted the formation of the Soldiers' Club. Mrs. Steedman with Mrs. Edward V. Papin, Mrs. Frank Blelock, and Miss Sarah Towers became the chief sponsors for the club which was given spacious quarters free of rent in the Post-Dispatch building. Free shower baths, telephone service, billiard tables, clothes pressing, writing and reading material and light refreshments were some of the benefits supplied to all comers in uniform. The women's clubs charged themselves with the maintenance, and provided the hostesses and attendants. The Soldiers' Club became one of the institutions of the city and was maintained until the close of the war. Visitors numbered thousands. This was one feature of the work done under direction of the War Camp Community Service Board.

**The Board of Religious Organizations.**

One of the many forms in which the organized efficiency of the war period continued after the return of peace was the Board of Religious Organizations. During the war, groups of women from the Protestant and Jewish churches in St. Louis formed a band which became an important auxiliary of the Missouri Council of National Defense. As the War Board of Religious Organizations, these church units represented the Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Christian, Ethical, Methodist South, Methodist Episcopal, English Lutheran, Jewish, Orthodox Jewish, Unitarian and Episcopal churches. They developed a capacity for team work which revealed a new power for good and which accomplished results marvelous. They carried on a war savings campaign having its headquarters in the Little White House near the post office and sold approximately $1,000,000 in war savings stamps. They established Red Cross units in many churches. They participated in two Red Cross drives for memberships and funds. They were active in the sewing of the comforts committee, in the Belgian babies fund raising, in the campaign for the French orphans. So interested and so successful were these women in their undertakings to help win the war, that after the armistice they became the Board of Religious Organizations and established departments of family welfare, child welfare, women's aids, visiting of orphanages, the city hospital and other institutions. Other departments were community service, educational work in Americanization, social hygiene, social legislation, and neighborhood amusements. Into these departments was carried the same intelligent zeal for the benefit of the city. A work almost wholly unknown before the war was undertaken by these women.

Red Cross work, under George W. Simmons and Mrs. Frank V. Hammar, with headquarters at St. Louis, reached proportions which placed the southwestern division foremost in importance of the whole country. The division embraced

Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Kansas and Oklahoma. In the summer of 1918, the division had 683 chapters, 1,630 branches and 1,000 auxiliaries. It was serving 350,000 men in camps. Its expenditures were $375,000 a month. At headquarters, 200 people were doing the work, half of them serving as volunteers without pay.

At the beginning of 1918, there were 10,000 Missouri mules in Flanders and around Soissons. Wheel mules, pack mules, lead mules, plantation mules, lumber mules, all classes of Missouri mules reached the front. Long before the United States entered the war, the Missouri mule was there. A British officer, Major J. J. Gledhill, of the Lancashire Fusiliers, said: "Missouri entered the war August 4, 1914, because from that date the Missouri mule has been one of the most important factors of the British army. I have been engaged in France, Egypt, Palestine, the Dardanelles and at Saloniki, and everywhere the Missouri mule was the beast of burden."

**The Liberty Loan Drives.**

When returns from the canvass for the Third Liberty Loan were in they revealed some astonishing records for Missouri. The state's quota was $79,599,700, but the subscriptions reached $110,828,300, or more than one-half above the amount called for. St. Louis was the first city of over 500,000 population to over-subscribe its quota and win the honor flag given by the government. The per capita quota for Missouri was $24, but St. Louisans subscribed $65 for every man, woman and child. Kansas City tracked closely behind with a per capita of $61. Every Missouri county went over the amount assigned it. The banner counties subscribing three times and more their quotas were St. Francois, Saline and Shannon. St. Charles, largely populated by descendants of Germans, stood second among the counties for per capita subscriptions, giving $45 for each of the population.

The town subscription lists revealed surprises. The banner town in Missouri was Treloar, in Warren county, named for a man who had served in Congress. Treloar's population was only 43, but the record showed $891 for each of the 43, or $38,300 for the town. Farmers living near Treloar had come in and subscribed so that there were 194 individual subscribers. Silex, in Lincoln county, with 276 population, showed a subscription of $489 per capita. In this case too, the farmers had done their bit for there were 729 names on the list with a total subscription of $135,050. It was a significant fact that Warren county was settled early with a large German immigration,—Germans who had left the fatherland for political liberty.

Arkoe, in Nodaway county, was assigned a quota of $2,800; her subscription was $23,650, which was 845 per cent of the quota, making that community a banner town in respect to excess of quota. Three towns in Jackson county subscribed over 500 per cent of their quotas. They were Dodson, Mt. Washington and Raytown. Three towns in Vernon went better than 600 per cent of their quotas, —Deerfield, Stotesburg and Walker.

Missouri bankers met with agreeable surprises as the result of their patriotic efforts to push the subscriptions of government loans. Festus J. Wade, telling of the experience of the Mercantile Trust company, said:

"When the United States went to war we decided to do everything possible

to sell Liberty bonds to our depositors, although we believed at the time it would decrease deposits. Here is the result: When the war broke out our deposits aggregated $34,000,000. We sold in bonds of the four loans, and of War Savings certificates, $34,350,000. Before peace was declared our deposits aggregated $40,000,000."

When a reporter went to Patrick Egan, thirty-three years a member of the St. Louis police force, to ask about his investment of $10,000, the savings of a lifetime, in the Liberty bonds, the old man said:

"Never mind writing me up. I don't want any publicity for doing my duty. I have no family and this country has been good to me. What would be the good of property or money if the Prussians won the war? If I can't live in a land of liberty I might as well be busted. I invested every dollar I had in the second issue of Liberty bonds. My only regret is that I cannot go to France and help do the fighting. If any man can read the newspapers and learn how the Germans have treated the women and children and not fight, then he must not be a real Irishman or a real American."

**They Made It Three Straight.**

Three times in succession the St. Louis Federal Reserve district led all others in the United States in subscribing its quota of Liberty and Victory bonds. Seven-eighths of Missouri was embraced in the district and constituted the largest unit of the district. Federal Director W. R. Compton said: "The result was not that this territory had a larger degree of wealth than other districts, for as a matter of fact, in many parts of the district, conditions were not favorable. The failure to market the cotton in the South, the shortage of the grain crop during the grain season of 1918, the many counties which are still in an undeveloped state, and the large percentage of population which had little surplus wealth, were not offset by the more populous and wealthier sections of the district, and gave no advantage to this territory in this respect. But on the other hand the aggressiveness and determination of our people was a valuable asset and properly capitalized through intensified publicity and salesmanship, brought the results and brought them quickly."

A significant fact was that the St. Louis district "absorbed" its bonds. The quotas were not dumped on the commercial banks to load them down and tie up capital needed for business. They were sold to the people in all kinds of conditions as to investment ability. They were sold in small amounts. In St. Louis alone the quota for one of these loans, $75,000,000, was distributed thus. At the time, the amount taken by St. Louisans was more than the capital, surplus and undivided profits of the whole list of banks in the St. Louis clearing house. J. L. Johnston, president of an institution which changed its name from German Savings to Liberty bank, was chairman of the St. Louis organization which canvassed the city ward by ward, business after business, and placed the $75,000,000 so widely and so generally that St. Louis not only swallowed but digested its quota. In some other financial centers banks were compelled to take large amounts of these bonds in order to make the quotas.

On the fifth or Victory loan the quota of the St. Louis Federal Reserve district was $185,000,000. The subscription was $210,431,950.

Of cities having 500,000 and more population, St. Louis was the first to

subscribe its quota of the third Liberty loan. In many business houses every employe was a subscriber. The completed lists showed 162,000 St. Louis subscribers to that loan.

**The Loyal Lutherans.**

There were occasional mistakes. Harry Lauder, Scotch singer, told 7,000 people in the St. Louis coliseum that the German Lutheran churches were singing every Sunday a song which gave "a good example of the spirit and training of the Hun." He repeated what he said was a translation of the song. This called out from Professor Theodore Graebner, of Concordia Seminary, the statement:

"None of the hymnals of the German Lutheran church have ever contained a verse like the one used by Harry Lauder in the second verse of the song he claims we are using. The statement is utterly unwarranted, especially in view of the whole-hearted loyalty which the church has shown since the start of the war." And then the editor of the Missouri State Synod's organ quoted from a letter written by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo: 'The number of replies, especially from Lutheran ministers, to our recent circular in behalf of war savings, is most gratifying. Be assured that your intense patriotic interest is appreciated.' The Missouri synod at that time had 80,000 men serving with the colors, said to be 'the highest percentage of any denomination.' "

Loyalty of the Lutherans was not simply an outburst of patriotic sentiment limited to war time. In July, 1920, the twenty-eighth annual Walther League meeting was held. Led by Dr. Theodore Graebner, the league adopted plans to carry on a permanent work of Americanization. These plans provided that immigrants be taken in charge when they landed at Ellis Island in New York harbor.

"We should go to work on these people as soon as they land here and get them into our churches and schools before they are herded in groups," Dr. Graebner argued and the league was with him. The assemblage was composed of delegates from all parts of the United States and Canada.

Lauder was not the only outsider who came into Missouri with strangely false impressions about the loyalty of the people. Blanche Bates, the actress, in a public address, said:

"Oh, I do want to take my soapbox and go wherever you have disloyal Germans. You have such a large German population here. It seems to me that St. Louis is facing the problem of what to do with them. Some of them must be loyal."

When the "National Patriotic Council of Americans of German Parents" was formed "to take steps to have the 15,000,000 men, women and children of German blood in this country aid in winning the war" two Missourians, Leo Rassieur and Professor Theodore Graebner, were charter members.

Family names of German origin are numerous in Missouri. These names were frequent in all of the war activities. It is a notable fact, worthy to be preserved in the record of Missouri's part in the World war, that the Alien Property Custodian did not find the occasion to take over a single St. Louis business or industry.

Twenty-four ward committees were organized to obtain subscriptions in St. Louis to the fourth Liberty loan. These wards were outside of the business center. The city's quota was $75,000,000. These twenty-four ward committees were formed for a house to house canvass. More than one-half of these committee members, 56 per cent, bore German names. In ten of the twenty-four wards all of the canvassers bore German names. In seven other wards half of the canvassers were Germans. These twenty-four committees raised $25,000,000, one-third of the quota.

**For German Consumption.**

In July, 1918, a telling circular was prepared for distribution by American airmen over the German lines. One paragraph was this:

"St. Charles county, Missouri, within the St. Louis district, was awarded the supreme honor flag in the Third Liberty Loan campaign. With a population of approximately 12,000 people, $1,100,000 bonds were sold to 7,506 people. Seventy per cent of the county's population is of German extraction. In proportion to its population St. Charles county sold more bonds than any other county in the United States."

There were some other facts in that circular deemed interesting, especially in view of the sympathy expected by German militarism from Americans of German descent. The circular said:

"St. Louis' population of German descent has been one of the most responsive elements in the community when war funds or charities are asked for. St. Louis is proud of the record of war support on the part of these people who, before the war, were known as German-Americans. Their enthusiasm for their adopted country, their desire to crush Prussianism, and their leadership in many cases have been a big factor in the wonderful record of St. Louis war work that is shown in these pages."

At that time, July 1, 1918, one St. Louisan in every fourteen was in Uncle Sam's service,—56,944. Later the proportion was one in twelve. In Red Cross work 20,000 women were registered for knitting, 5,000 to sew on hospital garments, 10,000 to make surgical dressings. During the preceding month of June, 1,300,000 articles had been sent to France. The monthly output of the knitters was 20,000 sweaters and other articles.

Missouri loyalty took on many spontaneous forms. Without waiting for the State Council, communities acted on their own initiative. Rev. Dr. Arthur W. Lindsey, of Clinton, sent throughout Henry county this warning:

"This government has to deal with such traitorous organizations as the I. W. W. and various so-called peace societies which are in reality enemies of our country seeking to injure our national unity of sentiment. But there is another element of alien sympathizers whose tongues are wagging with entirely too much freedom. There is the man whose secret fealty gives the lie to his American citizenship; who never loses an opportunity to deprecate the entry of our country into war and to regret that our manhood has been called to our country's aid; who by vague hint and innuendo casts doubt upon the justice of our cause and minimizes the great provocations we suffered at the hands of the Hohenzollerns before we entered the war. Such men never knew what freedom of speech was until they came here, where they are abusing it by utterances so unpatriotic as to be actually treasonable."

The National Loyalty League was one of the forms of patriotic expression by Missourians. Col. R. P. Dickerson, of Springfield, started this league. The story of the origin was told by the Missouri Historical Review:

"He was in Washington in the interest of his regiment. One day Colonel Dickerson took a seat in the front row of the Senate gallery, and, as he settled down to hear the debates, Senator Myers, challenging the patriotism of a Missouri senator, inadvertently, in his gesticulations, pointed toward Colonel Dickerson, saying: 'Is there a patriotic American in Missouri?' This was too much for the citizen of the Ozarks. He arose to his feet and responded in no modulated tones: 'By God, yes.' There was laughter and confusion in the Senate, and the sergeant-at-arms rushed to suppress Colonel Dickerson, but the latter departed quietly. It was that night that Colonel Dickerson conceived the plan of putting Missouri's patriotism above the reproach of any one."

**Aliens Voting in Missouri.**

The World war brought scrutiny of the election laws as they related to the foreign-born. Missouri made an unpleasant discovery. The state constitution was permitting the foreign-born to vote on the mere declaration of intention to become citizens. True, the period within which the alien could vote without becoming a full citizen was limited, but it appeared that this limit was widely honored in the breach. Thousands of men had been voting in Missouri without becoming citizens. It was queer. Perry S. Rader, historian and reporter of the Missouri supreme court, explained lucidly this situation:

"That constitutional provision gives to any male citizen, naturalized or native, the right to vote, if he is twenty-one years of age and has resided in the county or city for the required time. It also gives to a foreign-born person, who has declared his intention to become a citizen the right to vote for a definite period. He cannot vote for one year after he has declared his intention; but he can vote for the next four years 'at all elections.' He is not required to be a citizen; he is not required to become a citizen; he is only required to have 'declared his intention to become a citizen.' If he has done that he can begin to vote one year thereafter and continue to vote for four years, but after those four years he must cease to vote and can never vote again until he has become fully naturalized. He declares 'his intention to become a citizen' when he takes out his 'first papers,' according to the laws of Congress; he completes his naturalization and actually becomes a citizen when he takes out his 'second papers.'

"This strange provision in our state constitution allows a foreigner to vote for four years, who is not a citizen, and who may never become a citizen, and who has done nothing more than to declare 'his intention to become a citizen,' according to law. It is an outrage upon Americanism. It has been in our constitution since 1865. It was a concession to the foreign people among us. It now arises to plague us."

Mr. Rader further pointed out that Missouri had deliberately tied its hands in this matter by once refusing to amend the constitution. In 1911 Senator Carter Buford induced the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment "by which this provision allowing foreigners to vote would have been eliminated and the right to vote would have been confined to native and fully naturalized citizens, but that amendment was overwhelmingly defeated at the general election in 1912."

Missouri spoke with no uncertain voice when the unrest and reaction following hard on the World war threatened serious disturbance. At the annual meeting

of the Missouri Bar Association in 1919, significant resolutions, offered by James C. Jones of St. Louis, were adopted. These called attention forcibly to the constitutional provisions for orderly changes in the laws by the will of the people. They recommended that Congress and state legislatures put upon the statute books laws providing in substance these checks upon physical force to upset government:

"That any person who shall privately or publicly advocate, either verbally or in writing, or attempt to bring about by individual action, or by combining with others, any changes in or nullification of our laws, constitutional or statutory, state or national, by means of physical force or violence, shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor, or in the case of aliens, by deportation."

**The Missourian in the Army.**

The militant spirit of the Missourian found illustration when a Missouri school girl, in 1920, won second prize in the nation-wide army school essay contest. "What are the benefits of enlistment in the United States Army?" The question was submitted to 10,000,000 school children, to be answered in writing. The judges who passed on the essays were Secretary of War Baker, General Pershing and General March. They judged the essays without knowing the names of the writers. Marjorie Sheetz, fourteen years old, of the Chillicothe high school, sent in photographs showing Missourians before and after training for the army. She wrote:

"Do you know what has caused the change in these men? This visible change from a heterogenous mass of men—listless and awkward, to a body of men who are a unit, who to a man stand erect with chin high and eyes straight ahead. They have pride in themselves, loyalty to their outfit and a desire to make that outfit the best in this man's army.

"This perfect health comes from their training in our army—from daily exercise in 'God's great outdoors,' from plenty of sleep in comfortable, healthful sleeping quarters, from good food and from wholesome exercise in the form of all manner of outdoor sports. They have been instructed how to keep this health, which is man's greatest asset, by daily lectures from doctors on the care of the body and 'first aid.'

"Do you know that John Smith who didn't get much schooling, and Tony Morelli, who can't speak English, may learn the necessary rudiments of an education, while getting a technical education that will fit them for a good position in civil life? They may enlist for foreign service, and get that broadening of mind that comes from observing other lands and peoples.

"Do you know that in civil life a man must get a salary of $100 a month to be better off financially than a soldier in our army? Of this pay not one cent need be spent for medical care, food, clothing, lodging, special training or recreation, and the life insurance is the cheapest in the world.

"Do you know that 90,000 ex-service men re-enlisted in the past year? They realize that army training teaches loyalty, the spirit of teamwork, self-control, self-respect, patriotism and the determination to go to the top either by appointment to West Point, or by promotion from the ranks; privates have became generals.

"Finally, don't you see that the friends and family of a man who enlists, thus placing himself at the use of his country, must be roused from their passive patriotism, must be roused from this sluggish indifference to a realization of what true service means?"

From the vast collection of manuscripts, the three judges selected that of Marjorie Sheetz as the one ranking next to the highest. They awarded the prize,—a silver medal, a silver loving cup and the necessary funds for a free trip

to Washington for the prize winner and her parents or guardians in order that the medal and cup might be presented to her by Secretary Baker in person. When Marjorie Sheetz reached Washington she shared with an Iowa boy and a Mississippi girl, the other prize winners, the honor of a parade of thousands of school children of the capital and received her prize from the hands of Secretary Baker in the stadium of the central high school. Her escort was the congressman of her district, Representative Rucker.

In this nation-wide essay competition on the benefits to be derived from military training, awards of prizes were made by states as well as those for the whole country. The Missouri district prize, a cup, went to Winfield Dow Edgerton, a student in the Caruthersville high school. The committee which passed upon the Missouri essays and decided in favor of the Caruthersville boy was composed of Archbishop John J. Glennon, Rev. W. F. Robison, president of St. Louis University, Ambassador David R. Francis, Professor Isaac Lippincott of Washington University, Mrs. F. V. Hammar of the American Red Cross, Colonel John H. Parker of the United States Army, and Dr. John W. Withers, superintendent of instruction for St. Louis. The presentation of the prize was made an occasion of interesting ceremony. Business men and city officials of Caruthersville gave a dinner with the prize winner as the honor guest; the school children paraded; in the evening the cup was presented by Colonel Parker in the presence of an assemblage which filled the high school auditorium.

Of 1,800 physicians in St. Louis all but 90 registered with the volunteer medical service corps under the Council of Defense. "The purpose is to place the services of the doctors at the disposal of the United States government in whatever capacity they can do the most good if needed," Dr. Edward P. Davis, president of the Medical society said. Two of those registered were Dr. Elizabeth Reed and Dr. Isabel Gray.

When the Fleur-de-Lis magazine of St. Louis University came out in January, 1918, it showed that more than 2,000 men, former students of the several departments were in the army.

Ferguson, of 1935 population, had a roll of 130 enlistments on the 12th of May, 1918. The patriotic town had raised also a home guard company.

Before the armistice came, 3,450 factories in St. Louis were giving part of their service to war production.

The St. Louis Limit club was composed of those who had taken $1,000 in thrift stamps. It reached a membership of 1,000.

The home and spacious lawn of David R. Francis, one of the show places of St. Louis, and especially well adapted to the use, was given for two summers for Saturday and Sunday afternoon gatherings of soldiers. A committee of entertainment, headed by Thomas L. Anderson, chairman, and a house committee, headed by Mrs. J. D. P. Francis, had charge of the arrangements to give the soldiers the best forms of recreation.

The official report of General Crowder showed that Missouri furnished 140,257 for military service. Of these 33.81 per cent enlisted. The draft board supplied 92,843, or 66.19 per cent. The draft cost in Missouri was $6.81 per man; the average cost for the whole country was $7.90, which spoke well for the patriotism of the 5,752 persons connected with the draft boards of this state.

The Missouri enlistments were 29,863 for the army; 14,132 for the navy and 3,419 for the marines.

**Missouri Paid the Price.**

Missouri paid the price. Every county has its gold stars. By the compilation of Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, brought down to June 1, 1919, the casualties sustained by Missourians numbered 11,172. Of these the army total was 10,702; the marine total, 387; the navy total, 83. These casualties included the Missourians who were killed in battle, who died of wounds, who died of disease, who died of accident, who died in camp, who were wounded, missing and taken prisoners. Only 149 Missourians were numbered as prisoners.

ARMY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Killed in Action | 1,210 | |
| Died of Wounds | 467 | |
| Died of Disease | 834 | |
| Died from Accident and Other Causes | 134 | |
| Wounded Severely | 2,630 | |
| Wounded Slightly | 2,129 | |
| Wounded Undetermined | 1,942 | |
| Missing Still Unaccounted For | 247 | |
| Prisoner | 142 | |
| Missing, Later Reported Returned to Duty | 188 | |
| Died in Camp (U. S. A.) | 779 | |
| | | 10,702 |

MARINE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Killed in Action | 60 | |
| Died of Wounds | 26 | |
| Died of Disease | 7 | |
| Wounded Severely | 193 | |
| Wounded Slightly | 3 | |
| Wounded Undetermined | 47 | |
| Missing, Still Unaccounted for | 22 | |
| Prisoner | 5 | |
| Missing, Later Reported Returned to Duty | 21 | |
| Died in Camp (U. S. A.) | 3 | |
| | | 387 |

NAVY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Died of Disease | 46 | |
| Died from Accident | 17 | |
| Wounded Severely (in Action) | 1 | |
| Missing at Sea | 17 | |
| Prisoner | 2 | |
| | | 83 |
| Grand Total | | 11,172 |

Major. L. H. Bahrenburg, commanding officer of General Hospital No. 35, told the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce that ten per cent of all the casualties

of the entire war were sustained by four states,—Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska. He estimated that the men and women in these four states suffering from impaired health by reason of military service were nearly 100,000. He urged the necessity of a hospital fully equipped to care for all sorts of cases, physical or mental ailments due to the war service.

## CHAPTER LIII

## MISSOURIANS IN THE WORLD WAR

*"We Go to Serve"—Barnes Hospital Unit—The Farewell at Christ Church—Collegians for the Ambulances—Service Flags by the Thousands—Missouri's Boy Soldiers—Twelfth Engineers in London—Kansas City's Hospital Unit—Gold Stars Appear—First Missourian Decorated—"Gatling Gun" Parker—Missouri War Inventions and Strategy—The Thirty-fifth and Eighty-ninth Divisions—In Bantheville Wood—Missouri Giants in "the Greatest Battle"—At Vauquois and Cheppy—General Traub's Thrilling Story—Adjutant General Clark on the National Guardsmen—Forty Per Cent of the Thirty-fifth's Officers Killed or Wounded—Stories of Some Decorations—Hauling Supplies Through Death Valley—Surgery at the Front—How Colonel Rieger Prepared—What Gassing Meant—Missouri Welfare Workers Overseas—Chauffeur Danforth—The Creeping Barrage—War Emergency Missourians—Julia Stimson's Experiences—Pershing, Boy and Teacher—"Coolest Man Under Fire"—The Title of "General"—A Chaplain's Tribute—Provost Marshal General Crowder—When Cleveland Promoted a Republican—An Historic Letter—Violette's Pen Picture—Admiral "Bob" Coontz—From Mule Driver to Head of the United States Navy—Admiral Palmer, Kid Gloved Missourian—A Wonderful Accomplishment in Recruiting—Ambassador Francis Stricken at His Post—A Voice Raised Early for Preparedness—Years of Fighting German Intrigue—America's Dominant Diplomatic Figure—Facing Petrograd Mobs—Timely and Incessant Warning Against Bolshevism.*

It was in the years among you that I learned of loyalty, of duty to country as shown by the forefathers. It was in the quiet of this village that I learned of duty to country and duty to God. Service was taught me by my parents, whose character was early impressed upon me, and who led me early to follow the path of duty. Whatever service I was able to perform in cooperation with the youth of the country, before or during the great war, I owe to the early training of my mother. Many of you knew her, and she was loved by all. In later years I have learned how much I owe to her. I feel that we often, often, fail to appreciate our debt to the mothers of the country. In the late war we learned how much the support of women was necessary to sustain us to the highest ideals.—*General John J. Pershing at his home coming reception in Laclede, the place of his birth.*

The World war was not a month old when the first call came for Missourians "to go to the front." The call mobilized St. Louis Base Hospital Unit, No. 21, better known locally as the Barnes Hospital Unit. Organizing of the unit had been going on for weeks. When the order was flashed from Washington the 1st of May the unit, with Dr. Fred T. Murphy and twenty-four surgeons, with Miss Julia Stimson and sixty-five Red Cross nurses, was ready. On the 16th of May, the surgeons, the nurses, the administrative force and the civilian employes, 250 Missourians, faced their chaplain, Very Rev. Carroll M. Davis, in Christ church cathedral, for farewell service. A throng that packed the great auditorium heard the solemn words of the chaplain:

"We are not going on a playday jaunt. We are not to direct the Almighty. We are to see that the Almighty guides and directs us. We go to serve."

The next morning a special train carried away the unit, equipped with 44,000 articles upon which 1200 women had worked in shifts to prepare for immediate hospital work. There was an equipment for a hospital of 500 beds. There were motor ambulances, the gifts of Missourians, a dental outfit, an x-ray machine, drugs, surgical instruments, splints and everything needed,—altogether a fine illustration of Missouri thoroughness. Kansas City had her quota of nurses and other parts of the state were well represented in the unit.

On the afternoon of May 15th the Odeon was filled with people assembled to raise a fund of $33,000 to buy more ambulances. That was in addition to $40,000 already contributed. An incident of the meeting was the presence of twenty-two young men, seventeen of them Washington University students, forming the St. Louis Unit for the American Ambulance Service. Two days later another cheering, weeping throng gathered in Union station to see these boys, in their teens, take their departure for France.

The next month twenty-six students and instructors of the University of Missouri, one of the members the son of the governor of the state, went forward to become part of the American Field Ambulance Service in France, their expenses paid by a subscription fund and in considerable part by themselves. In the unit were students from a score of Missouri towns.

**Young Missourians to the Front.**

When James E. Willerton went into a recruiting office in April, 1917, just after the United States entered the war, and told the officer he was only fourteen years old, they sent him back to his Hannibal home. When a few days later, this same well-grown Missouri lad called at the recruiting office and told the officer he was nineteen, and the brother of the kid who had been turned down, the officer took him at his word. That word, by the way, was backed up by what purported to be an affidavit from the alleged younger brother. They put the boy in the 26th Field Artillery and sent him to France. Probably the youngest gunner in the American army abroad, this Missourian was at Chateau Thierry, Soissons, Champaigne, St. Mihiel and Argonne, receiving his honorable scars at Champaigne. After two years and three months service, Gunner Willerton was back in Hannibal with more adventures to tell than Tom Sawyer ever dreamed.

To hold back some of the young Missourians was difficult. Charles W. Suffern, of Fremont, was only sixteen when he applied to the recruiting officer. He was intercepted by a telegram from his father which read: "My son Charles won't be seventeen until July. He left his team standing in the field where he was planting twenty acres of beans. He is needed on our farm."

In October, 1917, came the news that an eighteen-year-old member of the Washington University Ambulance corps had been decorated by France with the war cross for exceptional bravery. William Dock was a freshman when he heard that an older brother, George, who had gone to France the year before the United States had entered the war, had been honored while driving an ambulance in the French service. "If George can drive an ambulance in the French service and win the French cross, so can I," the boy told his father, and he did.

A young man from the country came into the navy recruiting office at St.

Louis and wanted to enlist. He appeared to be all right physically, except that his left hand was bandaged. The officer wanted to know what was the matter.

"Well, you see I was up here May 14 to enlist, and they turned me down because the little finger of my left hand was contracted. The doctor told me I was all right except for the finger. So I had a surgeon snip it off for me, and here I am again."

That kind of material was not to be let go. Second-class Seaman Knight went on the recruiting roll. Before the armistice came the records showed that more than 1,000 young Missourians, "finding themselves unfit because of some defect which had not interfered with pursuits of civil life had undergone surgical operations needed to make them serviceable in the ranks of war." This was the information given by Lieutenant Hennerichs, chief surgeon of the St. Louis navy recruiting office, and Dr. Hein of the city hospital. Sixty per cent of the operations were major. More than 200 Missouri applicants to enter the navy underwent surgical operations in the course of eight months. There were not few cases where men submitted to three operations to get into the war.

**He Ate His Way In.**

How a Kirksville boy "ate his way into the World war" was told by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

"Twelve times rejected for enlistment in branches of the American service, Gay Miller was accepted for the British army through the intercession of King George. Miller tried the National Guard the day the United States entered the war. The recruiting officer smiled approvingly, but the medical examiner refused to pass the Missouri lad. He tried the army, the marine corps, the tank service, the engineers, and other branches of the service, but his five feet three inches disqualified him. He was accepted in the Home Guards, but the feel of a gun only inflamed his desire for the army.

"Then he wrote boldly to King George, stating that he wanted to fight but no one would let him fight. After a long time a letter came embellished with 'by grace of His Majesty.' Miller was praised for his spirit and told to try again. He rushed to St. Louis and presented himself at the British recruiting office. The officer smiled but the examiner frowned.

"'Weight 98½ pounds; minimum for acceptance, 100,' said that individual. Miller lost his faith in kings, but only for a minute. He sought the nearest restaurant.

"'Try now,' he told the examiner upon his return.

"The beam balanced at 100."

**The Service Flags.**

Service flags with single and double stars hung in windows of thousands of Missouri homes. Those with three and four stars were frequent. A group of six stars in the home of Mrs. Clem Abell, on North Market street, St. Louis, told of six brothers, the Stilwells, who had gone to the front, two of them having joined the Canadians before the United States entered the war. One had fallen. Another had been invalided back to the states. Four were still in the service. "I wish I was a man," the sister said. "I would have gone before now. When Willie and Morrel left to join the Canadians I cried just to think I was so unlucky as to have been born a girl."

From a family of nine children, Mr. and Mrs. William E. Wightman, of St. Louis, sent six sons to the service. The other three were girls; the oldest, Adele, was taking training to go as a Red Cross nurse, while the younger sisters were doing Red Cross work. Yet when the father was asked about the family's activities he turned the matter aside with, "Oh, it's not much. Don't say too much about it."

Three sons and a son-in-law were represented on the service flag at the Farrar home on Union Boulevard, and two sons, twins, seventeen years old, were trying to get in the navy with the promise of being taken as soon as they reached eighteen. "When Roy and Ray go in, that will make six from the family, all that we can possibly send," Mrs. Farrar said. "And, of course, I know that out of that number some may never come back. I realize that as much as anybody. I love them as much as any mother could love her boys. I loved them well enough to watch over them and guide them and to help them become the fine boys that they are. But I willingly offer them and willingly give them to my country, for the country needs them."

From the family of George L. Allen, Westmoreland place, St. Louis, four sons were in three different branches of service, one in the aviation division, another in the navy, the others in machine gun companies.

With six sons in the service, Mrs. William E. Wightman led the St. Louis parade of mothers, wives and sisters before the patriotic meeting in Central high school, June 11, 1918. Thomas J., William R., Charles M., Richard M., Paul V. and Joseph S. Wightman were already in the uniform and Adele Frances Wightman, the sister, was nearing graduation as a trained nurse.

As five sons of Mrs. Sarah Behan of St. Louis,—Jack, Edward, Albert, Elmer and Thomas,—lined up before the portrait of their ancestor, Charles Hull, who had fought in the Mexican war, one of them said, "Well, grandad, we are going to take up arms, too." The five went into service. Gilbert, the youngest, fifteen, had his mother's promise that he could go into the marines as soon as he was sixteen. "A mother never gives her son to war," this Missouri woman said. "She gives him to perpetuate a right or to create a higher principle. That is why she gives one, two or all she has and continues to live."

Three of the Cunliff brothers, of St. Louis, enlisted as privates and won commissions. They were highly educated young engineers.

Four sons of Dr. Robert O'Reilly went into the army.

In the Weston company of the Fourth Missouri were five brothers, the sons of Mrs. Melsena Arnold. The same command had five Duncans, four of them brothers, the fifth a cousin, all from Dearborn.

Father and son, of Missouri, found themselves in France. General Eugene J. Spencer, of an old Missouri family, who had given years to the preparation of the national guard, was there at the head of the 132nd Engineers. His son, Captain Tritle Spencer, was in the front with 18th Field Artillery.

With four sons, Charles, Roy, Franklin and Orville, in the service, Winfield Traylor, of Trenton, enlisted. He was accepted for the quartermaster corps, but he wasn't satisfied. "I want to see real service in battle," he said. "I am anxious to smell German powder before the war is over."

**Exemption Declined.**

The mayor and a number of the leading citizens of Kirksville appealed for the relief of Professor Felix Rothschild, the principal of their high school, from the draft. When he heard of it Professor Rothschild wrote:

"I certainly appreciate the interest you have taken in my behalf, but at the same time I feel that I must decline exemption on these grounds. The teachers in the public schools of our land must stand as a model for the youth under their charge. These are trying times in our nation's history, as well as in the history of democracy. Each man must bear his part of the burden. Should I be exempted without some more legitimate reason some other young man would be called upon to perform a service that by chance is mine. It is my honest conviction that exemption on the claims submitted in your letter and petition to the President would be showing undue partiality."

To Private David Allen Smiley, born in Pike, enlisting from Hannibal in the Sixth Artillery when he was twenty years old and barely meeting the army requirement of height and weight, was given the honor of being the first Missourian decorated with the French croix de guerre with palm. The honor was bestowed by Premier Clemenceau "for exceptional bravery and coolness in carrying dispatches during the battle of Toul." Twice Private Smiley took the messages, once during a gas attack and again during a barrage.

When Raymond Burleigh enlisted at St. Joseph in July, 1917, he was twelve years old, but he was five feet, nine inches high, and he weighed 150 pounds. Twice he had tried to get into the service but his parents stopped him. At his third trial, father and mother yielded, and, under the name of Fred DeReaux, the Missouri kid soldier got away to France with the transportation department of the aviation service. On the other side the youth was transferred and went over the top with an infantry command. When the armistice brought the opportunity to return home, Burleigh was fourteen years old. He volunteered for six months more service with the army of occupation in Germany.

"It's a close corporation. I used to control it, but now I am a minority partner and Uncle Sam is the boss of the outfit," wrote Joseph Flynn, one time a newspaper man widely known in Missouri. Joseph R. Flynn, a son, a reporter on St. Louis newspapers, had refused to ask exemption and was on the registration list to go. Mary Flynn had taken the place with the railway mail to let a man of military age go to service. In the navy was Captain John Flynn. Edward J. Flynn was in service at an air station. Paul F. Flynn was in the 143rd Artillery in France. Henry, the youngest of these six "Fighting Flynns of Missouri," was with the 58th Pioneers. That was the record which prompted the father's half-humorous, half-pathetic, but truly Irish reference to the Flynn close corporation.

When the publicity bureau of the navy called on the medical corps for the most perfect man physically among 40,000 at Great Lakes training station to be detailed to pose for posters, William Rankin, of St. Louis, was sent to face the camera as the "best made" recruit. He was six feet, two inches and weighed 200 pounds. He was given the title of "The Great Lakes Apollo."

One month under fifteen years of age, Howard A. Shore, of Pettis county,

was taken into the aviation service. He was, like many another young Missourian, large of his age, and Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Shore gave their consent.

A one-legged newsboy, E. S. Phillips, of St. Louis, hung around the recruiting office and studied the posters and circulars until he was full of information about the service. He couldn't enlist but he could be a volunteer recruiting officer. As the boy brought in applicant after applicant, a tally was kept. It showed that Phillips had escorted 378 men to the officers. "Aw! Any man that's got any sense would join the navy," was his explanation when somebody asked how he did it. In midsummer of 1918, the St. Louis district had a record of 10,940 recruits sent to the navy.

**When Missourians Marched in London.**

To reach the firing line within three months after mobilization was the extraordinary experience of a Missouri regiment,—the Twelfth Engineers. Under a regular army officer, Colonel Curtis McD. Townsend, and under well-known St. Louis engineers, Major John A. Laird and Major Frank G. Jonah, and Adjutant C. L. Hall, the regiment recruited to 1,069 men in June, 1917. These were practical railroad and construction men. They had to camp at the Chain of Rocks, in the northern suburbs of St. Louis, when called to service, and were lodged in house boats. Before the end of July this regiment was on board ship. The next heard from the Twelfth was its march through London, the first American troops seen there. And the regiment carried the flag with which it had left Missouri. In 879 years, no foreign troops had paraded their own colors in London, until the coming of these Missourians, the historians said. Enthusiastic was not a word strong enough to describe London's greeting. Then came the news that the men of the Twelfth were close up behind the British front, building and repairing railroad communications. That was on the 21st of August. A few weeks later, a section of the British line, hard pressed, was yielding ground when the Twelfth Engineers dropped shovels and sledges and spikes, picked up guns and went into battle.

The Missourians gloried in being "firsts." When Missouri troops had their first fight in Alsace, making a raid on a German trench, in the Vosges, Walter B. Ball wrote to his mother, at Flat River:

> "I suppose you read an account of our company going over the top, and I am the first man from Flat River, I think, to go over the top. Ours was the first and only company out of the whole division to go over, and we didn't lose many men. We certainly were honored. I wouldn't have missed my trip over with my company for $1,000,000 cash. It is an experience that can't be told of in mere words. Tell Dad to have a truck ready and when the war is over I will be perfectly willing to haul oil the rest of my life, but I won't come back until the war is over over here."

It was in this baptism of fire for one Missouri command, that members of the unarmed band followed the fighting men, and brought back the wounded on stretchers. The troops which made this attack were H Company of the 138th Infantry. They were commanded by Lieutenant William H. Leahy.

**The Kansas City Hospital Unit.**

Kansas City Base Hospital 28, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Binnie and Major L. S. Milne, was one of the earliest arrivals of American units in

France. The Kansas City doctors and nurses reached Limoges before the buildings for the hospital of which they were to take charge were completed. The first work of these Missourians was construction. The hospital was planned for 500 beds, but it was enlarged repeatedly until, at the armistice, the Kansas City unit was caring for more than 2,000 patients and two hospitals. And what was even more to their credit, the Kansas City doctors and nurses were showing one of the smallest death reports in proportion to number of patients of all the hospitals of the American Expeditionary forces.

To stimulate interest in the Victory Loan campaign, "One Hundred Best Stories of the War" were collected. When the list of heroic deeds was made up, it was found that six of the names were of Missourians. The six heroes were Captain Alexander R. Skinker, of St. Louis; Private Charles Disalvo, of St. Louis; Sergeant J. Forrest, of Hannibal; Sergeant M. Waldo Hartley, of Neosho; Private Charles D. Barger, of Stotts City; Captain George H. Mallon, of Kansas City.

The World war began to take its toll of Missourians even before the American Expeditionary Force arrived in numbers. Lieutenant William T. Fitzsimmons, a young physician of Kansas City, went over with the Harvard University unit. He was dressing wounds of British soldiers back of the lines in France when a shell was dropped from a bombing plane on a hospital, although well marked. He was killed almost instantly.

Lieutenant W. A. Fair, of Pleasant Hill, went to the aid of Captain Harry B. McPherson of the Twentieth Engineers, wounded on the Argonne front the 6th of October, 1918, five weeks before the armistice. He was struck by a volley of machine gun bullets and dropped dead. When the body was picked up the croix de guerre was found in Lieutenant Fair's pocket book.

Other Missouri doctors killed in action were Lieutenant Leroy R. Boutwell, Kirkwood; Charles R. Long, Sedalia; and Frank V. Frazier, Altamont. Four others died of disease contracted in the service.

**As the Gold Stars Appeared.**

A fervor of patriotism, deeper, more sacred than that felt by the most, seemed to sustain those to whom the fatal messages came.

"It's tough to lose a son—especially an only son—," Henry Pflasterer, of St. Louis, said. "But it's a part of the great war game, and I'm glad that my boy died fighting for Old Glory."

Mrs. Angus Gunsberg, a Staunton girl, bride of less than a year, said simply: "I am proud that since he had to die, he died in the best cause there is."

When the news came of the first St. Louisan killed in France, Edward J. McNulty, the father said: "I am proud of my boy. He gave his life for his country. My two other boys are in the service and they'll even up the score for Edward before the war is over. Edward was a good boy. He would have made a great farmer. You know we were all farmers at Bridgeton before Edward went to war."

When the news that Lanier Cravens, in the Seventh Canadian railway troops, had fallen, came to Kansas City, the mother, seventy-seven years old, calmly said, "Every one must make a sacrifice."

The Antilles, the first American transport sunk by German submarine, carried down a Missouri sailor volunteer, J. W. Hunt. The message went to the family of the youth on a farm near Mountain Grove. "If my son had to die, I am glad it was while serving for his country," was the father's comment.

The first casualty list of Americans killed or captured November 3, 1917, had the name of Private Frank E. McDougal, of Maryville, a boy nineteen years old. "We hope he is safe and may return to us," the father, Judge Richard L. McDougal, said. "But if necessary to sacrifice him for his country we will not complain."

"Unwilling to sacrifice his men when his company was held up by terrific machine gun fire from pill boxes in the Hindenburg line, Captain Skinker personally led an automatic rifleman and a carrier in an attack on the machine guns. The carrier was killed instantly, but Captain Skinker seized the ammunition and continued through an opening in the barbed wire, feeding the automatic rifle until he, too, was killed. Father, T. K. Skinker, 6464 Ellenwood avenue, St. Louis."

So reads the record. Writing home to his own father, Major Comfort, on the 6th of October, told this: "Alec. Skinker made himself immortal. True to his life's principles, he secured his men and sacrificed himself. I looked on his poor body lying where he fell in the road. His face bore the serene and peaceful expression of his waking hours. Am writing this letter with his fountain pen. Have his ring and a few trinkets to return to his good father."

In a window at Jennings hung a service flag with one gold star. When the mother, Mrs. William J. Michael, was asked about it, her answer was: "I am proud he died for such a glorious cause. Nothing but the hand of God would have held Frank back. The day he left, he put his arms around me and said, 'Mother, I am going to fight for my country and you.' My father and mother left Germany to escape the hand of autocracy, and my boy has fought and died to conquer this evil."

In a window of McCaffrey place a silver star told of the wounding of Henry R. Markus, son of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Markus. The mother said: "I wish I had more sons to go. We left Berlin twenty-two years ago to get away from the kaiser's rule, and it is worse now than it was then. It is a thing the world is justly fighting against, and I wish I could help more than I have."

Missouri medical men not only did not flinch, but they took service more hazardous than demanded of them. When Lieutenant Lloyd R. Boutwell, of the Medical Corps, learned that the Eighty-ninth Division was short of surgeons, he volunteered for active field service. Previously he had been with a regiment of engineers and was less exposed. Three days before the armistice Lieutenant Boutwell was wounded and three days after the armistice the wound proved fatal. Lieutenant Boutwell came from Hamilton. He was educated at Washington University and at the University of Missouri. When he entered the service he was assistant resident physician at Barnes Hospital and his home was in Kirkwood.

"The glory of leading a victorious first wave over the top against the Germans compensates tenfold for his death" was the reading of the report which told of the gallantry of Lieutenant Jerome Earle Moore, member of a Columbia family.

Lieutenant George Lane Edwards, Jr., of Kirkwood, failing to get into the

army at the outset of the war on account of defective vision, went to France and took service with the French army. When the Americans got "over there," Lieutenant Edwards was transferred to the Motor Transport Division. He was killed on the night of October 24. Lieutenant George A. Lamade told how it happened:

"Lane had a cup of chocolate, and when the shells started coming in, he had given orders for the trucks to move on by telling the drivers at the 'Y' hut. Not sure that he had told them all, he started down the line of trucks, standing in the triangle where they had turned around, and saw that each man started his motor and was moving out. According to his men, he was never more cool nor self-possessed. He helped the man on the last truck and told him to drive out fast. Then he started on to make sure that all the trucks had moved out. It was just then that a shell struck on the edge of the road. Lane was hit in two places. His right arm was broken just below the shoulder, and his left leg was broken between the knee and the hip. The shell fragment severed the main artery in his leg, and almost instantaneously he was unconscious. He was taken in an ambulance to a French field hospital where both wounds were dressed. It was too severe. He died about 1 a. m. without regaining consciousness. We buried him at 1 p. m. on October 25, in the little cemetery which has since grown much bigger. We all saw his remains before they were interred, and I can assure you I never saw a man with a more contented look. I am sure he was tremendously happy to know he died serving God and country, and in the act of putting in safety the lives of his own men."

That was the true Missourian, not only a fighting man but doing his duty with completeness. Captain Arthur Y. Wear, of St. Louis, member of an old and widely known Missouri family, left the hospital "against the advice of the surgeons, before he had recovered from the illness brought on by the hardships of the St. Mihiel advance," and led his battalion brilliantly in the Argonne, dying in November.

**Jack Fleming's Self-Sacrifice.**

"He bravely attempted to pick up and throw away, near Oderen, Alsace, on July 12, a live grenade that had fallen among five soldiers, but because of irregularities of the trench he could not reach it before it burst. He thrust his foot on it, thereby saving his companions from death or injury, but causing wounds that necessitated amputation of the foot." This was the wording of the official citation by General Pershing, acknowledging the heroism of Private Jack Fleming, 138th Infantry. Five members of the Fleming family were in the service, four brothers, their sister a Red Cross nurse. Sergeant William F. Farley in a letter home to his mother told more in detail about this act of Private Fleming:

"One of my best friends I sent back last night never to take part with us again. He put his foot over a grenade just before it went off. Well, he saved six other lives around him, but his foot is gone. When he left me he said, 'Bill, I'm through fighting. This means a ticket west for me.' Then he said, 'There's only one thing I wish I could go back for.' I asked, 'What's that?' And he said, 'To get one more to make up for this.' It worried him, and he was crying, not because his foot was off—a little thing like the loss of a foot doesn't bother our lads—but one of those Huns threw it and got away with it, and that is what worried him. Now this happened to be one of my best friends, and my heart still aches. He's done. It isn't his fault either. He would rather stay than go. But they can't use a man who has given one foot for his country; so I have a debt to pay for him and I'm going to make good."

Walter Schaetzel, who saw Fleming's self-sacrifice, wrote to his father, "He was the gamest man I ever saw and he certainly did his bit."

Forty-five golden stars were credited to the University of Missouri. Of the total number thirty-four were killed in battle or in accidents; eleven died from influenza or pneumonia. Seventeen of the forty-five were graduates; twenty-seven were former students. The forty-fifth was an assistant professor when he enlisted. Five were killed in the Argonne.

More than 500 St. Louisans lost their lives in the war. Of the total number 399 were killed in battle or died of wounds; eighty-one died of sickness, and 21 met with fatal accidents.

Victor Irminger of Missouri was the first of the Liberty marines to fall at Chateau Thierry where the tide turned against the Germans.

To Hannibal came the news that twenty-one enlisted men of Company E, One Hundred and Eightieth, had lost their lives; and sixty-eight had been wounded or gassed.

The first Missourian in the One Hundred and Thirty-eighth to die in battle was Clarence M. Walker, of Salem. The first of the One Hundred and Thirty-ninth was John C. Lovell, of Carrollton. Corporal William J. Flaherty, police reporter of the Globe-Democrat, fell in Belleau Wood.

**"Gatling Gun" Parker.**

"Gatling Gun" Parker, he was known throughout the army. He was born at California, Missouri, and married a Sedalia girl. They called him by the nickname because he originated the machine gun method in battle. In the advance on Santiago, during the war with Spain, Colonel Parker proposed to take one of the two Gatling guns which the Americans had with them and fire over the heads of the front line to check the Spanish reserves from coming up. It was such an innovation that some of the American officers opposed it. Parker had his way and played the stream of bullets over the heads and far beyond the advancing American line, keeping back the Spanish reserves. When Pershing went to France, Parker was with him as the machine gun expert. Later he got a regiment and led his men, riding up and down the line after the traditions of Missourians in battle. He stood on top of the trench in another fight at Seicheprey, with his back to the Germans, and cheered his men with his example. When he went to the hospital, it was with a shattered left elbow, a shell fragment in one thigh and another in the calf of the leg. The citation for Colonel John Henry (good old Missouri name, that ) Parker told how at La Fere the colonel rode up and down the line where the shallowness of the trenches was causing nervousness of his men and "restored normal morale." When the news got back to this country, the Missouri-bred wife said, "I am prouder of the citation than if I had been informed that my husband had been promoted to the rank of major general." A son of Colonel Parker, Captain Henry Burr Parker, was with the Third Artillery in France at the time.

Invention of the depth bomb, which carried terror and demoralization to the crews of the German submarines, was credited to a native of Missouri, George C. Davison, son of Dr. A. C. Davison, of Jefferson City. The father had intended the boy for a farmer, but young Davison went to Annapolis, grad-

uated, saw service in the navy and took up electrical manufacturing. In addition to the depth bomb, Davison developed an airplane rifle which was used in the World war.

Another Missourian, A. A. Kellogg, of Clinton, was the inventor of an instantaneous detonator for shell. This took the place of fuses which did not cause explosion by contact. The shell with the detonator, thrown against the German wires, or trenches, or emplacements, exploded instantly and was far more effective than the fuse shell.

To make a hasty crossing of the Meuse, previous to the placing of the heavy pontoons, Captain T. S. M. Smith, of St. Louis, utilized an invention of his colonel, L. J. Lambert, also of St. Louis. This consisted of a footbridge of canvas floats stretched on wooden frames. Over this bridge the division commander made his crossing.

Born in St. Louis, educated in the arts at St. Louis University and in medicine at Washington University, Lieutenant Julien A. Gehrung discovered treatment for poison gas which was adopted by the French. Gehrung was made a medicine aid major of the first class in the French establishment. His discovery was the means of saving thousands of lives and of restoring sight and hearing for many more.

Missourians were in the regular army divisions, in the marines and in the navy, but in two divisions which saw some of the hardest fighting Missouri was represented in such numbers as to give them marked local character. The Thirty-fifth division was composed of Missouri and Kansas National Guard troops, the units from this state largely preponderating. It included two regiments from St. Louis, the First and Fifth consolidated according to the plan of organization of the American army into the 138th Infantry. It included, also, the 128th Artillery which was expanded from the St. Louis Battery A, of memorable service in the Mexican, the Civil and the Spanish wars.

In the Eighty-ninth division were most of the selective service men from Missouri with men from Kansas and Colorado and small numbers from other western states.

**The Record of the Eighty-ninth.**

Of the Eighty-ninth division, 1,686 officers and men died overseas. The wounded numbered 7,394. These were the returns for the entire division. These casualties told the story of the fighting quality of the men trained at Funston by General Leonard Wood. The eight congressional medals of honor, the sixty-eight distinguished service crosses and the sixteen awards of the French croix de guerre testified to the individual cases of extreme daring. Some of the distinctions achieved by this division were:

Fought at St. Mihiel in first All-American drive on western front.

Fought at Argonne-Meuse, last battle of the war.

The first division to move from training area to the front by truck.

The first division to enter the line without previously having been brigaded with French or English troops.

The first division to be continuously in the front line for more than eight weeks.

The first National Army division to participate in a major operation.

The first National Army division to enter Germany.

Three commanders shared in the glory won by the Eighty-ninth. General Leonard Wood was the directing genius in the training of the division before it started across the ocean. General William W. Wright and General Frank L. Winn were the commanders on the other side. Most of the officers were from Missouri and other mid-west states, and had their training in the Fourteenth Provisional regiment at Fort Riley.

Major General Frank B. Winn, United States army, who commanded the Eighty-ninth division, in general orders, paid this tribute:

"The division came into the most momentous six months of the war, and its record has been an enviable one. In the area, it convinced higher authority of its ability to enter the line as a division—the first National Army division to do so. It was the first American division to move by bus with American transportation, and the entire movement was organized and executed by the division.

"In the Lucey sector, the division won commendation from French corps and army commanders for its successful minor operations, almost constantly gaining identifications from the enemy, without losing a single one to the foe. During the difficult period of preparation for the St. Mihiel offensive, the division successfully held the line while the attack was massed behind it and while the enemy made desperate attempts to drive raids through for information.

"In the offensive of September 12, the division went over abreast of the divisions of the American army, took the Bois de Mont Mare and all of its other objectives. It then organized the new sector and took over the line held by one and one-half other divisions as well.

"After the division relieved the Thirty-first division near Romance it cleaned up the Bois de Bantheville and won commendation of the corps and army.

"On the drive of November 1, the division attacked in the front line, took the wooded heights of Barricourt, pushed on to the final army objective, the Meuse, and had forced a crossing by eleven hours, Nov. 11th, 1918 (the date of the armistice).

"The division is now in Germany, with a reputation of clean living, clean fighting, obeying orders and taking its objectives. The division commander is proud to sign this order to the Eighty-ninth division."

In his official report of the Eighty-ninth's operations against the St. Mihiel salient, General William W. Wright, who had succeeded General Winn, said:

"At the beginning of the operation the enemy held a position which he had occupied since shortly after the beginning of the war, about four years. It consisted of the usual wired intrenchments. Here and there were concrete dugouts. Elaborate observation posts had been constructed and a thorough system of artillery telephone communications had been extended to the rear. The wire, which was four or five bands deep in places, and the intrenchments had been maintained, improved and elaborated during the enemy's occupancy. They were in good condition. So that, at the beginning of the operation, the enemy occupied a strongly fortified position. In the rear area artillery emplacements had been constructed. At one place in our advance a series of tank traps had been prepared. Concrete dugouts and other facilities for shelter existed."

After the complete success at St. Mihiel, the French general Passaga issued a general order "to congratulate the Eighty-ninth division upon its discipline, its spirit and its determination, all of which surely guarantee laurels soon to be gained by this fine division."

**Three Days and Nights in Bantheville Wood.**

C Company, 356th Infantry, Eighty-ninth division, commanded by Lieut. Frank B. Welsh of Kansas City, was "lost" for three days and three nights in Bantheville Wood, beginning October 21. Not only was this command, containing a number of the selective Missourians, without food or water or means of caring for the wounded, but the shell and gas fire was continuous and repeatedly the company beat off bayonet attacks. The wood was about three miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide, one end still in possession of the Germans. On the night of October 21 this company was sent in to clear out the Germans and occupy a sunken road. The men made the objective but the Germans filtered in from the sides and got behind. The Missourians dug themselves in on a little elevation and stayed.

"Conditions were extreme. The men were without food. Wounded could not be evacuated. The water supply was exhausted. Enemy artillery was almost continuous. Sniping was general. Hand to hand fighting was frequent. Meantime the other three companies tried to go to the aid of their besieged comrades, but the Germans, now intent on forcing the surrender of the beleagured company, held their lines in the wood strongly with machine guns and infantry. These companies were themselves almost cut off by a German barrage laid down behind them. Despite this they fought their way forward in a continuous desperate engagement. During this trying period, Lieutenant Richard Stout of St. Louis and Sergt. McFee, the crack scout of the division, thrice wormed their way through the German lines and carried messages between the surrounded company and those trying to rescue them. On the third day the supporting companies burst through the German line in the wood and reached the survivors of C Company, who, though cut to pieces and wearied to the point of exhaustion, were grimly holding to the battered little hill."

**The Missouri "Giants."**

"Without any disparagement of any other troops, I consider these Missouri and Kansas troops the best looking lot of men I've got in France." This was what General Pershing said to General Peter E. Traub in turning over to him the Thirty-fifth division, and General Traub repeated it before the Senate committee on military affairs at Washington.

Frederick Palmer, the famous war correspondent, who was given special opportunities for observation, said in his book, "Our Greatest Battle:"

"The physique and good humor of the men of the Thirty-fifth had been the admiration of everybody who had seen them after their arrival in the British area. No finer looking soldiers ever went into action. Their eagerness was in keeping with their vitality. Compared to the little men of the Seventy-seventh (New York City division) who were overburdened with heavy packs, they were giants of the type which carried packs of double the army weight over the Chilkoot Pass in the Klondike rush. Their inheritance gave them not only the strength but the incentive of pioneers. Whoever had the leading and shaping of such a body of American citizens had a responsibility which went with a glorious opportunity. The stronger the men of a division the abler the officers they require to be worthy of their potentiality."

Palmer tells at length and in thrilling words the story of the great battle and the part the Thirty-fifth performed in it. He sums up:

"In an advance of six miles the Thirty-fifth had suffered 6,312 casualties. Nearly half of its infantry was dead on the field or in hospital. The other half was in a coma from fatigue. Every rod won had been gained by fighting against fire as baffling as it was powerful. To say that the Thirty-fifth fought for five days as a division is hardly doing it justice. A division may be said to be fighting when only one brigade is in line while the other is resting. All of the men of the Thirty-fifth were fighting. There were soldiers who did not have five hours' sleep in that period of unbroken battle strain in the midst of the dead and the dying. Only the powerful physique of the men, with their store of reserve energy which they drew on to the last fraction, enabled them to bear it as long as they did. Their courage and endurance and dash performed a mighty service in a most critical sector."

**Missouri's National Guard.**

Two-thirds of the Thirty-fifth Division consisted of the National Guard of Missouri. The remaining third was supplied by the National Guard of Kansas. Missouri's two-thirds numbered 14,756 officers and men when mobilization took place on the state camp ground near Nevada. This is the record of Adjutant General Harvey C. Clark. Having served thirty years in the National Guard of Missouri, rising from private to brigadier-general, General Clark went with the Missourians to Camp Doniphan. But before the departure for France an army board reported that, as the result of an old case of pleurisy affecting the lungs and on account of too high blood pressure, he was not fit for overseas duty. He had commanded the Missouri troops in the Mexican campaign of 1916, patrolling 145 miles of the frontier in the Laredo district. Disappointed in his hope to go to France with the Missourians, General Clark took his honorable discharge and returned to the state, where Governor Gardner gladly placed him in charge of the military activities, as adjutant general.

Six regiments of infantry, two regiments of field artillery, a battalion of engineers, a motor supply train, two field hospitals, two ambulance companies and a troop of cavalry were the units of the Missouri National Guard contributed to the Thirty-fifth Division. At Camp Doniphan reorganization to conform to the war department plan took place. The First and Fifth Missouri, of St. Louis, were consolidated and called the 138th Infantry. The Fourth Missouri, composed of companies from North Missouri cities and towns, was consolidated with the Third Kansas and named the 139th Infantry. The Third Missouri, mainly from Kansas City, with companies from Liberty and Boonville, was united with the Sixth Missouri from Central and Southeast Missouri, and given the number of the 140th Infantry. The Second Missouri, from the southwestern part of the state, was formed into three machine gun battalions and called the 128th, the 129th and the 130th Machine Gun Battalions. The First Missouri Artillery, of St. Louis, became the 128th Field Artillery. The Second Missouri Field Artillery, of Kansas City, was made the 129th Field Artillery, Troop B of St. Louis being consolidated with it. The two Field Hospitals, one of St. Joseph, the other of Kansas City, and the two Ambulance companies, one of Kansas City and one of Chamois, were designated as the 110th Sanitary Train. The Missouri Battalion of Engineers was consolidated with the Kansas Battalion of Engineers and given the name of the 110th Engineers. The Missouri Supply Train became the 110th Supply Train.

One unit of the Missouri National Guard did not become part of the Thirty-fifth Division. That was the Missouri Signal Corps Battalion of Kansas City,

commanded by Major Ruby D. Garrett. A division composed of units from twenty-three states was made up for early departure to France. It was numbered the Forty-second, but was popularly known as the "Rainbow Division." As Missouri's contribution to the Rainbow Division, the Missouri Signal Corps battalion was assigned. This Forty-second Division made a great record in France, and Missouri's unit upheld the reputation of the state for fighting men. Major Garrett was promoted for gallantry in action.

The wholesale reorganization, doing away with the state name and to some degree with local alignment and sentiment, was a temporary shock to the Missourians, but training of the Thirty-fifth Division at Camp Doniphan was under the National Guard officers and, to quote General Clark, "the wonderful record it made in France is due solely to the efforts of the citizen soldiers of Missouri and Kansas who composed it."

The Thirty-fifth Division reached France May 17, 1918. Of the active service there, General Clark said:

"After a brief period of training, the division was moved to the front line trenches in the Vosges sector. After a long stay in the trenches it was attached to the contingent of the American army which participated in the St. Mihiel advance, forming a part of the reserve. Following the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient, it was moved to the Argonne and for six days participated in the fiercest fighting of this, the greatest and decisive battle of the war. The Thirty-fifth Division was the razor edge of the advancing American wedge; it bore the brunt, and four picked divisions of the Prussian Guard, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, were thrown in its way only to be routed. It went over the top at 5:30 a. m., on September 26, 1918, and on October 1st, after six days of the most desperate fighting of the war, it had advanced and captured every objective from Vauquois Hill to Exermont, advancing a distance of some eleven miles over a terrene mined and fortified with barbed wire and concrete as strongly as Prussian ingenuity knew how to defend it. The casualties of this division in this engagement were 7,854, of which 675 Missourians were killed and 4,561 wounded. Thirty-five Missouri infantry officers of the division were killed and 85 wounded, a percentage of forty, which was the largest relative loss among officers in any division in the American army, a mute testimonial to the bravery and matchless gallantry of the National Guardsmen who did not fear to lead their men where death was taking its heaviest toll. Six hundred and forty Missouri enlisted men were killed and 4,476 wounded, or 35 per cent of the Missourians in the division, conclusive evidence of the nature of the task assigned them and their heroic achievement. Thus the citizen soldiery of Missouri and Kansas met and defeated the professional troops of the nation, which stands as the foremost exponent of professional militarism. The heroic gallantry of the Missouri and Kansas National Guardsmen who fought at the Argonne were commended alike by friend and foe in the strongest terms language can employ."

**General Traub's Tribute to the Thirty-fifth.**

Major-General Traub, of the regular army, in general orders, after the six days fighting which constituted "our greatest battle," expressed his "appreciation of the courage and devotion to duty of the officers and men" of the Thirty-fifth division:

"You have met and defeated picked divisions of the enemy. You never failed to respond cheerfully to whatever difficult and dangerous task may have been set for you to perform. You have accomplished these tasks with a fearlessness, courage and disregard of danger and hardship which fully justifies the pride which those at home have in you. Vauquois, Bois de Rossignol, Ouvrage d'Aden, Cheppy, Charpentry, Baulny, Bois de Montrebeau, Exermont

are names that you may take just pride in passing on to your native states as having been the scenes of your feats of arms.

"The spirits of our dead comrades are with us to urge us on to greater deeds in our country's noble cause. To their families and friends we extend our heartfelt sympathy. To our wounded we hope for a speedy return to our ranks that they may add their great spunk and enthusiasm to those of their more fortunate brothers in arms."

In an address before a wildly cheering audience which filled the St. Louis Odeon, General Traub told some things of the Missourians' deeds in the Argonne. He made clear the situation of the front of the Thirty-fifth Division, three miles long. He explained where Vauquois was, where Cheppy lay, where Le Bois de Rossignol, alive with machine guns, threatened, and where the German heavy guns looked down upon the Thirty-fifth Division as from a gallery, from the heights of the Argonne.

"A mouse could not run across the open ground over which we advanced," said General Traub, "without being plainly visible to the German gunners planted on our flank on the heights of the Argonne in front of Vauquois, which the valiant French had failed to take in four years. It covered one-third of our front. Back of Vauquois lay Cheppy, which was taken by the One Hundred and Thirty-eighth (St. Louis) Regiment. If Vauquois had defied the French they at least deemed it possible to take it. But they never tried to take Cheppy. They deemed it impregnable, impossible to take.

"Your St. Louis boys took it in four hours. During three of these four hours they were held back by my orders to permit tanks to come up and crush the machine-gun nests. In fact, the One Hundred and Thirty-eighth took impregnable, impossible Cheppy, in one hour."

**How Vauquois Was Taken.**

Many Missouri soldiers had written home saying that they took Vauquois Hill without knowing it. General Traub explained how this was done. He deemed it unwise to try to take Vauquois by direct frontal attack. So he directed his men to outflank it on both sides.

This was done under cover of a smoke screen, a tremendous direct bombardment of gas, flame and high explosives and a fog, which, General Traub said, was sent by God, who always seems to take care of the United States. When the troops had flanked Vauquois a battalion of moppers-up, 1,000 strong, wheeled from the attacking column and leaped into the great fortress from the flanks.

"The moppers-up tangled up with the Boches for a few minutes and it was all over. Then the same thing happened at Le Bois de Rossignol. We smothered it with gas flame and high explosives, outflanked it, sent the moppers-up in from the flank with the bayonet and grenades, and it was ours in a few minutes.

"A general of much higher rank than me happened to be with me as the moppers-up went into action. When the 1,000 men wheeled from the main column of attack and descended into the strongholds which had defied the French for four years, I said to the high-up officer, 'General, what do you think of them?'

"'God, Traub,' he said, 'I would not have missed this for anything. I have seen much fighting in this war, but nothing so grand as this.'

"'I must go now, but I will come back in a few days to see how you are getting along. If you go along as you are going now you'll run away from the army.'

"That was my great trouble, holding the men back. The American soldier has too much initiative. Especially when his officers are out of action. Then every man is his own officer, and starts out to win the war by himself.

"That is what Sergeant Britton did at Varennes. Properly speaking, the Thirty-fifth Division had no business at Varennes. It was off its beat. When we reached the line of Varennes the men saw the Germans there and simply went for them.

"Only American troops would do that. A German division would not go one inch off its sector. When an American soldier goes into battle his sector is bounded only by the horizon."

**The Hero of Varennes.**

When General Traub told of Varennes, Richard L. Britton, a tall lumberjack of 3308 William Place, arose and handed General Traub a small case containing the distinguished service cross of his son, Joseph A. Britton, deceased, won at the taking of Varennes.

"I am very glad to see this distinguished service cross," said General Traub. "Sergeant Britton was one of the 27,000 heroes of the Thirty-fifth Division. He distinguished himself at the taking of Varennes and died of wounds received in the battle.

"A machine-gun nest was holding up the advance of his company. Sergeant Britton worked around in the rear of the vicious nest and, alone, with a grenade in one hand and a pistol in the other, captured the gun crew of eighteen Germans, made them put up their hands and walk out prisoners of one American soldier.

"It was given to Sergeant Britton to greatly distinguish himself. Other men of the division were not so fortunate, but every man in it was just as much of a hero as this valiant soldier who gave his life for his country in the battle of the Argonne."

The audience demanded that the father of Sergeant Britton should stand up and let it see him. Tall, broad-shouldered, gaunt and serious, the father of the dead hero slowly reared his form in the second row of seats from the stage. The audience cheered him, a ponderous, serious handler of heavy lumber, who gazed solemnly and unsmilingly about him.

When General Traub had finished his speech he asked that Britton should come upon the stage and shake hands with him.

The tall lumberjack crushed the hand of the soldier in his huge grip and General Traub cried, "Man, have pity upon my poor, weak hand."

"General," said Britton, "I have had the honor of having a son die under your command. I would not have asked that he die in a better cause or under the orders of a better man."

**The Missourians' Stand at Cheppy an Epic.**

Colonel Henry H. Howland, a regular army officer who commanded the St. Louis regiment until wounded, wrote in his report to General Traub, commanding the Thirty-fifth Division:

"I feel that the stand at Cheppy by men of the 138th Infantry from 9 a. m. for three hours until afternoon, under destructive artillery fire, accurate and terrific machine gun fire from hidden enemy machine gun nests in spite of casualties in dead and wounded piling up

all around them, is an epic of this war which should go down to the credit of the regiment, the division and the American Expeditionary Force.

"Without any support from the flanks, nor in the rear, nor seemingly any chance of other troops coming up to aid, it seemed like fighting for a forlorn hope, while waiting for the tanks to come, but the men held on with heroic tenacity, determined to hold out to the last and then to meet the enemy with the bayonet. It was the arrival of the tanks that saved the situation, and both the American and the Tank corps are entitled to the greatest possible credit. In view of the fact that the enemy outnumbered us at least three to one, had the advantage of a prepared and strong line, with concrete dugouts and emplacements, with protected and concealed gun nests, extending out on both flanks, with a plunging and sweeping fire upon men, many of them unarmed (bandsmen), in the open or in a shallow ditch, and over one-third of these men casualties, with the aid of accurately registered artillery dropping shells upon us, I cannot understand his (the enemy's) failure during three hours of counter attack, except that he was completely fooled by our failure to reply to his fire or to make any attempt to leave our positions."

**How Colonel Rieger Prepared.**

When the 138th Infantry came back to Missouri there was no little interest to see the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel James E. Rieger. The newspaper reports and the private letters from Missouri soldiers had been bringing admiring mention of Colonel Rieger as "hero of the Argonne." And then had come the official citation and the news that Rieger had received the personal compliments of General Pershing. In official language it was told:

"Lieutenant-Colonel James E. Rieger (then major) with his battalion made a frontal attack on the heights of Vauquois, capturing this almost impregnable position in forty minutes. Reorganizing his battalion, he pushed forward, and on the evening of September 27, without regard for his own safety, personally led the charge into Charpentry with such speed and dash that a large body of the enemy was cut off and captured. This advance required wading through Aire river, passing through an artillery barrage and heavy machine gun fire. He participated in every advance, encouraging the men by words and deeds. Colonel Rieger and his battalion captured the foremost point reached by the Thirty-fifth Division. Unexcelled in soldierly qualities, admired and respected by his fellow officers and loved by the men with whom he fought, this officer has set a high example of leadership."

Is it any surprise that Missourians were asking who is Colonel Rieger? The answer came from Kirksville, which had known Rieger from boyhood. James E. Rieger was a lawyer, the teacher of a class of eighty girls in the Baptist Sunday school. With an inborn liking for military life he had organized and drilled boys at school. When he went to the University of Missouri he took the tactics for part of his course. And when he got home to Kirksville to practice law, he became captain of the local company in the National Guard, drilling nights at the armory and around the public square until Company C was credited with being one of the most efficient commands in the state. When friends intimated that Captain Rieger might be giving too much time to the militia, the reply would be, "I'll study law all right, but I've got to be ready for war." Then some one would ask, incredulously, "What war?" And Captain Rieger would reply, "The one that's coming. There's sure to be a war in every generation—it always happens. And we're going to get ours some day."

Here was another apt illustration of what John F. Philips told at the cen-

tennial dinner in Columbia the eighth of January, 1918, "The Missourian is a fighting man."

There were times when Captain Rieger and his company had to pay militia expenses from their own pockets, but the drilling went on through the years just as it did in the cities and scores of larger towns of Missouri. They were seasoned men, those Missourians, who went out in the National Guard units to France. Rieger was able to write home after the great battle as could other men who had kept alive the military spirit in the state until the crisis came:

"Company C did heroic service and should be remembered. Nothing too much can be said of our old home town company and its gallant officers. Captain Cater acted like a man unknown to fear. So did Captain Heiny, who did heroic service. They were all there, there in the thick of it, and did their full duty as soldiers."

**Missouri Welfare Workers Abroad.**

Rev. Elmer T. Clark wrote of the service which Missourians were doing overseas,—service which comprised many kinds other than actual fighting:

"One cannot mix in any of the activities without knowing that the State of Missouri is doing her bit in the largest sort of way. In every department her citizens are holding their own; from Pershing down to the buck private they are found laboring for the cause of democracy. I have met them everywhere and engaged in all kinds of work. Through Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, France and Italy, I have run across them and I have never found one under any sort of suspicion, under the influence of intoxicants, or reflecting any cloud upon the colors.

"I have been interested in finding so many of them engaged in welfare work in the army. Here they are doing all sorts of tasks. I enlisted as a journalist in the Y. M. C. A. service, yet I would have difficulty in saying just what kind of work I have been most actively engaged in. I have worked in huts, served at the canteen counter, carried stretchers and undressed wounded during the great drive at Chateau-Thierry and the Bois de Belleau, driven a truck through the lines at night, carried supplies through the front line trenches and to the last outposts; conducted religious services, supervised baseball games, given entertainments and lectures, had moving picture shows, and served as a kind of policeman with the patrols in London. The life of a welfare worker is more varied, and his experiences cover a wider range than that of any other person with the American Expeditionary Forces."

In London, Mr. Clark found James B. Rodgers of Madison, superintendent of schools at home, but in charge of the text book division of the educational department of the Y. M. C. A. office. At two o'clock one morning Mr. Clark "met up" (to use a Missouri-ism) with Rev. E. H. Orear, a widely known Methodist, on his way to take charge of the hut at the great air camp of Geivres. He found Thomas A. Dwyer, a St. Louis lawyer, in charge of the Knights of Columbus clubhouse, "an immense affair," at Brest, and obtained the only bath available in that city at the time because of some trouble with the water supply. G. M. Smith of Kansas City, of the Commonwealth National bank, and Rev. Zeph Bond, formerly in charge of a Baptist church of St. Joseph, were among the Missourians, Mr. Clark found doing Y. M. C. A. work abroad.

Father Thomas D. Kennedy, senior divisional chaplain of the Thirty-fifth Division, was with the Missourians two years, going with them into the Argonne. He administered to the spiritual wants of thousands of wounded. He worked

day and night giving first aid to the wounded when the medical officers were overwhelmed with numbers. Coming home Father Kennedy pronounced the Missourians and Kansans "as a body of men compared with a body of civilians to be of the highest type religiously, morally and fraternally."

About some unfounded reports that drunkenness was prevalent among the troops in France, Rev. Dr. William Woodpin, Presbyterian minister from Missouri, wrote home: "I have been agreeably surprised at what I have seen, in the light of the alarming reports circulated at home. Not only are the American soldiers disinclined to excessive drinking, but they are prohibited absolutely from indulging in the mildest drinks except under strict regulation and supervision."

**When Danforth Drove a Car.**

Missouri furnished the state's full share of men who dropped their business and professional interests to take service with the Y. M. C. A. And once "Y" men, it is not recorded that they flinched at any service to be helpful. William H. Danforth was at the front along the Marne when the Allies began their drive in the summer of 1918. He was under fire, distributing supplies to soldiers cut off from communication with the army supply depots. He helped the ambulance men in the care of the wounded. He did many other things. One day there was a hurry call for a chauffeur to take E. H. Sothern and Winthrop Ames on a tour of investigation to plan entertainment for the soldiers. It was the investigation which resulted in the "Over There Theater League," and which kept a hundred American stage stars in Europe. Mr. Danforth, although divisional director of Y. M. C. A. work, was asked to go as chauffeur with the theatrical people. He filled the role, but one day Sothern said:

"I have noticed that you appear extraordinarily unlike the chauffeurs with whom I have come in contact. You are from the states, I take it. What is your name and what is your business at home?"

"Danforth, William H. Danforth. I am from Missouri and am president of the Ralston Purina Mills company," was the reply.

"That is a pretty big concern, isn't it?" asked Sothern. "Can't they find a bigger job for you?"

"The job that has to be done is always the biggest job over here," Danforth said. And he voiced the spirit which actuated Missourians who were too old or otherwise incapacitated for the fighting army but who nevertheless served. Sothern told the story when he returned to the United States.

In September, 1918, nearing the armistice, Rev. Elmer T. Clark, doing Y. M. C. A. service at the front in France, wrote:

"A prominent Paris journal recently published an article dealing with the American response to the duties of the war, in the course of which the announcement was made that St. Louis had furnished more men for the army than any other city in the United States in proportion to its population. This was pleasing intelligence to one who hails from the old town. It was also gratifying to the French people, for the name itself suggests to them the sympathies of St. Louis for their nation. It is not difficult to believe that Missouri is doing her bit admirably, for as a person moves here and there over the face of Europe, as I have constantly done, he encounters the lads from the 'Show-me' state; the cognomen is known even over here, everywhere. There is never a battalion without its share of them, and they are found in all branches of the service. I have heard them commended on all sides,

but never have found one in the guardhouse, or confined in the barracks. To be from Missouri is a proud distinction these days."

**War Emergency Missourians.**

To Missouri came early the insistent call of the government for men especially equipped to perform emergency duties of the war period. Robert S. Brookings was drafted to membership in the war industries board, Walter Robbins was made electrical purchasing member of the board. Daniel C. Jackling, born near Appleton City, discoverer of a process which revolutionized copper reduction, became the copper expert for the government. John Lionberger Davis resigned the presidency of the St. Louis chamber of commerce to be director of the alien enemy department at Washington, Herbert M. Morgan and Paul Bakewell, Jr., joining Mr. Davis as aides. These were men of large affairs who put aside personal interests to serve the government. There were others from Missouri who did likewise. Clarkson Potter went to Washington as assistant to the director of war loan organization. A member of the American commission of railroad experts sent to Russia was Henry Miller who began his railroad career at Hannibal. John Hunter, chief engineer of the Union Electric, was summoned to aid in directing the construction of the American Marine fleet.

When the government took over the railroads, Secretary McAdoo drew heavily on Missouri for his staff. J. H. Holden and J. A. Middleton of Kansas City and H. M. Adams of St. Louis were appointed on the board of traffic managers. Carl Gray was made chief of transportation. Howard Elliot, of long service with the Burlington interests in Missouri, was prominent on the special railway committee in national defense. Walter S. Dickey was made one of a committee of three to investigate inland and coastwise waterways for use in solving the war problems of transportation.

Frederick W. Lehmann, who had been solicitor-general in the Taft administration and a delegate for the United States in the mediation conference with Mexico, was called to serve as counsel for the railroad wage commission.

Edward R. Stettinius, son of one of the pioneer river men of Missouri, educated at St. Louis University, had made his mark as a business organizer in the East when he was called to Washington to become surveyor-general of procurement of supplies for five war department bureaus. His eminent fitness for that kind of work led to his appointment as assistant secretary of war in general charge of buying for the 4,000,000 troops. One of the chief purchasing agents for the government was another Missourian,—Samuel McRoberts, a native of Malta Bend.

Of the five civilians called to carry out the war labor program one was from Missouri,—A. L. Barkman of Kansas City, who was placed in charge of the division of farm service. As fuel administrator for the entire Southwest including six states, H. N. Taylor of Kansas City was chosen.

Chairman of the fourteenth regional zone of the resources and conversion section of the war industries board was Frederick L. Dickey of Kansas City. This zone included Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

Cecil D. Gregg, of St. Louis, was appointed to high executive position at Washington in connection with the manufacture, output and forwarding of ordnance.

Jackson Jackson, president of the St. Louis chamber of commerce, was regional representative of the war industries board.

George Creel, born on a Lafayette county farm, newspaper reporter in Kansas City, reformer of municipal politics in Denver, magazine writer in New York on industrial and social evils, was called into war service as "chairman of the bureau of public information" at Washington. He became what was more commonly called "the United States censor."

Three Missourians, two natives of the state and one a native of Illinois but appointed from Missouri to West Point, were made brigadier-generals during the war. They were Edward H. DeArmond and William J. Glasgow, both members of old Missouri families, and George W. Burr.

A son of Judge W. W. Graves of the Missouri supreme court, Captain Ludwick Graves of Kansas City, who had joined the national guard when he was eighteen years old, was assigned to the general staff of the army in France.

Lieutenant Kenneth P. Williams of Kansas City, became depot quartermaster for the eighth army purchasing zone, composed of seven states.

M. E. Singleton, of St. Louis, served as ordnance district chief for the St. Louis production district which included seventeen states.

Theron Catlin, of St. Louis, was at the head of the civilian personnel bureau established in St. Louis to obtain labor for munition work.

Dr. A. Ross Hill, president of the University of Missouri, was made regional educational director for Colorado, Illinois, Kansas and Missouri.

Edwin S. Puller, a St. Louis lawyer, became chief of the foreign permits division of the department of state at Washington, controlling the issue of passports to aliens.

When former President Taft was called by other duties from the war labor board, Frederick N. Judson was chosen to take his place. Eminent lawyer, of national fame as a student of the relations between labor and capital, Mr. Judson gave himself unreservedly to the duties of this difficult position. He survived the World war not quite a year. Missouri then had both of the leading places on this board, the other member being Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City. Judson and Walsh were joint chairmen, one representing capital; the other, representing labor.

Second in service with Admiral Sims in fighting submarines and convoying American ships was Commander Taussig, member of one of the most widely known St. Louis families.

Newspaper reporter, captain in a regiment of volunteers for the Spanish-American war, permanently commissioned in the legal department of the army, Mayes of Missouri advanced to high rank during the war.

General Edgar Russell of Breckenridge, born at Pleasant Hill, was chief signal officer with the American Expeditionary forces.

In charge of map making for the American forces was Colonel A. G. Alexander, a University of Missouri man.

On General Pershing's staff was Colonel M. C. Gordon, a Missourian.

As special assistant to the American ambassador in Paris, Lee Merriwether, bearer of a name distinguished in Missouri history, performed important diplomatic duty.

Dr. James E. Stowers of Millersburg, was appointed a surgeon-in-chief by the French minister of war.

Dr. Philip A. Shaffer, dean of Washington University Medical School, headed the food division of Pershing's army.

**Misourians in the Camp Library Service.**

"Let the library help you to catch up with your work!" That was the spirit in which Missourians made one important and effective contribution to World war service. And in that spirit the first cantonment in the United States to have a library was Funston and that library was in readiness when the first trainload of selective service men arrived in camp. The tenth district was composed of Western Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and Colorado. Purd B. Wright, librarian of the Kansas City public library, was supervisor of the district. Within three months Mr. Wright had assembled in Kansas City a great collection of books, and after careful inspection of every book had selected 4,000 and shipped them to Funston. With the books went Henry O. Severance, librarian of the University of Missouri, to direct the use of the library. The eastern half of Missouri was embraced in another district of which Dr. Bostwick, the St. Louis librarian, was the supervisor and there the same efficiency characteristic of Missouri's war work was shown. Entertainment of the men in camp was a minor purpose. The inspection was rigid. The books were selected to "help make the fighting machinery more efficient." They included histories, biographies, books on every technical subject. The motive, as Mr. Wright put it, was to have the young soldier "think of the camp library as the place that tells you how to do it."

At Kansas City a branch library was made a depot for assembling, inspecting and shipping the books. The staff of the Kansas City public library did the work in addition to their regular duties. Before the end came there had passed through this depot 50,000 books. The work of the Missourians made such an impression for efficiency and intelligent appreciation of the purpose of the library service that Mr. Wright was appointed camp supervisor for the central United States. Funston became a distributing point for other camps. The record Mr. Severance made prompted his assignment to the library work overseas from which he was not released until the summer of 1920. This Missourian was one of the first in the camp library service and almost the last out of it.

There have been some noteworthy results of this camp library service. The helpfulness of books has become known to many thousands of young men. "More men than women are now using the Kansas City public library," said Mr. Wright. "The man who found that a book in the camp library helped him in his training with the gun, now comes to the library to get the book to help him with his job in peace."

**The Distinction of Washington University Medical School.**

Two years, lacking only a fortnight after the call into service, Hospital Unit No. 21 returned to St. Louis. Major Fred T. Murphy, who commanded when the unit departed had been advanced to medical and surgical director of the Red Cross in France. Miss Julia Stimson, who had gone out as chief nurse of the

unit, had risen to the highest position of an American army nurse,—chief nurse of the American Expeditionary Force. Chancellor Frederic A. Hall, of Washington University, welcoming the unit, said:

"We are very proud of what you have accomplished. No other medical school in the country has made a more creditable representation than that of Washington University, and I believe that no other has furnished so many men for medical posts of high responsibility in the American Expeditionary Force."

At Rouen, France, Unit 21 conducted a 1,500-bed hospital for the British army and treated 62,400 cases. The unit came home under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Borden S. Veeder.

**What Red Cross Work Meant.**

Sitting on the front seat of a large motor bus into which twenty nurses had been crowded to answer an emergency call from near the front, Miss Julia Stimson gave in one of her reports, this graphic description of what Red Cross work meant.

"By means of occasional flashes from a hand torch it was possible to follow the guide to the Ecole Professionale which had just that day become an American Red Cross hospital. We drove into a courtyard, some voices were heard, and people came out with exclamations of welcome. By this time the siren was sounding the warning of the air raid, and guns were booming. The nurses hurried in across a cloister-like corridor into a pitch black room. They could not see the faces of the people who were speaking.

"For a few minutes talk was rapid while the situation was explained. There were about two hundred American patients in the building, also a few French soldiers left from the preceding organization. The severe raids of the day before had completely demoralized the civilian employes who had left. Gas, electric and water mains had all been put out of business, and operations had been carried on the night before by the light of hand electric torches. The six American nurses, who had been collected from other places in the town, had been working day and night, but they were still game, as were the American officers who were in charge.

"It was stated that at least eight of the new nurses would be needed that night, and volunteers were asked for. Every one of the twenty volunteered. The first eight women who could be touched in the darkness, much as children pick leaders in a game, were put over on one side.

"The rest were conducted to an empty ward which contained absolutely nothing but bed frames with metal slat springs. The eight night nurses, discarding their hats and coats, were taken to pitch-black wards full of wounded men. As the truck with all their bags had not yet appeared, they had to go to work in their blue serge dresses. When the chief nurse (Miss Stimson) saw them next morning, with their hair disheveled, with their faces and dresses covered with dust from their trip, with towels pinned across the front of their dresses, she could not help thinking that some of the illustrators of modern magazines might change their opinions of war nurses if they could see this group."

Going out as chief nurse of Base Hospital Unit 21, Miss Stimson, daughter of a former Congregational minister of Missouri, became chief nurse of the American Red Cross in Paris. Her duties, after ten months at the great Rouen hospital, included tours of inspection to the front. At the time of the armistice she had charge of 21,000 Red Cross and army nurses. She received the distinguished service medal and the British Royal Red Cross for her services during the war. In 1920, Miss Stimson brought further honor to her state. She was

appointed superintendent of the army nurse corps and was given the rank of major. This placed Major Julia Stimson in charge of all of the army nurses of the United States, numbering about 3,000.

One of Miss Stimson's first experiences was with a wounded soldier who asked her to take the cigarette out of his mouth. This soldier had been chatting cheerfully. Miss Stimson asked him if he didn't want to smoke any more. "No, sister, I thank you. I only want a little of it. I can't take it out of my mouth after I once get it in." Then the nurse discovered that the man had lost both legs, that he had lost one arm and part of the other.

"It seemed as though my throat would burst, and I had to think very quickly how absurd it would be for the new matron to weep before all those heroic stoical men."

The first night of duty for Ruth Cobb, another of the St. Louis nurses, she was responsible for ninety of these wounded men, many of them "in the most awful condition." But when she asked them how they were, they would answer, "All right, thank you, sister." When something was said about the pain they were in, they would say, "Not too much, sister." Miss Cobb confessed that that first night she "went all to pieces, but nobody saw her."

**A Missouri Nurse in a Shelled Hospital.**

Helene J. Day, Missouri Red Cross nurse, a niece of Colonel Rumbold, was cited for bravery in an order issued by General Pershing. The citation was prompted by the work of Miss Day and other nurses in saving the wounded when the Germans bombarded an evacuation hospital. In a letter to her mother, Mrs. J. A. Day, of St. Louis, she told in graphic words of the experience:

"Some one near me said: 'What a terrible explosion. I wonder what it was!' 'Explosion nothing!' I answered, 'that was a German shell.' Several others around remonstrated about hospitals being safe from the shelling. I was convinced, however, knowing they'd been dropping them right next to us all morning, and in a second or two the next shell that came over convinced them, too!

"The first one had been a direct hit on the huge barn we ate our meals in three times a day. They sent twelve over in all and they crept up our hillside with deadly precision while we carried out the patients on stretchers, litters, anything. We carried them further up the hill, beyond our tents, where we thought they'd be out of range. No one had time to think of steel helmets. The order from the C. O. came that whenever a shell was heard coming, litters were to be put down and everyone fall flat, which is considered some protection from flying shrapnel.

"The hillside was covered with the hot stuff. A boy next to me got a piece in his back. The shell that would have done the most damage fell right outside the operating tents, where always five or six operating teams were at work. It was a 'dud,' however—did not explode, but lay there in its hole smoking for three days afterward.

"The first soldier I helped carry out protested greatly—he was badly wounded, too, and I thought maybe we were hurting him—but he said it wasn't that—he just couldn't bear to have a girl carry him. When I told him that it was an honor for me, that I was proud to carry an American soldier, he laughed, and we joked all the way up the hill—except for three intervals, when we had to put him down on account of the approach of a shell.

"That is a terrible noise they make as they come—worse almost than the big noise afterwards. You can't imagine the feeling of something terrific like that coming unseen out of the vast unknown. I shall never forget it—I don't see how men stand it for hours at a time. You see the twelve that came to us were at two-minute intervals, so the whole per-

formance didn't last long. Of course we didn't know when it would start again afterwards. All patients were out in seven minutes, fortunately we had received only about 150—200 that morning having just been moved. Had we been full it would have been terrible. Several were killed, and a dozen or fourteen wounded.

"After the shelling, German fokkers came snooping around, promptly chased by our own aviators. The rain came down in torrents—but our wounded lay there, the whole bunch, until we got enough ambulances to take them back to the hospital that was in our rear. In the meantime, Constance and I went around with our cigarettes and hot chocolate, which came in handy as ever."

**Etherizing by Lantern.**

Katherine Cronin, a Red Cross nurse from St. Louis, wrote from just back of the front, to a relative, Mrs. J. A. Calnane:

"Our tents hold fifty patients. As fast as we pass one batch to the rear another batch of wounded take their places. One nurse to fifty men; this will give you an idea of the amount of work we have assigned us. I have to etherize my boys many a night by lantern light, and when the danger signal is sounded we turn off all lights and squirm around as best we can in the darkness. The wounds are terrible but the patience and fortitude of American and French soldiers is simply wonderful. I have had patients so badly shot up they could not move hand or foot; but they never forget to smile when you do something for them. I have seen men suffer excrutiating pain for hours at a time and never even whimper."

Only one woman in the United States passed the record of Mrs. John A. Scollard, of Missouri, in the sale of thrift stamps. When Mrs. Caroline Pope O'Fallon, president of the War Board of Religious Organizations, called together 250 members of that body to do honor by presenting a gold medal, Mrs. Scollard had sold thrift stamps to the amount of over $50,000.

Within a year after this country entered the war, Mrs. S. Louise Marsh, of Webster Groves, could count twelve relatives in the military service.

**As Modest as Courageous.**

Missourians returning from the war were not boastful. They bore their honors with becoming modesty. Captain Charles Chouteau Johnson, descendant of the old Chouteau family of Missouri, was one of the four survivors of the famous Lafayette Escadrille. He brought home the French cross. When he was asked how he got it, his reply was: "Oh, I had been hanging around so long the captain felt sorry for me and one day he said, 'We may as well give him something,' and so they did."

The newspaper reporter asked Captain Johnson to describe one of his feats and all that the request brought was this: "Oh, I shot him and he fell."

Captain Johnson went to France as an ambulance driver and became one of the most noted aviators, but all he had to tell was, "I haven't done a thing in this war but fly a little."

In the Argonne, at Vauquois Hill, Cheppy, Very, Charpentry and Baulny, during the few weeks before the armistice, the Missourians did some of their hardest fighting and the casualties told the cost of the attacks which hastened the German surrender. It was in this fighting that Lieutenant Colonel Carl Ristine, of Joplin, captain of the football team when he was at the University of

Missouri, led fifty of his men through the ranks of another regiment and charged and killed the machine gunners who had halted the American advance. He went ahead into the German lines, put on a German overcoat and helmet, and proceeded to locate stores of ammunition so that he was able to indicate the positions when he got back to his own line in the early morning. The information was given to the artillery and the ammunition dumps, with half a dozen gun positions, were blown up, and the way for the further advance was cleared.

It was in this fighting also that Major Norman B. Comfort took upon himself the duty of running through a barrage back to the American batteries to notify the artillery of the time when the infantry would advance.

It was in this fighting that Major Dwight F. Davis, acting as brigade adjutant, moved his headquarters from shell hole to trench and from trench to dugout, keeping through the days and nights in immediate touch with the advance. When the news was carried to the mother of Major Davis, her quiet comment was, "I am overjoyed at what you tell me. My son is where he has always wanted to be—at the front with the boys."

"Don't give me any credit," said Dwight F. Davis, who went out a captain and came home a lieutenant-colonel. "Let it go with the buck privates who, with a courage that absolutely amazed their leaders, walked across that open field in the Argonne with the shells bursting all around them and the machine gun bullets ripping their way through first one comrade then another; the survivors, giving no heed to that steel rain, and closing ranks to fill the gaps as their comrades fell, marched on to victory." And then Colonel Davis struck the keynote of the welcome to be given the Missourian in his home-coming from France:

"Give him a royal welcome, with banquets and genuine good time, but, above all, give him to understand that, after the festivities, you are going to give him back his job. That will serve to add more than anything to the pleasure of his return. The business men and the industrial heads need have no fear as to the worth of the men who saw service with that outfit. Every one of them is coming back 100 per cent better than when he left. The army discipline served to bring out all the good that was in them, and, in some instances, it required that discipline to let even the men themselves know just how big they were.

"They were the bravest lot of fellows in the whole American force, and General Haig and General Pershing took occasion to remark on the excellent appearance and apparent extraordinary physical endurance and courage of the men of the Thirty-fifth. Not a man who was at the head of that division or a unit of the division but is ready to go the limit for the boys who made good over there and showed the crack troops of the German army that the free air of America reared men who would walk willingly into the very jaws of death for their country and for freedom."

**Major Clay C. MacDonald in the Thick of It.**

When the old Fourth Missouri, consolidated with other troops, reached an Atlantic port on the way to France, the superior officers decided that Major Clay C. MacDonald was not physically fit for the overseas service and wanted to leave him behind. The major was sixty-one, but with a Missouri physique. Furthermore he was a lawyer with a persuasive tongue. The war department overruled the superior officers. Major MacDonald went to France with the boys from the Platte Purchase. He hiked with the command and held his own, but he was assigned duties which kept him out of the fighting. The Stars and Stripes, paper of the A. E. F., told what happened:

"He had long been chafing over his sheltered task as divisional postmaster, and the thought of it was almost insupportable when the fighting ahead became hot and he knew that somewhere in the thick of it, his son, Lieut. Donald Malcolm MacDonald, was leading a platoon. Then, one day, the third day of the battle of the Argonne, a courier brought the news to the wreck of a village then serving as divisional headquarters that Lieut. MacDonald had been killed in action, shot and killed instantly while leading a little knot of men in an attack on a machine gun nest. When young MacDonald fell the machine gunners had thrown up their hands and cried quits, but they spoke too late.

"This was the news the courier brought the major. Those near him in the village street, when the courier had finished, saw him turn and walk to the general's dugout. 'General,' he said, 'they've killed my boy. I want a battalion.' And before the sun set that day he was in the field with a battalion of battling Kansans, officered here and there by men who had seen service under Funston in the great days of the old Twentieth Kansas. One after another, three of the officers were killed at the head of that battalion in Argonne, and when it came out of the line Major MacDonald was in command. His mud-crusted overcoat, slit and torn by machine gun bullets, today bears witness to the nature of the fighting into which he went."

**On the St. Mihiel Salient.**

With the smashing of the St. Mihiel salient came the opportunity for Missourians to show their fighting quality. Captain A. S. Cale wrote to William C. D'Arcy:

"We have just successfully carried out an operation which we have been planning and perfecting for weeks—that means weeks of the most careful and arduous work—day and night, studying every bit of information available relative to the enemy, his strength and dispositions, the weaknesses (mighty few) in his positions, and carefully dissecting our own assets in men and material. For weeks when I slept it was on the table in my office (a rough wood shack) next to the telephone, and for at least ten days of that time I was able to get not more than two hours sleep out of the twenty-four. I mention that only as an incident. I was but a cog in the machinery, and what I did was done by dozens of others.

"The result you know: over 150 square miles of French territory reclaimed; more than 15,000 prisoners and 200 guns in our hands; countless machine guns, trench mortars, rifles and other munitions of war lost to the Boche, and with a comparatively light casualty list on our side."

Captain J. F. Oberwinder, another well known St. Louisan, wrote about the same time to Mr. D'Arcy of this St. Mihiel victory in which Missourians had had a leading part:

"Hell broke loose with an artillery preparation which sounded like the—oh, well, words can't express it. The black night was a thing of beauty with the hundreds of gun flashes here, there and everywhere, as far along the line as one could see. This kept up until 5 a. m.—then over the top went our boys to take from the Germans some ground they had held for four years. 'Twas a wonderful victory.

"The spirit of the Boche troops is broken and they all say the United States have done it. They were so impressed with the idea that our entry into the affair amounted to nothing; but now since we are everywhere hitting, striking, pushing and gaining, their morale has so diminished they are a different fighting force from what they were a few months ago."

**What Gassing Meant.**

What gassing meant, Major Norman B. Comfort told in a letter written shortly before the armistice:

"The German is cunning. He knew of our last relief and gassed us terribly. Our present sector is especially adapted to mustard gas, named 'ypenite' because this species was first used at Ypres, pronounced 'ep' with a broad 'e.' It is a nasty insidious gas and the most difficult to combat.

"They pepper our paths with these mustard shells. A white powder lies all around the bursted shell. The odor can easily be detected, but at first seems harmless and smells like so much lime. The atmosphere becomes permeated and, being so much heavier than air, it stays in volume close to the ground.

"Our particular sector is more or less wooded and shrubbed. It is a damp, moist country, and when the sun shines, which is really the exception in 'Sunny France,' or has been in the eight months I have been here, a vaporous steam rises. One by one our eyes become red as fire. Men commence vomiting and soon the respiratory organs become affected. The rubbed portions of the body which are tender become raw by friction and the torture grows excruciating.

"We, of course, wore our gas masks in the alert position constantly, donning the masks at frequent times, depending on the wind. The mask, itself, is an infernal device, however; and many a time I've argued with myself as to which death would be more agreeable, the gas or the mask itself. It is heavy. The eye glasses become clouded so you can't see. There's a plug in your mouth that chokes you and pincers that crush your nose to smithereens. Sometimes you sleep this way, and awake strangling to death because the plug has slipped out of your mouth. For eight months now, except in the back area, my pistol and tin hat have been near my head, and the mask has hung around my neck. We never move an inch without those three articles."

Denny Combs was a street car conductor in St. Louis when the call came. He had been four years in the regular army and was a sharpshooter. Naturally a man with that experience was wanted. Superior officers made him a sergeant and tried to put him at drilling recruits. Combs feared that this meant keeping him at the camps without a chance at the front and he gave up the noncommissioned rank. The attack on Vauquois hill, where 40,000 French soldiers had fallen two years before in vain attempts, found Denny Combs on the line. A machine gun had stopped two squads sent out to take it. Combs volunteered to try. He crawled forward. When he was within 600 feet of the German gunner, Combs discovered that his ammunition had given out. In a shell hole he found the rifle of an American who had fallen in one of the previous attacks. Pointing the rifle through the bushes Combs waited for the appearance of the gunner who had made so much trouble. For nearly half an hour nothing happened. Then the German slowly showed his head, just enough of a mark for the sharpshooter. Combs fired and ran forward. The German was dead. Around him were the empty cartridges in heaps. When Combs got back to the line he had three dents in his helmet and four bullet holes in his clothes.

The ambulance brought Merrill Corbett of St. Louis to the hospital back of the Marne front. The doughboy held up a bandaged hand and said to the surgeon, "Put a rag on it. That is all that's necessary. I'm going back." The surgeon bathed and dressed the mangled fingers, the soldier repeating that he must get back to the front. The surgeon argued that it was necessary to stay at least a couple of days to see that there was no infection.

"I'm going back and right away," the soldier insisted. And after some more argument, back he started. His last word was, "I've been in the line three days and I've been wounded. And I've never seen a German. I've got to go back and get a German."

**How Some Decorations Were Won.**

With the Congressional medal of honor, and the distinguished service cross, Sergeant-Major John H. Quick came back to his home in St. Lous. He had been thirty years, one month and twenty-four days with the Marine Corps. In eight campaigns he had proven Judge John F. Philips' saying that "the Missourian is a fighting man." The Congressional medal, highest of American war honors, had been given for extraordinary heroism at Cusco, Cuba, June 14, 1898. There was a recommendation to the secretary of the navy for "conspicuous courage, coolness and skill while constantly exposed to fire at Vera Cruz, Mexico, July 31, 1914." At the battle of Chateau Thierry, where the American marines gave the Germans their first great surprise, Quick went with a truck load of ammunition over a shell and machine gun swept road at a critical time when the Americans were out of ammunition and the Germans were counter attacking. This was the occasion of the distinguished cross. But this Missourian, retired from service with such recognition almost beyond precedent, refused to talk of what he had done and said simply, "No one man is better than another in battle, where all wear the uniform and where all remain to fight."

"St. Louis' greatest war hero" was the distinction which the newspapers bestowed upon Sergeant Michael B. Ellis when he came home on leave from the regiment of regulars in which he had been serving seven years. Ellis was an orphan. He had been adopted by the Moczdlowski family, educated at St. Lawrence O'Toole's parochial school and had worked in his adopted father's printshop until he enlisted. He came home in October, 1919, having received the Congressional medal of honor, the croix de guerre and the decoration of chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The medal of honor was pinned upon him by General Pershing before 12,000 cheering Missourians in the coliseum. He was a guest of honor at dinners and lunches and various entertainments. The official orders showed that Sergeant Ellis had performed acts of exceptional bravery in Castigny, Soissons and in the Argonne, by his attacks on machine gun nests. In the Argonne only a week before the armistice, according to the citation, Ellis "advanced alone into the face of a machine gun fire and, after killing the gunner and helper and capturing two squads of riflemen in support of the post, paved the way for the further advance of his company by capturing unaided another machine gun crew of twenty-seven Germans in an advanced position." To a reporter who wanted to know how he did it, Ellis said: "Whatever cards nature deals for me I take." About the only experience on which this young Missourian would talk freely and with manifest pride was that he had been "captain of the first army baseball team to play on French soil." In the art gallery of the national history museum at Washington the portrait of Ellis, painted by William Chase, was hung, as "One of America's Greatest Heroes."

When the distinguished service cross was conferred on Private Sammy Goldberg, twenty-year-old son of a Biddle street baker of St. Louis, the citation said:

"For extraordinary heroism in action near Cheppy, France, Sept. 26, 1918. When, under a heavy enemy barrage and in the face of intense machine gun fire from both flanks and front at 150 meters (about 500 feet), the regimental headquarters and attached elements

made a stand in front of the enemy line at Cheppy, Private Goldberg, a mere boy, acting as orderly for the regimental commander, displayed extraordinary heroism and initiative, being always first to volunteer for a difficult task.

"In utter disregard of his own safety, he dressed an officer's wounds, exposed to intense machine-gun fire. When, after three hours, the assault was made, with the aid of tanks, upon the enemy position, Private Goldberg, having taken possession of a wounded officer's pistol, armed only with this weapon, entered an enemy dugout alone and, at the point of the pistol, compelled 18 Germans to surrender, marching them back and turning them over to an officer. Later, when the action was over, guarding four German prisoners whom he impressed into service as litter bearers, he conducted a wounded officer, through a shell-swept area, back to a dressing station several kilometers to the rear. Private Goldberg displayed constant gallantry and heroism, and exhibited an inspiring example to his comrades."

**Nine Wounds, a Lost Arm and Deafness.**

When Fred A. Renick came back to St. Louis he had the American distinguished cross and the French cross de guerre to show for a feat that cost him his right arm, the deafness in his left ear and nine other wounds. He was at Sourdon and was told to take his ambulance to Thory to bring out a load of wounded.

"On the outskirts of Sourdon I rounded the turn that brought me to the only road leading to Thory. Shells were falling on the road. There were puffs of smoke, and as the smoke cleared, I saw gaping holes two feet deep that quickly filled with water; for it was raining hard. The Germans were laying down a barrage on the road to cut off the village from all help. I really was too scared to consider. I could have gone back and reported the road under shell fire and they would not have expected me to make the drive. But I started. I had gone just a quarter of a mile when, in the road beside me, a shell exploded and something slapped me in the face. I looked down and my raincoat was covered with blood, which was streaming from a cut over my eye and a cut in my cheek. Any hesitancy I might have had vanished and I started for Thory in earnest. I arrived. The dressing station was in the cellar of a house. I sat on a stool at the foot of the cellarway while they bandaged up my head, and watched the shells explode in the courtyard. By the time my hurts were dressed my ambulance had been loaded. I did not see how I was to get it out. It was half buried in the debris. Roofs were sailing off the houses above me and the street was full of falling timbers and twisted wire. But I got back on the road to Sourdon. The shells were still falling and it was all cut to pieces. I started on low gear through the barrage. Three of my wounded were on stretchers in the ambulance. The fourth, not so seriously hurt, was beside me on the seat. We got one-fourth of a mile at the rate of about six miles an hour. The shells were coming close, and, at the last, one struck. It dropped from the sky onto the top of my car.

"When I returned to consciousness, I felt a sting at my elbow and knew I was hurt. A nurse later told me that the elbow was mashed and the muscles of my forearm were blown away. The Frenchman who had sat beside me lay with his head in the mud and his feet in the car. One of those who had been in the ambulance lay beside me. He had been blown from the car, stretcher and all. I saw both were dead and that the two in the ambulance were dead. I could do nothing. I sat down beside the road to think. A shell threw dirt over me, and then another shell threw more dirt over me. I said to myself, 'This is no healthy place,' and I started to walk to a first aid station. I knew I was on the outskirts of Sourdon, one-half mile away. I tried to lift my right arm and couldn't, so I cradled it in my left hand and started. The shells that kept falling made me want to hurry, and the hip boots I wore made it impossible to hurry. The blood was pouring from my arm and making me weak, but I got there all right. Then came a series of hospitals."

**Hauling Supplies Through Death Valley.**

Joseph L. Miller of the Twelfth Engineers, an instructor in the Ranken Trades School, had this experience in what might seem the rather prosaic duty of hauling supplies to the front:

"I had worked all that day away from camp, and when I came in that night they loaded my truck up and run me out again. Well, I hauled all that night from our old camp with shells dropping all around me. The last trip I made I was told to stay in a little town right in back of an old camp until I was given orders to come ahead. I was there for five hours before the orders came for me to go back to our camp for another load, and believe me I will never forget that day as long as I live.

"The sun was shining bright when I started to move ahead and the Germans were shelling the roads so badly that I crossed a field to get to our camp. I got there all right but then the hell began. The Germans saw me cross the field. They must have thought I was hauling shells for the big guns, for as soon as I got in the shells started to drop all around me, and while I was standing there one of our men that was left as a rear guard came running down the hill yelling as if he was mad that the Germans were coming over the hill in a mass formation not far away, and we had better get out as fast as we could.

"I turned to the captain who was with me and asked, 'What will we do?' There was only one road out of there and shells were breaking on it everywhere. The captain said, 'Well, Joe, if you will drive down that road I'll ride with you.' Talk about a race for life, we sure had it. When I got at the wheel and started it moving down that death valley I just said to myself, well I have seen my mother and the rest of you for the last time, for I thought that every minute myself and the truck would be blown to pieces.

"I had moved only fifty feet when a shell hit the road where I had been standing, and all down that road they fell around me like hail. I stopped just long enough on the road to pick up some wounded Tommies and by the time I got back into town I had a truck-load. I left the wounded at the dressing station and by the time I got to our new camp another order came from the British headquarters for us to move out of there; that the Germans would be in by morning and they could not stop them. Well, it was the same thing over again, pack up and everything, and another twelve hours after I had just put in thirty-six hours of steady driving."

**Surgical Work at the Front.**

Captain I. I. Kelly, St. Louis, United States Medical Corps, gave this revelation of what surgical work at the front meant:

"The casualties were enormous. Imagine two entire brigades out of three in our division were entirely wiped out during the first few hours. Every medical officer in the lines and at the advanced dressing stations was lost, either killed or prisoner. Even when relief finally came to us on the march out, I found myself the only medical officer doing regimental in our brigade. My battalion came out of the line 130 out of 1,000. The commanding officer, the second in command, and myself were the only officers left. So you can imagine what a show it was.

"Many times I found my eyes filling with tears when men I had known well since coming to France were brought in to me with wounds that only a glance showed to be fatal. Blood everywhere until you got incrusted with it. One night during a terrific Boche attack to take a town we were holding, I established five separate tents and was driven from each in turn. Finally, toward morning, we ran out of stretchers, shell dressings and even stretcher bearers, and cleared the wounded men from fired-on beds taken from deserted huts. We gathered in about three carloads of severely wounded men with absolutely no means of evacuation, no dressings or even blankets to cover them. We lined them up under a bank for protection, and finally, being unable to stand the sound of their groans any longer, leaving an N. C. O. in charge, I started across the country, in search of an advanced dressing station, determined not to return until I had found means of evacuating these poor fellows. After

a march of some twelve or fourteen kilos I succeeded in getting some ambulances and B. A. M. C. stretcher bearers, and returning just after daylight, when the attack was renewed with even more vigor. We cleaned these poor devils more dead than alive from their wounds, just in time to save them from the advancing Boche. Sometime I will tell you my sensation when a Boche airman flew at me, firing his machine gun so low that instinctively I ducked in time to avoid being hit by the plane. Too, how it feels to have a shell land just ahead of you and wipe out twenty or thirty men."

**How the Thirty-fifth Came to Its Crown of Glory.**

How the Thirty-fifth division, with its thousands of Missourians, from all parts of the state, came to its crown of glory in the Argonne was well told by Lieutenant Albert S. Gardner, of the 140th Infantry, nephew of Governor Gardner. The narrative traced concisely the movement of the division from the time it arrived overseas:

"The Thirty-fifth Division landed in Liverpool on May 7. We then went to Southampton, by way of Winchester, and after four days sailed for France, landing at Havre. Our chief impression of England was the cordiality of our cousins, the large number of wounded and the scarcity of food.

"From there we went to the vicinity of Eu, in the province of Haut Marne, where we remained until June 4. The most noteworthy event of our stay there was a visit of General Pershing and Sir Douglas Haig. General Pershing is credited with saying, 'If there are any better looking troops in France I have not seen them.'

"We left Eu on foot and for four days thereafter we marched a distance of fifty-eight miles. It was hot; the boys who had left Doniphan in perfect trim were beginning to soften, and that plugging along French roads tried the hearts of us. The men sang virtually the entire distance. They displayed great fortitude. Some marched until they dropped, and by sheer grit rose and marched on. To make it worse we were on British rations, and British rations are not American rations either in amount or quality.

"Our march ended at railroad cars on June 8 and we entrained. We rode for two days and two nights in those French cars that are marked 'eight horses, forty men,' jammed in so close we could hardly move. Our meals, for the most part, were what we could snatch at stations where the trains stopped. We couldn't eat in peace for the engine had a habit of starting without the slightest warning signal. We went via Paris and Versailles to Morlancourt, where we detrained and marched two more days to Arches, which was our training station.

"After two weeks the division went into the front line in the Vosges mountains, in Alsace, at Murbach and Thann, the old capital, and other points in the mountains.

"By agreement between the French and the Germans, the Vosges was a quiet sector. The Thirty-fifth willed differently, and before we had been there long the guns were booming and the stillness was converted to the racks of war. The Thirty-fifth had come a long distance to fight and meant not to be disappointed.

"We were in only two weeks when we were jerked out again for training in open warfare at Saulxures, on the Mosellette river. We were three weeks, including the Fourth of July. One of the regiments, the 138th I think, gave a parade in the morning, and in the afternoon we had a field day and band concerts. Saulxures is a town of about 4,000. It was literally smothered up in red, white and blue on the Fourth.

"We went back into the trenches again with the 138th, as I remember, opposite Colmar. On clear days we could see Rhine cities and the Alps sparkling in the sun. The 138th was in 48 days, the longest any troops had held that sector.

"The division was then removed by train to the Toul sector, behind St. Mihiel. None of us, I guess, will forget the ten days that followed. As billeting officer for the regiment, I went forward to seek our billets. It was raining and I was eager on my quest. I met an officer as I went forward. He asked where I was going. I told him to our billets. He chuckled and said, 'There are your billets,' pointing to a dense woods.

"We camped in that forest, in incessant rain for ten days. We slept in pup tents. The field kitchens were all camouflaged. Lights and cigarettes were taboo at night. Under these conditions it might be imagined that morale slackened. Not in the Thirty-fifth! The boys gathered in groups as around a campfire, only there was no campfire, and sang and told stories, their officers mingling with them. Our daily ration of water for shaving and drinking and washing was one canteen. The men shaved from pools in the ground created by rain. And everybody was happy.

"A colonel came up on the first day seeking, as I had done, a billet. We led him to a nice oak tree and told him, 'There is your billet.' He curled up without a murmur. Only the highest officers of the division had shelter in a solitary chateau, the only one for miles around.

"On September 19, the division said no reluctant farewell to the Liverdun woods, marched a short distance and boarded trucks. It required 1,800 to transport us. We went through Toul, past Verdun, to Charmentois. Then we took to marching again and drew up just behind Clermont, where we were told to await orders.

"The word was passed around the officers that our next orders would be for fighting. There was to be a great attack, it was whispered, and the Thirty-fifth Division was to lead it. As it afterwards developed, not only did the Thirty-fifth Division lead the attack with great glory, but the 138th Regiment of St. Louis was the first unit of the division over the top to eternal glory. It was the great battle of the Argonne.

"It came on the 26th. St. Louisans already know it by heart, how their boys went over at 5:30, and went so fast that their artillery lost them; went so fast that they plunged directly at machine gun nests and point-blank artillery fire, and never faltered when hundreds went down.

"They knew that the first spot to be attacked was Vauquois Hill, considered impregnable by the Germans, its one slope studded with machine guns and field pieces, its opposite slope honeycombed into an underground city, with quarters for 1,800 officers and men, its rooms electric-lighted and beautifully decorated. St. Louis boys took it with great nonchalance and went on toward the next objective. Cheppy and Very fell to them. They covered fifteen miles that first day.

"I will pass the details of that great fight, to tell briefly of the great spirit of the men. The most severely wounded were the most cheerful. I myself was hit on the fourth day. Four bullets went into my groin. There was a numbness and I fell. I did not feel sick and started to crawl for a dressing station about a mile in the rear. On the way I passed a shell hole. There was a heap in the bottom covered with dirt and I thought it looked like a man. It was one of my own company. He smiled up at me wanly; then in alarm, 'Lieutenant, are you hit?' I pulled back the coat from him. His left leg lay in shreds. I offered to try to help him. 'No,' he said. 'You are hurt. Get back yourself. They will find me.' That was the spirit—none too badly hurt but they thought of the other fellow.

"One of the first persons I met at the dressing station, which was under shell fire, was a little Salvation Army girl. Her hair was down her back and she was drenched to the skin. 'Have a cup of coffee?' she smiled. She was stirring a cauldron with a board, seemingly oblivious to the crash of shells about her."

**The Creeping Barrage.**

One of the most intelligible and graphic descriptions of the barrage came from Lieutenant Eugene M. Atkins, of the Medical Corps, a graduate of Barnes Hospital in 1915. Lieutenant Adkins wrote at a time when the barrage had reached perfection.

"Two weeks ago Sunday night the Germans put over the worst artillery barrage that had been fired since the war began. They continued it in some places ten hours and in others two or three days. They covered every inch for five or six miles back of the lines. There is hardly a place twenty feet square, and some places the ground is literally plowed up. It was all high explosives they used, and I have known men to be killed 100 feet away by

ENGRAVED ON STEEL

HENRY TAYLOR, JR. CHICAGO

John J. Pershing

the flying steel. The shell breaks into a thousand pieces, more or less; so you see they expected to wipe out everything in their way.

"They used what they called the creeping barrage,—each big gun taking a line and raising a few feet each shot; so that way they covered every bit of ground. From prisoners we have taken we have the information they were told that all they would have to do would be to march through to Paris; that the artillery barrage would be so terrific that everything would be destroyed in front of them; and they evidently believed it, because thousands were seen advancing Monday morning, with their rifles swinging over their shoulders, expecting to meet no opposition.

"Some of the officers had an outline of the marching distance for each day. They were to be in Paris on the third day. But at present they are going in the wrong direction to reach Paris. They also said they expected to make it so hot for the Americans that it would take all the spirit out of them; but I think they have changed their minds on that score."

**General John J. Pershing.**

"John was always settled as a boy. Nobody jumped him and he didn't jump on anybody."

"He attended strictly to his own business."

"He was a hard student. He was not brilliant but would hang on to the last."

These were some of the things Laclede people said when they were asked for recollections of John J. Pershing after the general was in the eyes of the world. A college president said that as a student Pershing had "seven marked characteristics,—modesty, friendliness, industry, persistency, courage, forward look, sense of right." The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Young sketched the genealogy and early life of Pershing:

"He was not the 'bright boy' in school. Mythmakers have already begun to weave some strange webs over his early experiences. He was an average lad. He had the failings and the 'scraps' of the ordinary lad raised in the country town. One thing said of him was that 'he always stuck to his task.' 'Johnny' Pershing had a lot of grit.

"His great-grandfather was a Methodist preacher in Pennsylvania. His father was caught in the tides which in the middle of the last century were flowing freely westward. He was a broad-shouldered, strapping 6-footer. This man came to St. Louis and got his start in this city. He was married near Warrenton, and made his home between Laclede and Meadville. His home was more like a shanty than a palace. In this rather uncouth home, made snug and comfortable by the young wife, John Pershing was born. It was on September 13, 1860. The thirteenth was not an unlucky day for him.

"He was a baby during the exciting days which came to Missouri in the 60s. As a lad he was near enough to catch the spirit of the times and played with the numerous soldiers who occupied Laclede and the country around.

"Pershing's father became a general storekeeper in the town of Laclede, this being made possible from his savings as a section boss.

"The general's parents were devout. The elder Pershing being the secretary of the committee which erected the Methodist Episcopal Church in the town. He was also the Sunday-school superintendent. He was devoted to his church and led a consistent Christian life.

"Young Pershing worked hard. He helped his father in his work and on the farm. He studied and prepared himself to be a teacher. At 18 years of age he taught the public school of Prairie Mound. He thought of being a lawyer and later won a law degree. He attended two terms at the Kirksville Normal School. Through the kindness of a Missouri congressman and his own industrious efforts he got an appointment to West Point. He passed his examination in 1882. He was successful at West Point. After finishing there

he fought Indians in the West, Spaniards in Cuba and the Moros in the Philippine Islands. In the latter place he had some thrilling experiences and some narrow escapes, but luck was with him. He gave his best to every job and the characteristic noticeable as a lad on the streets of Laclede was always manifest. He always stuck and finished his job."

**Pershing "the Coolest Man Under Fire."**

A sister suggested the try out in the competitive examination for West Point. She objected to the military career but John told her there "would not be a gun fired for 100 years." It is tradition that while the boy of seventeen was teaching school he whipped an angry man who came to resent the punishment of his son. After service with Miles in the Apache war, Pershing got back to his early vocation of teaching. He was instructor of military science and tactics at the University of Nebraska. Then he was an instructor at West Point. In the charge up San Juan at the battle of Santiago, Pershing led a negro regiment. General Baldwin said of him, "Pershing was the coolest man under fire I ever saw."

The taking of the St. Mihiel salient was Pershing's own plan. But it was only part of the plan. Pershing was confident that he could push forward and take Metz, the door from Germany through which had come the armies which had overrun Northern France. Pershing planned to take Metz with American troops. Foch ruled against this. Pershing was obliged to stop after wiping out the St. Mihiel salient with the capture of 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns and the liberation of 240 square miles of French territory. After the St. Mihiel success, Pershing was more confident than ever that he could go on to Metz, but the plans of Foch called for offensive "wherever the driving was good," as he said, and that was, in his decision, a smashing act for the Americans at the Argonne-Meuse. Under the orders of Foch the Americans were pulled away from the St. Mihiel and rushed to the Argonne-Meuse attack.

**General Pershing's Title.**

Five times only since the foundation of the government has the United States bestowed the rank of general in time of peace. This recognition of Pershing placed the Missourian in the military class limited previously to Washington, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan. It is interesting to recall, what has been mentioned in another chapter, that Grant, Sherman and Sheridan gained their first laurels in Missouri. There is some historical controversy as to whether the father of his country actually received the title of general. At the time of expected trouble with France, President John Adams, in 1798, asked Washington, then in retirement at Mt. Vernon, to take command of the American forces. Washington consented, on condition that Hamilton and Knox be made next of rank to himself. There was discussion over the condition of acceptance. Objection was made to Hamilton by friends of other military men who had outranked Hamilton in the war of the Revolution. Washington, as usual, had his way., On the 28th of May, 1798, the rank of lieutenant-general was created. It was bestowed upon Washington, by unanimous consent of the Senate given the 3rd of July following. But on the 3rd of March, 1799, Congress abolished the rank of lieutenant-general and created that of general of the armies of the United States. The anticipated

break with France did not take place. Historians dispute as to whether Washington was officially general before his death.

Winfield Scott was brevet lieutenant-general following the Mexican war, but drew pay as a major general. After the Civil war, in July, 1866, the rank of general was revived and given to Grant. When Grant became President the rank of general was given to Sherman at the earnest insistence of the President. Sheridan became general in 1888 by action of Congress. The rank lapsed after Sheridan's death, not to be conferred again in peace until the bestowal upon Pershing. Congress has been chary in the giving of this highest military distinction. So much the greater is the honor given the Missourian.

What was the intimate relation of Pershing to his soliders? The Missouri Historical Review said that on the wall of every Y. M. C. A. hut in France were displayed these words with the signature of General John J. Pershing underneath:

"Hardship will be your lot, but trust in God will give you comfort. Temptation will befall you, but the teaching of our Savior will give you strength. Let your valor as a soldier and your conduct as a man be an inspiration to your comrades and an honor to your country."

Chaplain James Small, of Kansas City, writing home his impressions of Pershing, said:

"I am glad to say that General John J. Pershing stands in colossal grandeur as an exponent of American principles with all the chaplains of the whole army, not only because of his superb manhood, but because of the wise orders he has given in regard to vice in every phase. He has set his face like flint against impurity among men and officers. If men do commit folly he is seeing to it that they pay the price with the shame of publicity and a court martial as well. He has indeed the wisdom of the statesman and the love of a mother for the boys, combined."

**Provost-Marshal-General Crowder.**

One of Missouri's cabin homes was the birthplace of Enoch Herbert Crowder, as told by Professor Violette in the Missouri Historical Review. It was five miles west of Trenton in a once promising community called Edinburgh. Grand River college gave Crowder his start toward higher education. Through a competitive examination provided by Congressman Henry M. Pollard, Crowder won an appointment to West Point and graduated with honor. Four years after leaving the academy Crowder became professor of military tactics in the University of Missouri and there he revealed some of the qualities which prepared him for his eminent station in the World war. He inspired such interest in drill that three full companies of cadets were organized. Crowder got up competitive drills, induced the legislature to recognize his cadet companies as part of the national guard of the state, and secured the passage of the law which authorized members of the general assembly to appoint cadets to the university from their districts. Here was vocational training, coupled with military discipline, in its inception. When Professor Crowder left the university, the cadets testified their appreciation by the presentation of a handsome sword. While he drilled the cadets at Columbia, Crowder studied law, thereby preparing himself to be judge advocate of the American forces sent to the Philippines. That was after he had

seen two fighting campaigns. He performed field service against the Apaches under Geronimo and the Sioux under Sitting Bull. But his rise to the position which gave him historic part in the World war was with the legal department of the army. He was in charge of the military administration of the Philippines. He shaped up the laws which were to govern the islands in their new relationship. He was the head of the supreme court of the Philippines. He saw service as senior military observer with one of the Japanese armies in the war between Japan and Russia. Then came duties and distinction when insurrection broke out in Cuba in 1906. Crowder was chosen by President Roosevelt for the highly imporatnt work of the legal branch of the provisional government. Crowder was president of the body which drafted the laws which enabled Cuba to form a stable government. He managed the elections with such attention to detail that they passed off without trouble and so that the results were accepted without question by the factions. That the government of Cuba thus established has continued without further intervention has been largely due to Crowder's wise course.

In 1911, Crowder became the judge advocate general of the army, the highest position in the legal department of the army. He made a complete revision of the articles of war, which was put in force by Congress. When the United States entered the World war, Crowder was ready with the form of a selective service law. So thorough had been the preparation that the provisions could have been put into operation on May 25th, one week after the bill became law, but the President deferred until June 5th. When Crowder suggested that not more than ten days should intervene between the President's proclamation and registration day, Secretary Baker objected that this would not allow enough time to get the blanks distributed. To this Crowder replied that the blanks had been distributed already to all parts of the country. On the eve of the drawing, July 20, 1917, Secretary Baker wrote a letter to Crowder, expressing his personal thanks and the gratitude of the country for what he had done.

**President Cleveland and Crowder.**

How Crowder attained the relative position in the army which made it possible for him to do his great work in the World war, Judge Henry C. McDougal, of Kansas City, told in his book of "Recollections" published ten years ago:

"While Cleveland was President the second time, I called upon him at Washington and urged him to promote my young friend, Enoch Herbert Crowder, from a captain to be a major and judge advocate of the United States army, on the ground that Crowder was then the best lawyer in the regular establishment. Crowder had been a Daviess-Grundy county, Missouri boy; had had his full share of field and staff duty, was of tremendous industry, a student, a thinker, and worker, and I liked him. Cleveland was deeply touched by my representation concerning the young man and gave me the closest attention. I recollect that I closed my talk to him by saying: 'But there is another thing, Mr. President, that Crowder would have me say if he were here prompting me and it is my duty to you to say it anyway. The fact is, Crowder's father was an old soldier of the republic, and both he and his sons are republicans today.' The rugged President knew and understood this and at once brought down his enormous fist upon the table with a whack and said: 'By God, sir, I'll appoint him: he is worthy, and I want to strike a death blow to politics in our army anyway.' So the President jumped Crowder over 842 other officers, gave him the desired

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MAJOR GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER

Provost Marshal General during the World war. Organized and directed the selective draft system. A native of Missouri

promotion and in his many preferments since then that young man has made good at all times and in all places."

**General Crowder's Historic Letter.**

When the splendid results of the selective service law had become apparent to the whole country, Congress planned to show appreciation of the service rendered by General Crowder. A bill passed the Senate making Crowder a lieutenant-general. This was in the summer of 1918. The House was about to concur. The elevation of the Missourian to this rank was assured when General Crowder wrote a letter declining the high honor. He did it in such terms as brought from members of Congress without regard to party a series of tributes to the provost marshal general's handling of "the most remarkable success in our war preparation." His reasons for declining the promotion, General Crowder set forth in a letter of July 5, 1918, which was made public by Congress:

"Forty-eight states and three territorial headquarters and nearly 6,000 local and district boards, with an aggregate membership of nearly 18,000 citizens, assisted by legal and medical advisory boards in every jurisdiction, have cooperated with the national headquarters efficiently and honorably, and many without compensation, in the superb teamwork which has produced the gratifying results attained under the selective service law. These results embrace the registration of more than ten and one-half millions of citizens and their classification for military service and the entrainment of nearly 1,600,000 men now serving with the colors. By August 1 of this year this latter number will be approximately 2,000,000 and by the close of the year, if expected requisitions are received, the aggregate will approach 3,000,000. Of the members of these boards it may be truly said that when the selective service system which they administer ceases to function efficiently to produce the military and to conserve the industrial man power we shall be in a fair way to lose this war. I have long entertained the view that something ought to be done to recognize publicly and emphatically the enormous sacrifices these citizens have made in bestowing the continuous and exhausting service that has been indispensable in carrying the administrative burden of the selective service system. The difficulty has been in devising a suitable reward, nation wide in its application, and acceptable generally to those who have so participated. At the risk of being regarded as ungrateful to the proposers of this provision I cannot bring myself to be satisfied that my own conscientiously performed share in discharging that duty should become the subject of recognition so long as the far greater share of these other builders of the National Army remains without public and distinguished acknowledgment in the records of Congress.

"These men, my fellow workers, their toils, their sacrifices and their achievements are next to my heart. On this subject I frankly confess to a deep sentiment—I hope that it will not be reckoned as sentimentality—a sentiment which would not receive unalloyed satisfaction from the bestowal of any honor, however generous, that is personal to myself only."

**Violette's Pen Picture of Crowder.**

Professor E. M. Violette, in charge of the history department at the Kirksville Teachers' College, wrote of the provost marshal-general:

"Crowder is very democratic in his habits and carries all the honors that have come to him with becoming modesty. He detests snobbery in every form and has nothing but contempt for those men, who, after rising from lowly circumstances to positions of power and preference, try to cover up their humble origins. He has always held in fond remembrance his early associates and the scenes of his childhood and early manhood, and he took great

delight four or five years ago in dropping his work in Washington and making a trip to Missouri that he and his aged mother now living in Kansas City might mingle again with their old time friends in Grundy county and visit the place of his birth near Edinburgh."

**Admiral "Bob" Coontz.**

The highest possible honors in both army and navy came to Missourians as the state's century was closing. On the 26th of September, 1919, former Speaker Champ Clark rose in the House of Representatives to make record of the fact, that, beginning that day, the ranking officer of the American army and the ranking officer of the American navy were natives of Missouri. With the permanent rank of general of the armies, General John J. Pershing had been made shortly before the head of the armies of the United States. But Mr. Clark's statement as to the navy was real news. On the day previous, Admiral Benson, the first chief of operations had retired for age. His successor was Admiral R. E. Coontz, born at Hannibal, Missouri.

"Bob" Coontz, according to George A. Mahan, made his debut in public life as the manager of a team of mules which refused to do duty with a yellow car when a street railroad was started in Hannibal. Mr. Mahan, in the Missouri Historical Review, told how opportunity knocked:

"The power generated from a Missouri mule decreases with the pull and increases with the push. The drivers on the Hannibal street railway, made these discoveries. When the bright yellow car was on the up-grade, it took a strong armed young man to make progress. But the real test came on the down-grade. A Missouri mule may be coaxed to pull forward; he has even been forced forward at critical moments in history, but no man has ever made him pull a load backward for any considerable distance. The pioneer motormen soon found this out, some to their physical discomfort. As a result, a position once clamored for soon went begging with no applicants forming a line at the employment office. A son of one of the directors of the company was a lad fifteen years old, 'Bob' Coontz. 'Bob' applied for the job of driver. He easily secured the position and no one ever hinted at influence being behind him. That has been true also throughout his career. He became a successful driver. He was promoted to conductor and he became a successful one. The directors then elected him superintendent and he gave satisfaction. These three positions differed more in honors than in honorarium. They were changes in rank but little in reward Having exhausted the possibilities of Hannibal's new transportation system, the young man became deputy collector of internal revenue for Marion county. He was then only seventeen years old but he gave the same satisfaction to taxpayers as he had to passengers."

After this experience in business life young Coontz entered Ingleside college at Palmyra. He took advantage of a competitive examination and won an appointment to Annapolis. That was the same year that Crowder graduated at West Point. Coontz graduated from the Naval Academy the year before Pershing finished at West Point and when "Gatling Gun" Parker was entering West Point.

Most of the active service of Admiral Coontz was so far from home that Missourians heard little about him. Coontz served six years in Alaskan waters. He was governor of Guam and the population of that far off insular possession parted from him with emotional regret. As commanding officer of the Georgia, he had the satisfaction of seeing his men win the fleet gunnery trophy. Later he was commandant of the navy yard on Puget Sound. When in full uniform

Admiral Coontz wears the medals bestowed upon him by the government for his services in the Spanish-American war and in the Philippine insurrection.

In Admiral Coontz it is a case of blood will tell. Three ancestors were in Washington's army. The grandfather, R. E. Coontz, came to Missouri in 1836 from Jefferson county, Virginia, and settled at Florida in Monroe county. The family has been one of the best known in Northeast Missouri. Benton Coontz, the father of the Admiral, was county collector several terms of Marion county and was at one time mayor of Hannibal. It is tradition that Benton Coontz chopped wood at fifty cents a cord and saved money enough to go to college.

**Admiral Palmer, the Kid-Gloved Missourian.**

At the head of the recruiting for the navy, one of the most successful features of the war preparation, was a Missourian, Rear Admiral Leigh Carlyle Palmer. His title was chief of the bureau of navigation. Born in St. Louis, Admiral Palmer lived in Missouri until he entered the navy. He attended the historic Stoddard school of which Scott Blewett was the famous principal and later the Central high school of St. Louis. He was working as a clerk in the Third National bank when he obtained the appointment to Annapolis. Missouri friends of his early manhood remembered Palmer as a man who was especially careful of his personal appearance, even down to the detail of gloves. At the Naval Academy, Palmer made a record as the best all around athlete of his class. At the siege of Santiago, it lay between Palmer and Hobson as to which should sink the Merrimac to blockade the entrance to the harbor. Hobson won the toss. Palmer was sent in to inspect the guns of the Spaniards, with instructions not to go nearer than five hundred yards. He went within two hundred yards and came back with a valuable report. A superior officer rebuked him for going so near. Palmer's reply was, "I did my duty and a little more."

In his school days at the St. Louis high school, Palmer was given the nickname of "Spartacus" from his fiery manner of delivering the gladiator's deflance to Rome, J. William Ridings says. J. R. Cooke, recalling Palmer's service in the Third National bank, told in the Missouri Historical Review:

> "His manner, address and bearing would impress any one who came in contact with him, and the interest he took in fulfilling the duties assigned him would mark him as a young man who would make a success in life, no matter what course he pursued. He had one habit that is rarely found in a boy of his age,—wearing gloves. My recollection of him is that he was never seen on the street without his hands being covered, and I understand that this trait has been carried out by him even to this date. I have been told by parties connected with the navy that he is called by those under him 'the kid-glove officer.' I remember well the day he came to me and told me he was going to try to enter Annapolis. I did not hesitate to encourage him, knowing that he would not only be successful in his attempt, but further he would distinguish himself in the service of his country."

Admiral Palmer's task of recruiting the navy was that of expansion from 56,000 to nearly 500,000. It was one of the stupendous efforts in hurried preparation for the World war. Ridings says that Admiral Palmer divided the country into four districts and carried on a great campaign of publicity, "enlisting artists, newspapers, billboards, theaters and moving picture houses."

"An especial and successful effort was made to interest parents, to whom were pointed out the advantages in education and travel offered by the navy. Committees of state and city officials were organized to aid, and patriotic societies all over the country gave their assistance. The result was that at the end of the first year of the war there was an increase in the enlisted personnel of nearly 250,000 men, all of whom were volunteers."

**Admiral Palmer's Policy.**

The secret of this Missourian's wonderful accomplishment in building up the navy personnel is revealed in no small part by this paragraph from his report:

"Particular attention has been paid to the welfare of recruits. Naval officers on every ship and at every station have arranged valuable courses of instruction to add to the efficiency of the men. They have carefully studied the subject of contentment and happiness on ships and in camps and have provided amusements and recreation of all kinds. Assistance and advice are given in matters which add to the health and comfort of the men and they are encouraged to seek advancement. The general aim has been to produce a patriotic and an efficient body of man o' war men, prepared and eager for decisive action with the enemy."

His great task of recruiting accomplished, Admiral Palmer took an assignment as captain in order to get into active duty in the war zone.

**Stricken at the Diplomatic Front.**

Five days before the armistice was signed, eight sailors lifted a stretcher and carried the American ambassador on board the Olympia at Archangel. During almost three years in Russia the drafts upon a magnificent physique had been honored by nature. But on November 6th, 1918, they went to protest. And David R. Francis was on his way to a United States Army base hospital.

As head of the United States Commission, appointed by President Wilson, Charles R. Crane went to Russia in the midst of revolution and counter revolution. When he came back to the United States, he said:

"If Francis was to quit his post I do not know where in all of the United States we would find a man to fill his place."

At intervals there came out of Russia fragments of information, through various channels, showing that life at the American embassy had been strenuous. When Ambassador Francis went to Russia he was accredited to a monarchy and held official relations with the government of a czar. Then came revolution, the constitutional assembly, Kerensky and the military regime, soldiers' and sailors' councils, soviets and the Bolsheviki. And later the efforts of law and order elements, scattered and struggling, under various leaders' names, to throw off the demoralizing influence of anarchy. Through it all, the American ambassador stayed on, moving from place to place, living on trains, issuing his courageous counsel to the Russian people, urging continuance of alliance with the entente countries as against the German intrigue. For weeks at a time he was without communication from Washington. Again and again it was left to his discretion whether he should leave Russia. But not until the American embassy staff was reduced to fewer than half a dozen persons and physical breakdown came, did the ambassador permit himself to be taken from Russia on a stretcher.

**Francis for Preparedness.**

A full year, and more, preceding the entrance of the United States into the World war, David R. Francis, of Missouri, accepted the ambassadorship to Russia and started for Petrograd. At that time the great majority of the citizens of this country believed that the United States would be able to preserve its neutrality. The administration was shaping its policies to that end and holding out the hope that the nation would be "kept out of war." With a prescience which seems the more notable when the conditions of that time, March, 1916, are recalled, Mr. Francis, at the farewell given him in St. Louis, spoke in bold and no uncertain words the warning which came from his convictions. He urged "preparedness." He met unflinchingly the sadly mistaken position assumed by pacifists. He pointed out that the changed methods of warfare made it impossible for this country to respond quickly if the danger he felt might be impending should actually come. He said impressively:

"I do not share the belief cherished by some that preparedness on the part of a great nation is more likely to involve it in war than if it were not prepared. The instinctive love of peace which pervades this republic, the conservative sentiment which characterizes our citizens, are ample safeguards against intemperate action. If the equipment of armies were the same as they were during our War of the Revolution, or even the same as they were during our Civil war, there would be no necessity for preparedness; the intelligence and courage of our people and their love of our institutions would prompt and enable them to organize and mobilize opportunity for any emergency.

"The implements of modern warfare, however, and the use made thereof have established beyond controversy that the country which is not properly and securely equipped is at a great disadvantage, if not in continued jeopardy.

"I am fully aware that this occasion was not designated to promote preparedness. At the same time, you must admit that a representative of our government at a foreign capital can champion his country's cause more effectually and with vastly more confidence if he knows that country is equipped to perform her part in any emergency."

**The Missourian Fighting German Intrigue.**

Ambassador Francis had been in Russia only a few weeks when he realized that Germany had obtained, before the war, such an economic foothold there that, to use his own words, "if war had been declared five years later than was the case, it would have been impossible to loosen the German grip on the empire." Germany had control of Russia's chemical industry, of the electric and sugar industries, of two great banks, of many other interests. German business spies were everywhere. The Grand Duke Nicholas told Ambassador Francis that "German spies were so thick at his headquarters it was almost impossible to keep his orders in loyal hands." When the time came to control dangerous aliens, Russia had to intern more than 250,000 Germans. These were the conditions which the ambassador faced in the beginning and as the relations between the United States and Germany grew more and more strained.

One year passed under the monarchy, with the ambassador standing up for American interests. He endeavored to strengthen relations between the United States and Russia with a commercial treaty. For that Russia was not ready. She could make no treaties, the foreign minister, Sazonoff, told Ambassador

Francis, until her commercial relations with her allies were determined. The United States was then a neutral country. The ambassador turned to individual efforts to bring the two countries closer together. He proposed a direct cable between the United States and the northern coast of Russia. Negotiations reached the stage where the Russian government expressed willingness to pay half of the cost of the cable.

Then came the revolution of March, 1917, the abdication of the emperor, the organization of the Kerensky provisional government. In his direct, American way, Ambassador Francis went at once to Miliukoff, who had been made minister of foreign affairs. He asked the minister to define the principles of the new government. He was told that the government was to rest on the consent of the governed.

**"The Most Amazing Revolution."**

Returning to the American embassy, Ambassador Francis shut himself in his office and prepared a cable to the United States government, describing "the most amazing revolution in history," and urging immediate recognition by this country. A memorandum which the ambassador prepared on the 5th of March, 1917, in accordance with his plan of keeping a diary or private record of what transpired, reads:

"The six days between last Sunday and this have witnessed the most amazing revolution in history. (A nation of some two hundred million people, who have lived under absolute monarchy for more than a thousand years, and who are now engaged in the greatest war ever waged, have forced their emperor to abdicate for himself and his heir, and have induced his brother, to whom he transferred the Imperial authority, to accept it on condition that a constituent assembly of the people so request, and when so accepted to exercise its functions under authority of the government framed by that assembly.) This is official information obtained by personal, unofficial calls today on Rodzianko at his residence and Miliukoff, minister of foreign affairs at his office. No opposition to provisional government, which is council of ministers appointed by committee of twelve named by Duma. Quiet prevails here and throughout Russia, so far as known. Rodzianko and Miliukoff both assure me that entire army accepts authority of provisional government, and all appearances and advices confirm same. Plan of provisional government is to call constituent assembly, or convention, whose members will be selected by the whole people and empowered to organize a government. Whether that will be republic or constitutional monarchy is not decided, but conclusions of the assembly will be accepted universally and enforced by army and navy. No concerted action in diplomatic corps; no meetings held or called. It has been customary for British, French and Italian ambassadors to call daily together at foreign office, and they called upon Miliukoff Friday, yesterday and today, but have not formally recognized the provisional government.

"This revolution is the practical realization of that principle of government which we have championed and advocated,—I mean government by the consent of the governed. Our recognition will have stupendous moral effect, especially if given first. Rodzianko and Miliukoff both assure me that provisional government will vigorously prosecute the war. Furthermore upon Russia's success against the Central empires absolutely depends the salvation of the revolution and the perpetuity of the government it establishes. The third of the eight principles in the manifestoes issued announcing the new ministry and signed by the president of the Duma and all of the members is 'abolition of all class, religious and national restrictions.'"

**The Dominant Diplomatic Figure.**

This and more information respecting the new government Ambassador Francis rushed by cable to Washington, supporting his emphatic recommendation for prompt recognition by the United States. Four days after he had forwarded his cables, Ambassador Francis and his full staff proceeded formally to the offices of the provisional government and extended the recognition. The United States was the first nation to recognize the Russian republic. Fifteen days later the United States declared war on Germany. From this time the Missourian became the dominant diplomatic figure in Russia. More than that, he was placed in a position of crucial tests beyond those required of any other American ambassador. When the whole official record of correspondence shall have become public, it will be for history to say whether if the policy toward Russia, pressingly advocated by the American ambassador, might not have produced better results than did that of delay and inaction on the part of the Allies.

Following the recognition of the provisional government, the ambassador made a number of addresses, urging popular support of the new government and aggressive continuance of the war. Toward the end of May, after the commission had arrived from the United States and had looked over conditions, Charles R. Crane, sent as a special representative of the administration, said:

"It is fortunate that we have here at this moment an interpreter like Francis. At the beginning of his term as ambassador there were some who felt concerned about his being a real diplomat because he lived simply, drove a Ford fervently, and, when he wanted a thing done, did it himself. But today he is altogether the most popular and the most influential person in Petrograd, and among all classes. If he had been one of the old types of luxurious, gold lace wearing diplomats, he would have failed."

With July, the provisional government was engaged in pushing the Russian offensive, a policy in the adoption of which Ambassador Francis was largely instrumental. With fervor of patriotism, Russian women organized the "battalion of death," each member sworn to fight in the ranks to the death. And when the battalion was reviewed in front of Kazan cathedral, Ambassador Francis participated in the ceremony.

The provisional government lasted eight months. Kerensky and the other leaders sought, repeatedly, the counsel of the ambassador. In those months of uncertainty, while Russia was trying to find herself, the Missourian reviewed troops, made encouraging addresses to citizens and in manifold ways helped to keep up the continued hostilities toward Germany which held fifty divisions of the enemy massed on the Russian frontier and thereby hindered German operations against the allies on the west front. A society for promoting friendly relations between Russia and the United States was formed in Petrograd in April, following the revolution. It held a meeting in Alexander hall. The American ambassador spoke. When he concluded Minister Miliukoff grasped his hand. The crowd cheered. But even then, with the provisional government not two months old, the anarchists and the radical socialists were giving trouble.

**The Coming of Lenine and Trotzky.**

An early act of the provisional government was a decree of too general amnesty, pardoning and turning loose all political offenders. It emptied the jails; it opened the gates for the return of exiles. From Switzerland, by way of Germany, came Lenine with plenty of money and fanatic zeal for world-wide revolution. From the east side of New York came Trotzky, the orator, with his swarm of radical socialists and agitators. Street meetings and marchings with red and black flags became more and more frequent and threatening, as the provisional government tolerated. About the same time that the friendly demonstration was held in Alexander hall, a mob assembled to attack the American embassy. Cheering and singing and shouting threats against the United States the mob marched. Ambassador Francis was giving a dinner with British guests. One story was that Lenine headed the mob when it started. The police brought word to the embassy that the mob was on the way; that it was carrying a red flag; that it had been recruited and inflamed by the speeches of German agents who declared the United States was the enemy of socialism. The ambassador, pistol in hand, took his place at the door of the embassy; his private secretary, Earl Johnston, also armed, stood beside him. The squad of police gathered in front of the embassy instructed by their commander to "shoot to kill" if the rioters attacked. Advance scouts of the mob carried back the information of the preparedness. The mob halted before reaching the embassy and dispersed. This all occurred while Petrograd was in a chaotic condition and long before the Bolshevists had entirely ousted the Kerensky or constitutional assembly government.

Later came situations even more dangerous. Soap box orators continued to make inflaming speeches against the United States. They charged that the American government was about to "execute Comrade Muni." They said it was judicial murder, that Muni's offense was that he was an Italian socialist. They aroused the people. It was some time before the ambassador and other Americans in Petrograd came to understand that "Comrade Muni, Italian socialist," was Thomas J. Mooney held in San Francisco on the charge of complicity in the throwing of a bomb during the preparedness parade in that city.

**The Missourian and the Mob.**

Aroused by the talk of the socialist orators, another mob was formed. Carrying red flags these radical socialists marched toward the American embassy, shouting they were going to "clean it out." Russian officials of anti-Bolshevik sympathies, telephoned Ambassador Francis that he was in danger, urged him to leave the embassy and secrete himself until the mob cooled down.

The ambassador refused to leave the embassy. He sent Phil Jordan, his personal attendant, for a pistol, stepped out of the door and met the mob. "Stop! What is the matter?" he demanded.

"Your government is about to execute our comrade Muni, and we have come to clean out the embassy," was the leader's sullen answer in Russian.

The ambassador said he knew nothing about any such case. The leader then ordered the ambassador to get out of the way and declared that the mob had come to destroy the contents of the embassy and would do so.

"Stop!" ordered the ambassador. "This is not Russia. It is American territory. You can't put your foot in here."

But the mob crowded forward until the ambassador declared: "This is American territory. I will kill the first man that crosses the threshold."

As the mob wavered, the ambassador followed up his advantage, saying: "Now get out, get out." At the same time he showed his weapon. The mob melted away.

The circumstantial accounts of these lawless movements against the embassy did not come from the ambassador or anyone connected with the embassy, but were given by Americans who were in Petrograd and preparing to get out of the country. They impressed the department of state to such a degree that authority to leave Russia whenever he deemed it advisable was sent to the ambassador.

**The Uprising of the Bolsheviki.**

In July the followers of Lenine and Trotzky felt that they were strong enough for the counter revolution. They formed mobs in the streets of Petrograd and attacked the Kerensky forces. Their movement was premature. There were threats against the American embassy. There was fighting in the streets. The demonstrations failed. But instead of putting down the movement with strong measures as the American ambassador advised, the provisional government allowed the Lenine and Trotzky followers to carry on their Bolsheviki propaganda, aided by the German spies and agents. In November, the second uprising came with the overthrow of the provisional government. Kerensky was a fugitive. The ministers of the government, who remained, were jailed. The army was demoralized. The Germans pushed forward into Russia. Lenine and Trotzky carried out the conspiracy by opening negotiations for separate peace with Germany. The infamy of Brest-Litovsk was in progress. Again and again the voice of the American ambassador was raised in protest, urging continuance of hostilities against Germany.

Communication between the department of state at Washington and the American ambassador in Russia was suspended for periods of weeks. The ambassador received nothing. He did not know whether his reports were reaching the United States. At last he resorted to a method which illustrated his fertility of resource. C. T. Williams, a Red Cross representative in Rumania, got through to Petrograd. He was on his way to try to reach the United States. Ambassador Francis prepared copies of his reports covering a period in which he had been without communication with Washington. These reports were locked in a small pouch and the pouch was chained to the wrist of Williams. All Russia was in chaos. Trains were being stopped frequently by armed bands. But day and night that pouch was carried, thus fastened to the Red Cross man. In the party with Williams were thirty Red Cross doctors and nurses. The party and the pouch reached Washington. The contents of the pouch gave the administration the first important reports on conditions in Russia which had been received for weeks.

**Anarchists' Demands Defied.**

Repeatedly during the reign of anarchy in Petrograd, the American embassy was the asylum of the terrified. Diplomats of other countries found refuge there.

The ambassador turned none away, but even gave up his own quarters and camped where he could find unoccupied space. He stood firmly upon American rights and his guests were not disturbed. When it became evident that nationals were in danger of their lives, the ambassador assembled the Americans, placed them on a special train and had them convoyed by officials of the embassy all of the long journey across Russia and Siberia to safety on the Pacific coast.

An incident of that perilous period was the appearance of four anarchists at the American embassy presenting a demand for the immediate liberation of our comrade, Alexander Berkman, "all of whose guilt lies only in the fact that he has devoted his whole life to the cause of serving the working and disinherited class."

The anarchists were able to command such influence with the Bolshevik government that an inquiry was made to know who Berkman was. Raymond Robins, representing the Red Cross in Russia at the time, offered this information, the American embassy having no official relations with Lenine and Trotzky:

"Berkman is a well known anarchist of New York city. He has been used for the last twenty years to oppose the organization of labor and the improvement of the group of toil by turning their orderly meetings into riots and causing the arrest of labor leaders while he has personally escaped. He has a long criminal record and is believed to have been in the pay of capitalists and 'labor skinners' to destroy organized labor. He would not dare appear in a genuine labor committee in the United States. He was arrested and sentenced this last time for trying to prevent America from coming to the aid of Russia in her struggle against the Russian autocracy."

**Francis' Appeal Against the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.**

In March, 1918, the Brest-Litovsk treaty with its conditions shameful to Russia was signed. In one of his addresses to Russian people about this time, Ambassador Francis said of the treaty:

"If the Russian people submit thereto, Russia will not only be robbed of vast areas of rich territory, but will eventually become virtually a German province and the people will lose the liberties for which their ancestors have struggled and sacrificed for generations past. My government considers America an ally of the Russian people who surely will not reject the proffered assistance which we shall be prompt to render to any power in Russia that will offer sincere and organized resistancee to German invasion."

Von Kuhlman, the German foreign minister, ordered Lenine and Trotzky to deport the American ambassador. He urged that the ambassador, by his utterances which practically amounted to a call to arms of the Russian people against Germany, had violated neutrality. But the Missourian remained. From Vologda he issued an address in which he said:

"I shall not leave Russia. My government and the American people are too deeply interested in the welfare of the Russian people to abandon the country and leave its people to the mercies of Germany. America is sincerely interested in Russia and in the freedom of the Russian people. We shall do all possible to promote the true interests of the Russians and to protect and preserve the integrity of this great country."

On the Fourth of July, 1918, Ambassador Francis issued another of his ringing addresses. He told the Russian people what was going on, in very different

strain from the news disseminated by the Bolsheviki regime. He declared that no matter what might happen they could rest assured that Germany in the end would go down to defeat. Again the German government demanded the deportation of the American ambassador, but he did not go.

That same month the German ambassador, Mirbach, was assassinated at Moscow. The Bolshevik leaders demanded that the diplomats at Vologda come to Moscow. They sent Radek to "execute the invitation;" thus the order read. Chosen by the corps to act as spokesman, the American ambassador refused the "invitation." Radek put guards about the embassy building and made the diplomatic corps virtually prisoners. A second telegraphic invitation came from Moscow. Then the diplomats decided to move to Archangel. A train was secured and the journey was made in box cars. At Archangel a Bolshevik official pointed to a steamer and said "there is a boat which will take you where you want to go."

**The Traveling American Embassy.**

Vologda was the city chosen by the ambassador for the diplomatic capital when the Germans had approached so near Petrograd as to make it unsafe for diplomatic representatives of the allied countries to stay there any longer. Some of the diplomats left Russia and started, by way of Sweden, for their respective countries. Others accompanied the American ambassador, who had become dean of the diplomatic corps. Vologda is a city dating back its beginning 350 years before Columbus discovered America. It is famed for its industry of lace making. When the two special trains, secured by the ambassador for the diplomatic staffs, reached Vologda, the mayor of the city called on the ambassador. Then came the president of the city duma, the president of the local soviet and the representative of the central soviet. The soviet was the Bolshevik government with which the ambassador had never had any official relations because the United States had never recognized it as government of Russia. These local officials were very courteous and accommodating. They offered the ambassador the use of a clubhouse, a commodious and imposing structure for a city of 65,000—Vologda's population. The ambassador accepted the offer and moved the chancellerie from the railroad car to the club house. He inaugurated the custom of a Saturday afternoon tea. He invited these officials of the city and of the soviet, together with the station master and the diplomats of the various countries, who had accompanied him to Vologda. Most of them attended these weekly functions. While this was in no sense a recognition of the Bolshevik government it established a personal relationship which not only insured the safety of the representatives of the allied countries but helped materially to counteract German influence. It was a practical course strikingly characteristic of David R. Francis.

When it began to dawn upon the Russian people that they had been mistreated by Germany in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the ambassador gave out a declaration that neither the American government, nor the American people, recognized that treaty. He said:

"We still, regardless of the humiliating treaty which the Germans have forced on the soviet government, consider ourselves allies of the Russian people and

are ready to support in every manner possible any power which will sincerely organize to fight Germany."

And when the "Sovereign Government of Northern Russia" was set up, with Tchaykovsky at the head of it, to oppose German influence, the ambassador gave every encouragement to it. He discovered that Tchaykovsky had lived in the United States from 1875 to 1879, and had American ideas of republican forms of government. But the ambassador, who is a Presbyterian, could not accept Tchaykovsky's theology. This Russian patriot told the ambassador of his life in Independence, Kansas, where he endeavored to found a new religious sect. Briefly stated, he tried to teach "God is in every soul and that is the sole existence of what the religious denominations call the Supreme Being." There was no difference of opinion between the ambassador and Tchaykovsky when the latter said, "The race has not arrived at that state of development where it can appreciate such belief." Tchaykovsky had given up the effort to establish his religion.

Dr. Jesse Halsey, a surgeon in the Y. M. C. A. service, returning from Russia, told the members' conference of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce:

"Ambassador Francis is a wonderful man. His courage is magnificent. He stuck to his job in Russia after the British ambassador and all other leaders in the diplomatic service had fled from the country. He was the leader in the diplomatic corps and when everything was at sixes and sevens he shaped the Allied policies.

"His handling of the Bolsheviki displayed rare insight. He saw how futile their scheme was, and while other Americans thought the Bolsheviki wonderful, Francis always opposed recognizing them. He was friendly and did not adopt an extreme attitude, but he did not believe they represented Russia."

**The Missourian's Warning to Americans.**

Three years, only short two months, from the time that the Senate had conferred the unusual distinction of confirmation without reference to committee, Ambassador Francis came back to the United States. He was convalescing slowly from a major operation. He summed up his conclusions on the Russian situation in no uncertain words:

"The soviet government is a disgrace to civilization and has inflicted irreparable damage on Russia. I still have confidence in the patriotism and good sense of the Russian people. I believe that after they have given Bolshevism a few weeks or months longer, they will rise and wipe it out. Bolshevism is propagandizing all over the world. If it dominates Russia, it will result in Germany exploiting Russia, utilizing its vast resources and organizing its man power; and in a decade, perhaps even less, Germany will be stronger than at the beginning of this war. Germany has been studying Russia's character and resources for thirty or forty years. If the war had been postponed five years, Germany would have had a secure foothold in Russia and it could not have been dislodged.

"One principle of the soviet government is that it will permit no man to vote who employs another man. Two or three of the provinces have issued decrees nationalizing women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-two, but the central government has issued no such order. It does provide, however, that a married couple can divorce themselves by agreement, and that two single persons can unite in marriage simply by declaring their intention to a third person. Children born of such marriages are placed in foundling asylums. Bolshevism, as it breaks up the family and as it is opposed to all organized government, means a return to barbarism in any country where it dominates."

At the peace conference in Paris, before committees of Congress, in addresses almost numberless and in newspaper interviews, Ambassador Francis voiced his unsparing condemnation of Bolshevism. He spoke from personal observation and close study of its principles and practices. Month after month, so often that his strength was overtaxed and breakdown threatened, the Missourian continued this work of enlightening his fellow Americans on the true nature of the internationalist movement of Lenine and Trotzky and their lieutenants. Bolshevism was finding its way insidiously into American life. It was poisoning industrials. It was fascinating the parlor radicals. It had its agitators and advocates among men of enough learning to be dangerous. Ambassador still, though inactive and without salary, David R. Francis devoted himself to the combat against the anti-American doctrine. In what measure this devotion has acted as the antidote to Bolshevism in the United States time will show. It will take its place with Missouri's great contributions to the winning of the World war.

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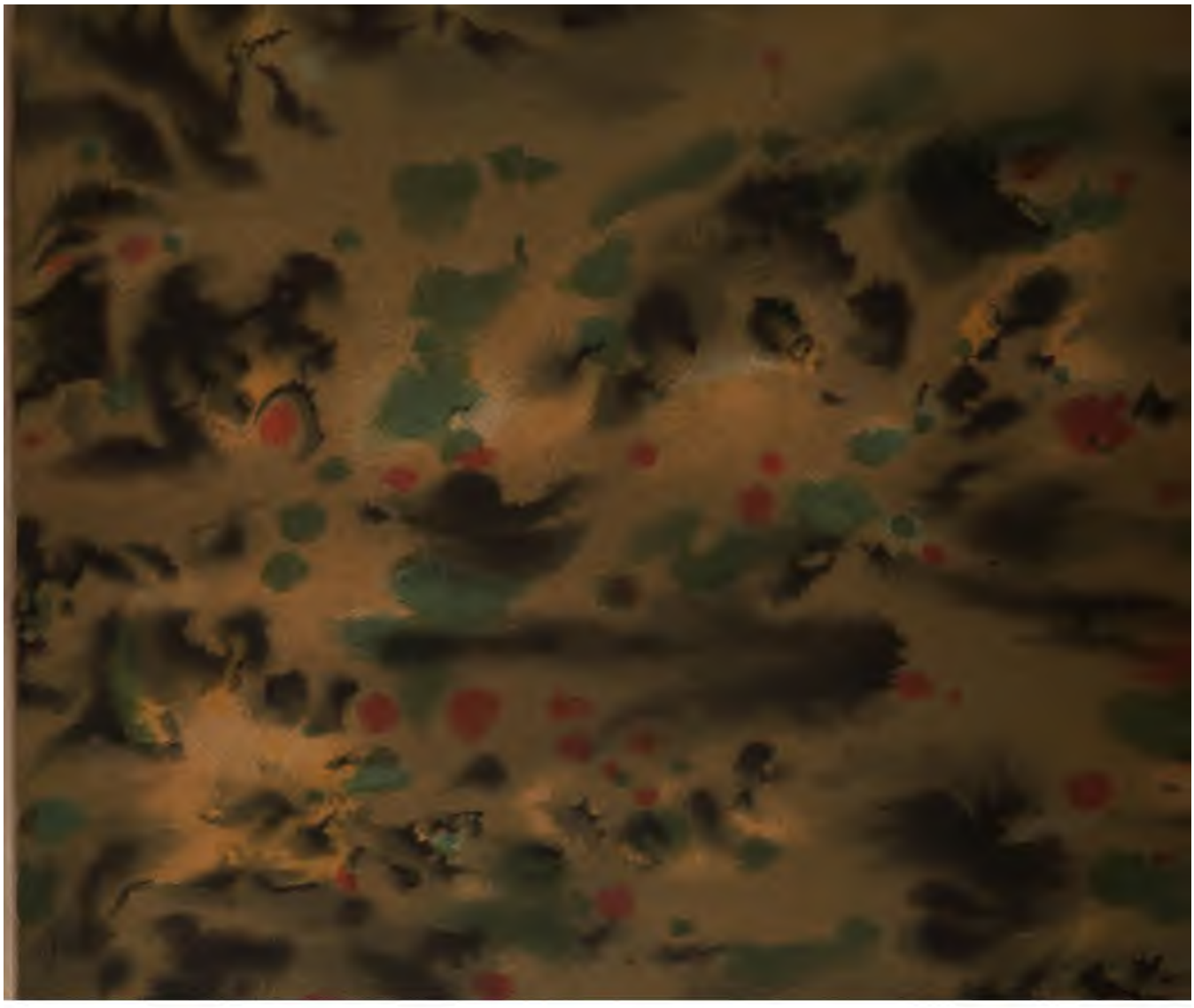

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